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THE

LIVES

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OF THE

PRINCIPAL REFORMERS,

Both ENGLISHMEN and FOREIGNERS,

COMPREHENDING THE

General HISTORY of the REFORMATION;

From its Beginning, in 1360, by Dr. JOHN WICKLIFFE,

To its Eſtabliſhment, in 1600, under Queen ELIZABETH,

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION;

WHEREIN

The REFORMATION is amply vindicated, and its Neceſſity fully
ſhewn, from the Degeneracy of the Clergy, and the Tyranny of the Popes.

By Mr. ROLT.

The Whole embelliſhed with the

HEADS of the REFORMERS,

Elegantly done in METZOTINTO, by Mr. HOUSTON.

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M DCC LIX.

TO HER

ROYAL HIGHNESS

AUGUSTA,

PRINCESS DOWAGER of WALES.

MADAM,

FLATTERY is too generally uſed to the great, eſpecially in Dedications; which it is now almoſt faſhionable to deſpiſe: but I beg leave to approach Your Royal Highneſs with the plain voice of truth, and to lay at Your feet the following account of the Lives of many of Your eminent countrymen, and others, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that great reformation in religion wherein Your Illuſtrious Anceſtors had a glorious ſhare. They poſſeſſed that goodneſs of nature which is the greateſt of all virtues, and is magnified by the Chriſtian religion more than by any other law, ſect, or opinion. This was the ſeed of the Reformation, which ſprung up under the care of Your Anceſtors, and thoſe of that glorious houſe to which Your Royal Highneſs has been ſo happily allied. Indeed, happy is it for mankind, that heaven lent them ſuch princes to defeat the cauſes of ſuperſtition, revive learning, and eſtabliſh liberty. It was by them that men gave way to the natural excurſions of thought, and the mind was no longer chained down in intellectual darkneſs. But all Europe has admired the great and heroic virtues of ERNEST *the Pious*, firſt duke of Saxe-Gotha, founder of Your Moſt Serene Houſe, and Great-grandfather to Your Royal Highneſs.

That excellent prince was the glory of Germany in the beginning of the laſt century, when he found the great work of the Reformation, which had been eſtabliſhed by three electors, his anceſtors, endangered by the over-grown power of the Auſtrian family. The emperor Ferdinand II. intended to ruin the Proteſtants, and make himſelf abſolute in Germany. Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, and duke Erneſt of Saxe-Gotha, then appeared as the guardian-angels of the Proteſtant religion. They defeated Tilly, at the famous battle of Leipſic, in 1631: and the following year they engaged Wallenſtein at Lutzen, in which fatal battle the Great Guſtavus loſt his life; but duke Erneſt, and duke Bernard his brother, renewed the fight, and obtained a glorious victory over the Imperialiſts. His highneſs embraced the peace made at Prague in 1634, which was confirmed at Oſnabrug in 1648, whereby the Auſtrian power was limited, and the Proteſtant religion ſecured. Duke Erneſt then made a farther reformation in the churches throughout his own dominions, by publiſhing many wiſe conſtitutions and catecheſtical inſtructions; which ſet a ſtriking example to the other Proteſtant princes. He ordered

Latin hymns to be baniſhed from Chriſtian aſſemblies, and Latin ſentences from German ſermons: he made his eccleſiaſtics bring no fabulous learning into the pulpit; but conform their doctrine to the ſimplicity of the goſpel. He founded many ſeminaries of learning, and was the Mecænas of his age. Religion and hiſtory are indebted to this prince for the Weimar-Bible; which is a tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures, with notes, compoſed by as many able Proteſtant writers as there are books in the Old and New Teſtament: and for that noble hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, wrote by his chancellor Lewis de Seckendorf. His highneſs extended his views to the moſt diſtant regions of the earth for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion. He ſent envoys to the Great Duke of Moſcovy, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming the lives of Chriſtians: he correſponded with the Patriarch of Conſtantinople about that important matter: and he ſent Wanſleb to make an enquiry of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in Egypt, with a view of entering into Abyſſinia, where religion is a mixture of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity, and whoſe emperor had been viſited by the miſſionaries of Rome. He projected a wiſe plan for the improvement of the Reformation, by propoſing to conſtitute a college of learned Proteſtants of all nations, to prevent religious diſputes, and oppoſe their enemies, who were united under one Pontiff. The kings of Sweden and Denmark, with ſeveral other princes, approved the deſign; but it was not carried into execution. His highneſs may well be conſidered as the greateſt ornament of the German empire, the bulwark of the Reformation, and one every way worthy of being called a REFORMER.

Your Royal Highneſs's Grandfather and Father ſhewed the ſame attachment to the Proteſtant religion, and the troops of your Brother are now fighting for the Proteſtant intereſt, and the Germanic liberty, in conjunction with the Guſtavus of the preſent age, Frederic king of Pruſſia, for whoſe life and ſafety we Proteſtants ſhould conſtantly offer up our prayers to the Almighty *King of Kings.*

To whom then, MADAM, can a work, containing the Lives of the Reformers, and comprehending a general view of the Reformation, be more properly inſcribed than to Your Royal Highneſs, whoſe Anceſtors diſtinguiſhed themſelves in patronizing the one, and defending the other?

Religion has the greateſt ſway upon the manners of men, who doubly feel its influence when it ſhines on the throne, and adorns the court. Britons have been ſenſible of this great truth throughout the whole reign of Your Royal Father-in-law, and ever ſince they had the happineſs of knowing the virtues that dignify Your Royal Highneſs as much as the luſtre of Your birth. Your Royal Highneſs has been the happy Mother of an illuſtrious race of Princes and Princeſſes, who were born to be the hereditary defenders and promoters of the Proteſtant religion, and European liberty; and that the crown of theſe Realms may inveſt the brows of Your Royal Deſcendants, 'till time ſhall be no more, is the ardent wiſh of

MADAM,

Your Royal Highneſs's

Moſt humble and obedient Servant,

RICHARD ROLT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE great legiſlator of the Jews laid it down as neceſſary before all things, that whoever would lead his own life well, or preſcribe rules for regulating the lives of others, ſhould in the firſt place conſider the nature of the divinity, contemplate his works, and endeavour to imitate, as far as he is able, that beſt example in all things.

All religion is either *natural*, or *revealed*. *Natural religion* conſiſts in the belief of a God, and in a chearful obedience to thoſe laws which he hath imprinted upon our nature. *Revealed religion* is only deſigned to revive and improve the natural notions which we have of God; and all our reaſonings about divine revelation are neceſſarily gathered by our natural notions of religion. The Chriſtian religion has all the marks of extreme juſtice and profit; but none more apparent than the exact commendation of obedience due to magiſtrates. Before the birth of JESUS CHRIST, all the world, except the Jews, lay in the groſſeſt ignorance as to divine things: but the Jews imagined themſelves the only favourites of God, and deſpiſed all mankind; whereas Chriſtianity teaches univerſal benevolence, and that God is no reſpector of this or that nation. The burthenſome and expenſive ceremonies of Judaiſm diſguſted the neighbouring nations: but, notwithſtanding the public exerciſe of religion cannot be without ſome ceremonies, the Goſpel has inſiſted upon none as abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. All things neceſſary to be believed and practiſed by all Chriſtians are clearly and plainly declared in the Goſpel; all the doctrines whereof are now contained in the Holy Scriptures, in which all things neceſſary to faith, and a good life, are ſo plainly delivered, that any ſober and inquiſitive perſon may learn them from thence; and the meaneſt capacity, by the help and direction of their guides and teachers, may be inſtructed in them. This is not only the principle of Proteſtants, but the expreſs and conſtant doctrine of the ancient fathers of the church, whatever the church of Rome, for the maintaining of her uſurped authority over the conſciences of men, pretends to the contrary: and if this were not ſo, that men are able to diſcern and judge which are the doctrines of the Goſpel, and what is contrary to them, the doctrine of the Goſpel was in vain preached, and the Holy Scriptures, containing that doctrine, were written to no purpoſe.

The doctrine of the Goſpel was delivered by the Apoſtles, whom our Lord and Saviour commiſſioned to preach it to all nations. The Apoſtles declared, that the death of Chriſt having put an end to the Jewiſh diſpenſation, there was now no longer obligation upon Chriſtians to obſerve the law of Moſes. What we call the Goſpel, is that doctrine which Chriſt commanded the Apoſtles to preach and publiſh to the world: and if the Apoſtles had no authority to add any thing to the Goſpel, much leſs can any other pretend to it; ſince they have neither ſo immediate a commiſſion, nor ſuch a miraculous power to give teſtimony to them, that *they are teachers come from God.*

Chriſtianity was attacked in its infancy with the perſecution of the Heathen emperors, Nero and Domitian. Trajan and Adrian permitted thoſe perſecutions to be continued in ſeveral provinces: but Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius favoured the Chriſtians, who were again perſecuted under Decius and Valerian, and a great number of illuſtrious heroes generouſly ſuffered for their religion; particularly St. Ignatius biſhop of Antioch in 107, St. Polycarp in 166, and St. Irenæus.

Theſe bloody perſecutions happened in the three firſt centuries of the church; but Chriſtianity made a ſurprizing progreſs in that time, and it was ſaid the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed which produced an abundant harveſt of new Chriſtians. In the firſt century there were churches eſtabliſhed in all the provinces of Italy, Egypt, the Eaſt, and Africa: In the ſecond there were ſome in Aſia and Gaul: and in the third more than one half of the Roman empire became Chriſtians. There were many churches in all the cities, which were governed by biſhops, prieſts, and deacons: all theſe churches were linked together in the ſame communion; but the biſhops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, were moſt reſpected. In 303, Diocleſian began the tenth and greateſt perſecution of all, which continued till the reign of Conſtantine in 313, when he embraced Chriſtianity, and made it flouriſh through the whole empire. The hiſtory of his baptiſm at Rome by pope Sylveſter is a meer fable; for he was born in Britain, and was not baptized till he lay on his death-bed in 337. Conſtantine tranſlated the ſeat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, a city in Thrace, near ancient Troy, which was what Auguſtus intended. By this means the empire was divided into the Eaſtern and the Weſtern, which made the whole Roman ſtrength decay. However, it was by Conſtantine, that the church of God triumphed not only over the worſhip of idols, and barbarous perſecutions, but alſo over hereſies.

Every age produced a number of great men, who were illuſtrious either for their learning, or their ſanctity. As Rome was the metropolis of the empire, it is eaſy to conceive that its biſhops ſhould be greatly expoſed to the cruelties which the Chriſtian church ſuffered during the three firſt centuries. Of thirty-two biſhops who had filled that ſee, St. Euſebius, its poſſeſſor in 312, when the edict of Conſtantine for ſtopping the perſecutions of the Chriſtians was publiſhed, and St. Zephirin, were the only two that eſcaped being ſacrifices to the rage of Heatheniſm. That emperor had been a ſevere enemy to the church before his converſion, and after he thought he could never be too much its defender. From that time, he conſtantly followed the advice of the biſhop of Rome; and employed his authority on all occaſions to procure them reſpect.

As it was ſome time before the emperors embraced Chriſtianity, biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics had taken care to increaſe the power which the circumſtances of the time had made it neceſſary to lodge in them; and, inſtead of taking this away, Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors found it neceſſary, for their own ſecurity, to keep fair with the clergy, becauſe they were held in great veneration by the people, who were then generally become Chriſtians.

The firſt churches were animated by a republican ſpirit; and thoſe ſecret aſſemblies, which from their caves and receſſes braved the authority of the Roman emperors, formed by degrees a ſtate within a ſtate. It was in reality a concealed republic within the empire. Conſtantine drew it from its retreat under ground, to place it on a level with the throne: but, in a ſhort time, the authority attached to the great ſees, was found to run counter to that popular ſpirit which had till then animated all the aſſemblies of Chriſtians.

The matters of faith, and all things which concerned the government of the church, were left to the deciſion of an aſſembly compoſed only of clergymen. This neglect, or want of power, in the firſt Chriſtian emperors, to exerciſe that right, which is inherent in every Chriſtian prince, of convening and preſiding in general councils, gave the clergy an opportunity of excluding them entirely from meddling in church affairs.

As no biſhops had ſuffered ſo much in the three firſt centuries from the Heathens, as thoſe of Rome, none, in return, were ſo much conſulted, or received ſo many favours from the emperors, after their converſion. It is likely, that Rome was fixed upon for the papal reſidence, becauſe it was the metropolis of the Roman empire, and the place where Chriſtianity firſt ſpread itſelf. The pretence of its being becauſe St. Peter's chair is there, will appear frivolous to ſuch as know, that when Conſtantinople became the ſeat of empire, and had eclipſed Old Rome, its biſhops claimed precedency of the biſhops of Rome.

The primitive ſtate of the church of Rome was ſincere and pure, and was counted worthily the mother of other churches. "Then, ſays archbiſhop Cranmer in his appeal "from the pope, by the examples of the biſhops of Rome, riches were deſpiſed, worldly "glory and pomp were trodden under foot, pleaſures and riot nothing regarded. Then this "frail and uncertain life was laughed to ſcorn, whilſt, through the example of Romiſh "martyrs, men did every where preſs forward to the life to come. But afterward, when "the ungraciouſneſs of damnable ambition, never ſatisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices had corrupted and taken the ſee of Rome, there followed every where "almoſt the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the "church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and ſlipping into foul "and heinous uſages."

As Chriſtianity ſpread itſelf, the biſhops of new erected ſees frequently conſulted the Roman church, whoſe explications of canons and cuſtoms were generally approved. The biſhops, who had a power over the inferior clergy, were ſubordinate to the biſhop of the capital in any province. Theſe were at firſt called metropolitans: but, about the end of the eighth century, they took the name of archbiſhops; and thoſe of Rome, Conſtantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jeruſalem, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Patriarchs. The biſhops of Rome aimed at univerſal power, and the emperor Phocas gave the pre-eminence to Boniface III. who took the title of œcumenical biſhop: but this implied no more than bare precedency, and the other Patriarchs were far from acknowledging his juriſdiction. The biſhops of Rome, having by degrees raiſed themſelves above other biſhops, at laſt arrogated to themſelves the right of preſiding in general councils; of determining as to all matters of faith and diſcipline; and aſſumed the ſupreme juriſdiction through all Chriſtendom. This ſpiritual power was firſt built on abuſes of the practices of the primitive Chriſtians: how it has been perverted, even to the excommunicating and depoſing crowned heads; to the abſolving ſubjects from allegiance; and to the ſtirring them up to fly in the faces of their lawful ſovereigns; no one, that is in the leaſt acquainted with hiſtory, can be ignorant. In the Eaſtern empire, it was quite otherwiſe; the clergy were kept under a proper ſubjection to the emperors; nor had the biſhop of Conſtantinople any juriſdiction out of his own dioceſe.

St. Anthony was the firſt inſtitutor of the monaſtic life in the beginning of the fourth century, in which the fathers Cyril, Baſil, Gregory, and Ambroſe flouriſhed; the church diſcipline was brought to great perfection, and ceremonies were carried to the higheſt point of their ſplendor. Chryſoſtom, Jerom, and Auguſtin adorned the fifth century: but from that time the divines began to debate about uſeleſs queſtions, to explain the myſteries by the rules of logic, and to diſpute with warmth about matters of ſmall conſequence. In the eighth century, there was much ignorance and licentiouſneſs among the biſhops and clergy: the popes became powerful temporal lords, by the donations of princes; and the form of the ſtate of the church, conſiſting of archbiſhops, biſhops, canons, and curates, was eſtabliſhed in a manner pretty near to that which is now to be ſeen among the Romaniſts.

Charlemagn re-united the Weſtern empire in 800; and reſtored religion. He put the pope into the poſſeſſion of all the Exarcate, the dutchy of Rome, and ſome other ſtates: but ſome hiſtorians were of opinion, that the revenue only was given for the ſupport of the church; and that the ſovereignty and protectorſhip were reſerved to the crown of France.

The eighth general council was held at Conſtantinople in 869: but it was ſo far from putting an end to all the differences between the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches, that the Greek church ſoon after ſeparated from the Latin. The popes made freſh attempts upon the rights of biſhops and metropolitans; and would have drawn to themſelves the trying of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes.

The tenth century is remarkable for being more degenerate than the former: but the ſtudy of religion was more cultivated in the next; when the Sacramentarians appeared, and ſcholaſtic theology had its riſe. Gregory VII. was elected pope in 1073. His predeceſſors had for two hundred years been meddling in the affairs of princes; but this pope was the firſt that went ſo far as to depoſe kings. Having firſt openly avowed, that, as pope, he had an inherent and abſolute power over all ſovereigns, he took it upon him to cite the emperor Henry IV. to appear, and anſwer for his conduct at Rome. Henry deſpiſed thoſe citations, for which he was excommunicated by Gregory, who threatened the ſame to Philip I. of France, and iſſued his fulminations againſt moſt of the princes of Europe. He governed all the Weſtern churches with an abſolute authority; and did all that was in his power to get himſelf made the ſovereign monarch of the univerſe.

The dictatus papæ, which contains twenty-ſeven propoſitions in behalf of the higheſt pretenſions of the court of Rome, was wrote by this pope. The popiſh writers confeſs they are aſhamed of thoſe propoſitions, and particularly the twenty-third, which declares, "that the Roman pontiff, being canonically ordained, becomes undoubtedly holy by the "merits of St. Peter." His ſucceſſors in the twelfth century, eſtabliſhed their ſovereignty in Rome, and their independence upon the emperor: they aſſumed the right of giving the Imperial crown, and extended their ſpiritual authority without oppoſition. Their power continued to increaſe in the two following centuries, and Boniface VIII. had the ſame ambition as Gregory VII. He publiſhed a bull, by which he forbid all princes to exact any thing out of eccleſiaſtical revenues: but Philip the Firſt, king of France, drew up a manifeſto againſt this bull; and proteſted, that in temporals he had no ſuperior. This pope, in 1300, publiſhed a Jubilee, whereby he granted plenary indulgences to all who ſhould viſit the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome; and ordained the ſame ſhould be obſerved every century. The opening of this Jubilee brought vaſt numbers of people to Rome: and Boniface, to ſhew his ſovereign authority in temporals and ſpirituals, appeared in the ceremonies ſometimes in his Pontificals, and at others in an Imperial dreſs, with this motto "Ecce duo Gladii." Clement V. altered this Jubilee to every fiftieth year: and Boniface IX. was the firſt who raiſed annates; which is one year's revenue of every biſhopric and abbey, at each inſtalment.

Boniface had publiſhed a bull, and declared himſelf ſovereign lord, both as to temporals and ſpirituals, in very high terms. "We would, ſays he, in the brief addreſſed to the "king of France, have you to know, that you are ſubject to us both in ſpirituals and "temporals, and that you have no right to confer benefices." The king publickly burnt the bull, and anſwered the pope in like terms. "Philip, by the grace of God, king of "the Franks, to Boniface, who ſets up for ſovereign Pontiff; little or no health. "Be it known to your great *extravagance*, that we are not ſubject to any perſon what-"ſoever, as to what regards temporals: that the collation of churches and prebendſhips "belongs to us by a royal right, and that we have a power to appropriate the fruits thereof "to ourſelf." The pope thundered out bulls againſt the king and kingdom of France: but the ſtates of the kingdom appealed from them to a council; and they ſo far prevailed as to maintain the liberties of the Gallican church, which Voltaire ſays are no other than thoſe of the ancient church.

Conſtantine Paleologus was the laſt of the Greek emperors at Conſtantinople, which was taken by the Turks in 1453, when the Eaſtern empire and the Greek church were involved in the ſame ruin: but the conqueſts of the Infidels were not capable of making the Greeks unite with the Latin church.

Thomas Aquinas, ſirnamed the *angelical doctor*, flouriſhed in the middle of the thirteenth century, whoſe voluminous works became the foundation of the ſcholaſtic divinity, till John Duns or Scotus, called *doctor Subtilis*, appeared in the next century, and eſtabliſhed a new ſect in the ſchools, which were then divided between the Scotiſts and Thomiſts. Scotus died in 1303; and William Occham, called the ſingular doctor, was the head of a third party, called Nominals. Occham was an Engliſhman, and wrote a book concerning the power of the church and of the ſtate, to defend Philip the Fair againſt Boniface; and he wrote againſt pope John XXII. who excommunicated him in 1330. He was cotemporary with doctor Wickliffe, who maintained the ſame ſentiments, and laid the ſeeds of the reformation, with whoſe life our hiſtory begins. We ſhall therefore take a ſummary review of the Chriſtian religion, and papal power, in England.

The ancient Britons were Pagans, like the ancient Gauls, and were converted either by St. Paul, or by Joſeph of Arimathea: but Chriſtianity was not general among them till the converſion of Conſtantine. It is obſervable, that the firſt biſhops of Britain, neither paid or acknowledged any ſupremacy to the ſee of Rome. The Saxons were alſo Pagans when they conquered the Britons; but they were converted by Auſtin, a benedictine monk, whoſe firſt proſelite was Ethelbert king of Kent in 597, and Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed throughout the whole heptarchy in 686. Bede, who flouriſhed in England in 700, ſays, the Chriſtian church at the time the Anglo-Saxons were converted, was far gone from its original purity; for the monks had introduced ſeveral religious practices that were not of divine or apoſtolical inſtitution. Auſtin and his followers, in converting the Anglo-Saxons, took every precaution to make them pay a reſpect to the ſuperiority of the Roman ſee, and to inſpire them with reverence for monaſteries. It is ſurprizing to think what a number of monaſteries were erected, and how richly they were endowed. People were infatuated with a monaſtic life, and their infatuation was much to the advantage of the monks, who made an incredible number of ſaints, among whom were kings, queens, princes, princeſſes, or perſons of the higheſt birth or ſtation; for, in leſs than two hundred years, there were ſeven kings, ſeven queens, eight princes, and ſixteen princeſſes diſtinguiſhed with the title of ſaints. Beſides, there were ten kings, and eleven queens, who reſigned their crowns and palaces, for cowls and monaſteries.

Bede recommended to Egbert, archbiſhop of York, the leſſening the number of monaſteries, and increaſing the number of biſhops and ſecular clergy to preach the Goſpel in country towns and villages. For there are many villages, ſays he, in the woody and mountainous parts, which for many years never ſaw the face of a biſhop, and have no Preſbyters to inſtruct them in the common principles of religion or morality; and yet every place pays tribute to their biſhop. He particularly deſired of the archbiſhop, that his clergy ſhould take care to teach the people the Apoſtles Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue; for which end he himſelf had tranſlated them into Engliſh, and given copies into the hands of ſeveral of the clergy. But to perfect the great work, ſays doctor Warner, of ſpreading the thorough knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, this good man informs Egbert, that he thought nothing ſo likely, as to increaſe the number of biſhops; and to that end deſires he would recommend it to the king and his council, to erect ſeveral new biſhoprics, diſſolving the monaſteries, and fixing ſees in them. By this means, ſays Bede, your own dioceſe of York, according to the ancient model of pope Gregory, may be made a metropolitical ſee; and, if it is neceſſary, the lands of other monaſteries may be taken. "Thus thoſe houſes, of which "we all know there are many unworthy the name of monaſteries, from ſerving the "ends of vanity and luxury may be brought to aſſiſt and bear a part in the epiſcopal "office. There are many and very great foundations of this kind, which it is commonly "ſaid, are neither profitable to God nor men; for men are neither trained in them to "live regularly as monks for the honour of God, nor brought up to arms to defend their "country. To take therefore ſuch places and convert to biſhops ſees, is ſo far from be-"coming a fault, that it is a great inſtance of wiſdom and virtue; for how can it be "unjuſt for ſome princes to employ the miſtaken charities of others to better purpoſes? "But if it be a fault, it is juſt ſuch a fault, as it is for a wiſe judge to reverſe a wrong "judgment, or a good clerk to correct the errors of a bad ſcribe. It is your duty "therefore, together with the king, to make ſuch regulation of theſe ſocieties as might "be moſt for the honour of God, and the good of the country; leſt by the increaſe of "them the force of the kingdom ſhould be ſo weakened, that there ſhould not be ſuffi-"cient ſtrength to ſecure it from the invaſion of enemies." This was the language of the *venerable* Bede, who was born in 672, and died in 735. He deſerves ſome notice here, as it has not been done in the work; though his notions of a reformation ſeem to have been a light to the firſt Reformers, and particularly to thoſe who reformed the Engliſh church under Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth.

Bede was born at Farrow, near Durham, and was abbot of that place. He compoſed a great number of works upon all kinds of eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, which make eight volumes. There we find Grammar, Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, and Chronology, an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, abundance of Lives of Saints, a Martyrology, books upon Criticiſm, long Commentaries upon the Scripture, Homilies, and many devotional Diſcourſes. One of the laſt things he did, was tranſlating of the Goſpel of St. John into Engliſh, and he expired as he finiſhed the laſt ſentence.

The Saxon monarchs were very liberal to the Roman Pontiff. Ina, king of Weſſex, built and endowed a magnificent church and college at Rome; for whoſe maintenance he exacted a tax of a penny on every family in his kingdom, under the name of Rome-ſcot; and this was afterwards impoſed by Offa king of Mercia on his ſubjects, under the name of Peter-pence. This was only intended to defray the expences of ſuch Engliſh people as came to ſtudy at Rome. But the popes afterwards pretended it was a tribute paid by the Engliſh to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, and converted it to their own uſe, till it was entirely aboliſhed by Henry VIII. ſeven hundred and forty years after the grant of Offa. The Britons formed a new monarchy in Wales, where Offa confined them by his ſpacious dike, which extended about ninety miles from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye. Thoſe Britons were as free in their religion as in their government; and they paid no more obedience to the ſee of Rome in ſpiritual matters, than they paid to the Saxons in civil affairs. They had ſeven dioceſes, and were under the care of their own biſhops, whoſe metropolitan reſided at Cheſter, till Dubricius removed the archiepiſcopal ſeat to Llandaff, where the Britiſh church became remarkable for its doctrine and purity.

At this time, we have an account in Bede of ſeventeen biſhoprics ſettled in the Engliſh churches, under the government of one metropolitan as archbiſhop of Canterbury. But when Egbert united the ſeven Saxon kingdoms into the general kingdom of England, the biſhops and clergy neglected to unite in the ſame common meaſures for the intereſt of religion. The kingdom was for many years afterwards invaded by the Danes, who were then Pagans: they ruined the monaſteries, and demoliſhed the churches; while the Saxons were effeminated with new devotions of their prieſts and monks, with cloiſters, penances, and pilgrimages.

Ethelwulf extended the tax of Peter-Pence all over England, and forgot the duties of a prince in his ſubmiſſion to the pope. Alfred founded, or at leaſt greatly augmented, the univerſity of Oxford, revived learning, and protected religion: Duns Scotus was his preceptor; and the king not only tranſlated Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory into Engliſh, but alſo the Pſalms of David, and the Old and New Teſtament. Edward the Elder diſtinguiſhed Cambridge much in the ſame manner as Alfred had done Oxford. Athelſtan cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into Engliſh: but when Edmund ſucceeded him, the kingdom ſuffered by Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſtrongly attached to the monaſtic intereſt, and in the reign of Edwy got the monks into the eccleſiaſtical benefices, and made it appear, that their reſentment has been frequently too powerful for kings, as well as too fatal for the people. Edgar told his biſhops, convened in council, that the clergy led lewd and ſcandalous lives; and that it was high time for the biſhops to draw the ſword of St. Peter, whilſt that of the great Conſtantine was made uſe of by himſelf. This was meant againſt the married clergy, who were obliged to give way to the monks; but they afterwards ſtruggled for their poſſeſſions till the Danes got poſſeſſion of the kingdom in 1016, after contending for it about two hundred years. The princes of the Daniſh line were favourable to the clergy: and when the Saxon line was reſtored in Edward III. the monks gave him the glorious titles of ſaint and confeſſor, without deſerving them. Harold was liberal to the church; and yet the clergy readily ſubmitted to William the Conqueror in 1066.

The Normans found the Engliſh oppreſſed with a diſſolute clergy at home, and by the papal power abroad: but the Norman kings ſwore to protect and defend the church. William the Conqueror received a conſecrated banner from the pope, which would have been of little ſervice to his cauſe if the Engliſh had retained the ſpirit and virtue of their anceſtors. The prieſts were loſt to all good literature, and ſcarce able to read and underſtand the Latin ſervice: the monks went clad in fine ſtuffs, and made no difference in what they eat; which though in itſelf no fault, yet to their conſciences was irreligious. The great men were loſt in luxury; and the meaner ſort in drunkenneſs. "Not but "that ſome few of all ſorts, ſays Milton, were much better among them; but ſuch was "the generality. And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous "days with the good, ſo his ſeverity oft-times exempts not good men from their ſhare "in evil times with the bad."

William the Conqueror would pay no fealty to the pope; and plainly told him, that he would not make his crown dependent on any perſon living.

The Norman revolution occaſioned a great change both in the church and ſtate; and was particularly fatal to the privileges and immunities of the Engliſh clergy, who ſtill remained in the greateſt ignorance and inſolence; which will be found in the following work, particularly in the lives of Wickliffe, Huſs, Colet, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Henry VIII. Edward VI. Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Cranmer, and Elizabeth. The dull ſtate of learning abroad, and its revival, will be found in the lives of Eraſmus, Luther, Bucer, Melancthon, Peter Martyr, Calvin, Bullinger, and Beza. And the riſe of the Proteſtant religion, with the neceſſity of a thorough reformation, will be ſhewn in the lives of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Cranmer.

Pope Gregory VII. died in 1085; after laying the deſign of that tyranny and uſurpation, which in time became one of the greateſt and moſt dreadful ſcourges that ever afflicted the Chriſtian church. He promoted the doctrine of infallibility, and aſſerted that the pretended ſucceſſors of St. Peter could never err; yet he himſelf was ſuch an inſtance of fallibility and frailty, that his maxims were confuted by his own example. Urban II. carried his notions farther about that boaſted infallibility, which is an inſult upon common ſenſe; as well as the bold innovation then advanced of the papal ſupremacy.

Fox has ſufficiently refuted both this infallibility and ſupremacy in the beginning of his acts and monuments; which has alſo been done by two eminent prelates, archbiſhop Tillotſon, and biſhop Burnet.

Archbiſhop Tillotſon ſays, that St. Paul did not dictate to the Jews by virtue of his infallibility; but reaſoned with them out of the Scriptures, and required their belief no farther, than what he ſaid, ſhould upon examination prove agreeable to the Scriptures: and St. Paul was ſo far from reproving them for examining his doctrine by the Scriptures, that he commended it as an argument of a noble and generous mind in the Bereans, that they did not give full aſſent to his doctrine, till, upon the examination, they were ſatisfied that what he had ſaid was agreeable to the Scriptures. St. Paul puts the caſe, that if he, or any other of the Apoſtles, concerning whoſe divine commiſſion and aſſiſtance they were ſo fully ſatisfied, ſhould deliver any thing to them contrary to the Goſpel which they had formerly preached, they were to reject it with the greateſt abhorrence and deteſtation; and this neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a liberty to examine what was delivered, even by thoſe whom they believed to be infallibly aſſiſted, and a capacity to diſcern and judge whether what they ſaid was agreeable to the Goſpel at firſt delivered to them, or not. And after this, ſhall any perſon or church, what claim ſoever they may make to infallibility, aſſume to themſelves an authority to dictate in matters of faith, and that their dictates ought to be received with an abſolute ſubmiſſion, and without liberty to examine whether they be agreeable to "the faith once delivered to the ſaints:" and though they add new articles to the Chriſtian faith, and of which there is not the leaſt footſtep, or intimation, in any of the ancient Creeds of the Chriſtian church, and do plainly impoſe upon Chriſtians the practice and belief of ſeveral things as neceſſary to ſalvation, which the Goſpel never declared to be ſo, yet no body ſhall judge of this; but every man ought, without more ado, to believe blindfold, and to reſign up his underſtanding and judgment to the directions of this *viſible infallible judge?* This is not the reaſonable obedience of faith; but the forced ſubmiſſion of ſlaves to the tyranny of their maſters. Chriſtians are expreſly forbid "to call any man father or maſter upon earth;" becauſe "we have one Father and Maſter in heaven." Now to make an abſolute ſubmiſſion of our underſtandings to any upon earth; ſo as, without examination, to receive their dictates in matters of faith, is ſurely, if any thing can be ſo, "to call ſuch a perſon father and maſter;" becauſe a greater ſubmiſſion than this we cannot pay to "our Father who is in heaven," even to God himſelf.

The council of Trent, in direct affront and contempt of St. Paul, hath preſumed to add many articles to the Chriſtian religion, upon the counterfeit warrant of tradition, for which there is no ground or warrant from the ſcripture, or from any ancient creed of the Chriſtian church. By the authority of this council, pope Pius IV. compiled his creed, in which there were added to the ancient creed of the Chriſtian church ſeveral new articles, as concerning "purgatory, tranſubſtantiation, the worſhip of images, the invocation of ſaints, the communion in one kind, and that the church of Rome is the mother and miſtreſs of all churches, and that there is no ſalvation to be had out of it;" and ſeveral other points, all which knew either no foundation in ſcripture, or are plainly contrary to it, and none of them ever eſteemed as articles of faith in the ancient Chriſtian church for the firſt five hundred years; and yet they are now obtruded upon Chriſtians, as of equal neceſſity to ſalvation with the twelve articles of the Apoſtles creed; and this under a pretence of infallibility, which St. Paul tells us, would not have juſtified an apoſtle or an angel from Heaven in making ſuch additions to the Chriſtian religion, and the impoſing of any thing as neceſſary to ſalvation, which is not ſo declared by the Goſpel of Chriſt.

As to the papal ſupremacy, to what has been already ſaid, let us ſee what biſhop Burnet ſays. All the Apoſtles were made equal in the power that Chriſt gave them, and he often condemned their conteſts about ſuperiority, but never declared in St. Peter's favour. St. Paul withſtood him to his face, and reckoned himſelf not inferior to him. If the dignity of a perſon left any authority with the city in which he ſat, then Antioch muſt carry it as well as Rome: and Jeruſalem, where Chriſt ſuffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother church. Chriſt ſaid to St. Peter, "upon this rock will I build my church." The ancients underſtood by the *rock*, either the confeſſion Peter had made, or Chriſt himſelf; and though it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the reſt of the apoſtles are alſo called *foundations:* that of "tell the church," was by many doctors of the church of Rome turned againſt the pope for a general council. The other privileges aſcribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occaſioned by his fall, as that, "feed my ſheep;" it being a reſtoring him to the apoſtolical function. St. Peter had alſo a limited province, the circumciſion, as St. Paul had the uncircumciſion, that was of far greater extent; which ſhewed that he was not conſidered as the univerſal paſtor. In the primitive church, St. Cyprian, and other biſhops, wrote to the biſhops of Rome, as to their fellow biſhop, colleague, and brother: they were againſt appeals to Rome, and did not ſubmit to their definition, and in plain terms aſſerted, that all biſhops were equal in power as the apoſtles had been. Conſtantinople being made the Imperial city, the ſecond and fourth general councils gave it equal privileges with Rome, becauſe it was New Rome; which ſhews that the dignity of the ſees flowed from the greatneſs of the cities. But when the emperor Mauritius gave the title of *univerſal biſhop* to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, Gregory the Great complained of the ambition of that title, which he calls equal to the pride of Lucifer: and ſince England received the faith by thoſe whom he ſent over, it appeared from thence what was the doctrine of that ſee at that time; and, by conſequence, what were the firſt impreſſions made on the Engliſh on that matter. The emperor Phocas gave the ſame title to Boniface III; and Boniface VIII. pretended to all power, both ſpiritual and temporal: but the progreſs of the uſurpations, and the wars raiſed to maintain them, were very viſible in hiſtory. The popes ſwore at their conſecrations to obey the canons of the eight firſt general councils, which are manifeſt againſt appeals, and their univerſal juriſdiction: but ſmall regard is to be had to the decrees of later councils, being cabals packed and managed as the popes pleaſed. To this alſo may be added what is farther obſerved in this work about the ſupremacy, in the life of Luther, p. 67. I conſider the work as a compilation; and, as ſuch, I have generally quoted my authorities, without attempting particular deciſions.

Puffendorf has ſhewn the arts that were practiſed for increaſing the revenues of the church, and the number of churchmen: but this work will ſhew how the papal authority declined, and the reformation was advanced. In the life of Beza, p. 156, I have given ſome obſervations upon the general Eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion, in the different countries of Europe; and oppoſed the whole in a comparative light to thoſe of the Roman Catholic religion, with reſpect to numbers, ſtrength, and power. But a modern author, in his "Eſtimate of the "Manners and Principles of the Times," has conſidered the different genius and permanency of popery and proteſtantiſm in another light.

This author obſerves, that popiſh ſuperſtition is a more active principle, with regard to conqueſt, than rational proteſtantiſm. The firſt piques itſelf on deſtroying and extirpating the enemies of God: the latter, regarding none as the enemies of God on account of error, aims only at rational defence. While proteſtantiſm, therefore, retains its proper influence in the minds of men, it may be a match for popiſh ſuperſtition. What it wants in fury, it makes up in ſteadineſs. This truth our forefathers have twice ſeen manifeſted in our own country. However, he concludes upon the whole of ſuch arguments, that proteſtantiſm calmly preſents herſelf to the reaſon, popery ſeizes the paſſions of mankind: and hence, modern popery, ſet againſt modern proteſtantiſm, is in danger of overwhelming it.

With regard to our own country, the ſame author remarks, that the principles of proteſtantiſm have loſt their influence: inſomuch, that it is no injuſtice to the higher ranks of this kingdom to ſay, that the main ſecurity of the church ariſeth from its alliance with the ſtate. There is now among the great, ſuch a general indifference and ſupineneſs in, not to ſay contempt of every thing that regards religion *only*, as may well alarm thoſe few, who look forward to poſterity. How different a ſtate of religion is this, from that which prevailed in the reign of Elizabeth? When, as Bolingbroke juſtly obſerves, the *Reformation* was eſtabliſhed, not only in outward form, but in the hearts of men. How different from that which prevailed at the grand period of the abdication of James the Second? When proteſtant principles took the lead, even of the ſpirit of civil liberty; and effected the moſt glorious revolution that hiſtory hath yet recorded: a revolution, which might juſtly be ſtiled religious rather than political. That great religious ſpirit, which at thoſe illuſtrious periods ſhone ſo bright, is now quenched in darkneſs; and the world beholds the conſequence.

Archbiſhop Teniſon, in his ſermon concerning "holy reſolution," ſays, that among the primitive Chriſtians there were armies of martyrs who were faithful to the death. Pliny reproached them as obſtinate; but their perſeverance aroſe from the ſtrength of their faith, the heartineſs of their love, their ſincere reſolution to keep their baptiſmal vow, in deſpight of the world, the fleſh, and the devil; and, that which made all theſe effectual, the extraordinary grace of God.

The following work will ſhew that England has produced many glorious martyrs for the Chriſtian faith. But how very different is the ſtate of chriſtianity in this country at preſent, if Voltaire is to be credited in his diſcourſe on Theiſm? He ſays, this is a religion diſperſed through all other religions: he compares it to an ore in the hands of adepts; and declares there is no country in which there are more of theſe adepts than in England. Indeed, continues this elegant author, there were many atheiſts in that country in the laſt age, as well as in France and Italy; for what the lord chancellor Bacon has ſaid, is found true with reſpect to the learned, that a little philoſophy renders a man an atheiſt, and that a great deal leads to the knowledge of a God.

This is a ſevere charge upon our nation: Voltaire may be inclined to epicuriſm: but his charge may have too much truth in it, if he was a Mahometan. However, his partiality to the Romiſh church is more glaring than could be expected from his pen, when he ſays that God has endued men with that inſtruction which the law of nature has founded; and that the man who thinks thus of God, has a religion much better than all the ſects out of the Romiſh church: for all theſe ſects are falſe, and the law of nature is true. This is too much of the Romaniſt for that philoſopher, who deſpiſes the perſecutors of any ſect, and ſays, we are all brethren: if any of my brothers does not ſalute our common Father with the ſame ceremonies as myſelf, ought I to cut his throat, and tear out his heart?

Doctor Beveridge, biſhop of St. Aſaph, whom I look upon as the great reviver and reſtorer of primitive piety, has ſufficiently anſwered thoſe who hold any epicurean tenets, in his thoughts on religion, where he aſks if mankind were made by *chance?* He anſwers, this could not be; for as chance ſeldom, or never produces any one effect, that is regular and uniform, ſo it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a being of ſuch admirable beauty, ſymetry, and proportion, and ſuch a nice contexture of parts, as the body of man is, ſhould ever be jumbled together by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, which nothing but the chimeras of Epicurus could ever reduce into a regular form and compoſition.

But the ſame learned prelate obſerves, there are two things requiſite to lead us to heaven; and they are faith and obedience, to believe and to live a-right. So that it as much behoves me, ſays he, to have my faith rightly confirmed in the fundamentals of religion, as to have my obedience exactly conformed to the laws of God. But it is not ſo eaſy a thing, as it is commonly thought, to believe the word of God, and to be firmly eſtabliſhed in the neceſſary points of religion; eſpecially in theſe wicked times wherein we live; in which there are ſo many pernicious errors and damnable hereſies crept into the articles of ſome mens faith, as do not only ſhock the foundation of the church of Chriſt, but ſtrike at the root of all religion. He alſo ſays, “ that to profeſs myſelf a Chriſtian, and believe “ that Chriſtians only are in the right, becauſe my forefathers were ſo, is no more than “ the Heathens and Mahometans have to ſay for themſelves.” This may be applied to the Papiſts with regard to the Proteſtants: and as for the Deiſts, they muſt bluſh when they read the proofs which this eminent divine hath brought in ſupport of Chriſtianity; as alſo what his cotemporary the excellent Hugo Grotius has wrote in vindication of the truth of the Chriſtian religion.

The author of the above-mentioned Eſtimate farther ſays, that Popery advances with dreadful ſtrides in America; while Proteſtantiſm lies immerſed in indolence and ſleep. And he aſſerts, that on the continent of Europe, we ſee the Proteſtant crowns divided againſt each other; the Popiſh crowns in union and confederacy. The Ruſs and Swede have joined the Popiſh power in tearing to pieces his majeſty of Pruſſia. The empreſs-queen hath thrown off the maſque; and hath baſely deſerted thoſe who had long and often ſaved her from deſtruction. France is purſuing its old game, and following its eſtabliſhed plan of power. He concludes, that the event of this Popiſh league ought indeed to ſtrike us with awe, though not with deſpondency. Frederic of Bohemia was ſwallowed up by a Popiſh confederacy in the laſt century: but though no human eye can pierce the impenetrable veil of fate, yet we have reaſon to hope from what is paſt, that the great prince now combined againſt, is not deſigned by Providence as a ſacrifice to bigot power. Let us rather behold him as the appointed guardian-angel of truth and liberty; who, with the ſwiftneſs of light, and the terror of a whirlwind, chears the friends of freedom, and overwhelms her enemies. The manifeſt inference is this: as it appears that the genius of Popery is active, inſinuating, furious, unalterable, permanent; the genius of Proteſtantiſm calm, rational, indolent, fluctuating, periſhable; that we ought to be moſt watchful in the preſervation of this invaluable bleſſing; and active in the ſupport of thoſe who are the great ſupports of Proteſtantiſm. It was obſerved by the preſent biſhop of London, in his ſermon on the laſt rebellion, that we are apt to boaſt of the purity of our religion, and our *Reformation* from the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome; and to flatter ourſelves that we are a peculiar people of God, and ſet up by providence to be the bulwark of the Proteſtant religion. “ But remember ſtill, ſays his lordſhip, that we are “ choſen to profeſs the truth of God's holy Goſpel, and to bear our teſtimony againſt “ the corruptions which have prevailed over a great part of the Chriſtian world. Let us ſet “ a due value upon the bleſſings that are beſtowed on us, and walk worthy of the light of “ the goſpel, which has ſhone among us; that our conduct and behaviour may bear teſti- “ mony to the truth which we profeſs.”

THE

LIVES

OF THE

REFORMERS.

PART I.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of JOHN WICKLIFFE, JOHN HUSS, JEROM of PRAGUE, JOHN COLET, ERASMUS, JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS, and ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS.

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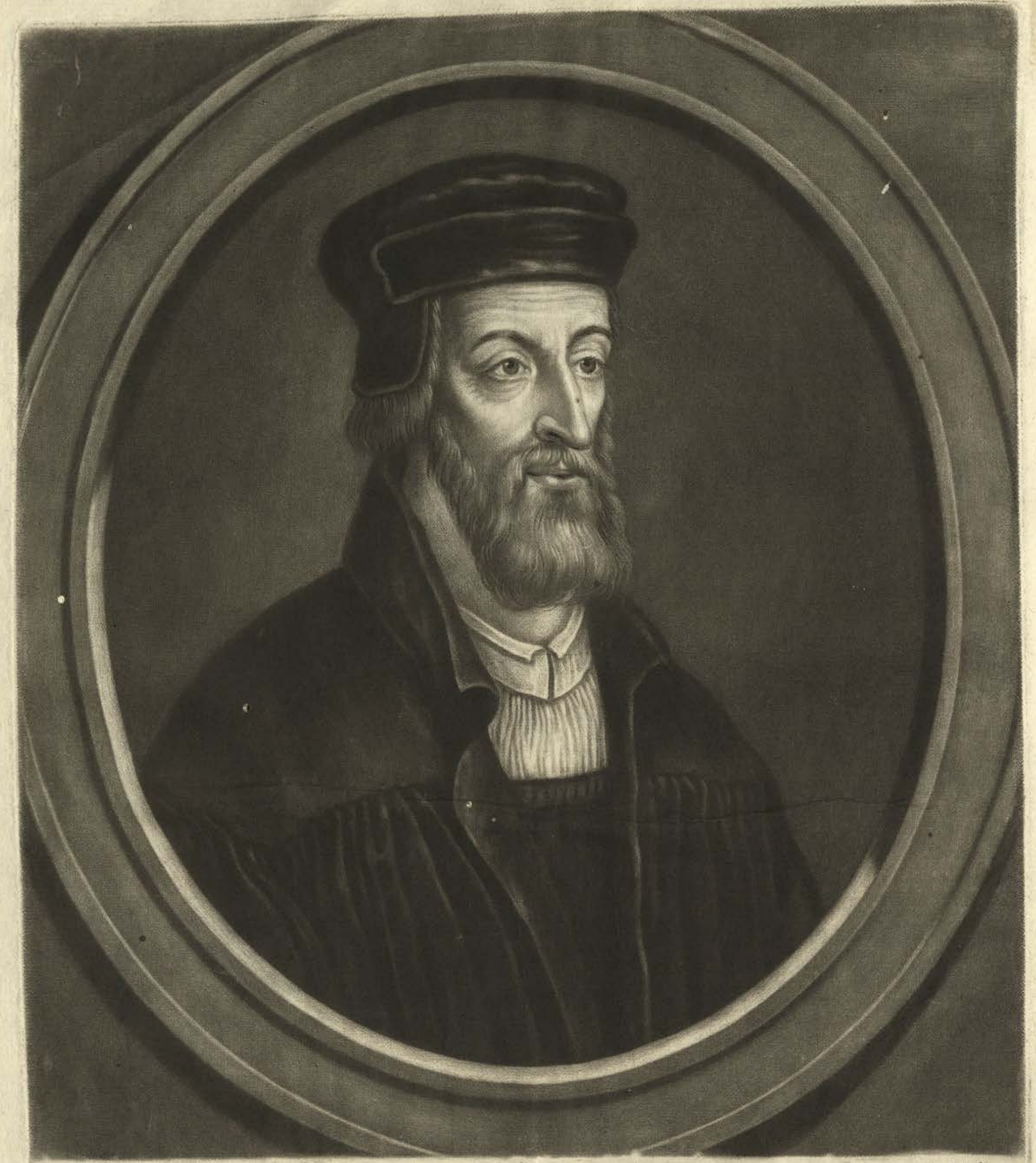
ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston Fecit.

Johannes Wickliffe

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THE LIVES OF THE REFORMERS.

The Life of JOHN WICKLIFFE, D. D. warden of Canterbury-hall, and public profeſſor of divinity, in the univerſity of Oxford; as alſo rector of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, in the reigns of king Edward III. and king Richard II. from 1324 to 1384.

JOHN de WICKLIFFE, (a) "the glory of our nation, as well as "the honour of our mother Oxford, the firſt diſcoverer and guide in our "bleſſed reformation," was born in the year 1324, at Spreſwell, in the pariſh of Wickliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkſhire. But Lewis ſays, he could hear of no ſuch village thereabouts: only he was informed, that there was a branch of the Wickliffe's family in the neighbourhood of Richmond, who were formerly lords of Wickliffe, and had a conſiderable eſtate there: and that, among them, there goes a report, though they had no authentic evidence to ſupport it, that John Wickliffe was of their family.

Br. Kennet. Leland, p. 9. Lewis's Life of Wickliffe, p. 315.

This learned divine was ſent early to the univerſity of Oxford, and was firſt admitted commoner of Queen's college; but was ſoon removed to Merton college, where he was firſt probationer, and afterwards fellow.

Leland.

Merton college was then the beſt ſeminary for great and learned men in the whole univerſity; and the following eminent perſons belonged to it, about this time. 1. Walter Burley, called the Plain Doctor, who was preceptor to king Edward III. 2. William Occham, called the Singular Doctor. 3. Thomas Bradwardine, the Profound Doctor, who was called to

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(a) Wic, in the Saxon Language, ſignifies a creek of a river. Camden upon Greenwich in Kent.—And the Saxons who diſpoſſeſſed the Dobuni, or the antient Britiſh inhabitants of Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire, were called Wiccij; becauſe they ſettled themſelves in the territory about the mouth of the Severn, which is full of creeks, coves, and reaches. Camden in his introduction to Glouceſterſhire.

But Wickliffe is alſo known by theſe nominal variations: Wyckliff, Wyclyve, Wycliff, Wicliff, Wycklef, Wyclef, Wicklef, Wicliffe, Wicleff, Wycclyff, and Wyclyffe, ſee N° 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, [illegible], 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, of the papers and records collected by Lewis relating to Wickliffe.

Steph. de Birchington.

court by archbiſhop Stratford, and ſucceeded him in the ſee of Canterbury. 4. Simon Mepham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1330. 5. Simon Iſlip, who was alſo promoted to the ſame ſee, in 1349, was lord privy ſeal, and ſecretary to the king. 6. William Rede, an excellent mathematician, and biſhop of Chicheſter in 1369. 7. Geoffry Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry. Wickliffe was afterwards called Doctor Evangelicus, or the Goſpel Doctor; and he certainly deſerved the title, as the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures was his principal delight.

Leland.

Blackſton's introductory Letter.

Wickliffe was ſoon diſtinguiſhed, among theſe illuſtrious cotemporaries, for the cloſeneſs of his application to ſtudy, and the vivacity of his genius. He became celebrated in philoſophy and divinity; being ſo remarkable for an elegancy of wit, and ſtrength in diſputations, that he was eſteemed more than human by the common ſort of divines. He adorned the learning of the ſchools, by acquiring a deep knowledge of the civil and canon law, as alſo of the municipal laws of his own country, which have been always too much neglected till our own times, when we find the Vinerian profeſſorſhip of the laws of England eſtabliſhed in the univerſity of Oxford. Wickliffe not only ſtudied, and commented upon the ſacred writings; but he tranſlated them into his native language, and wrote homilies on ſeveral parts of them. He alſo diligently ſtudied the writings of St. Auſtin, St. Jerome, St. Andrew, and St. Gregory, the four fathers of the latin church: but he was thirty-ſix years of age before he had a proper opportunity of exerting his excellent talents, ſo as to attract the obſervation of the univerſity, and even of the whole kingdom; for it was in the year 1360 when he became the advocate for the univerſity againſt the encroachments made by the mendicant friars, who had been very troubleſome from their firſt eſtabliſhment in Oxford, in 1230, and occaſioned great inquietude to the chancellor and ſcholars, by infringing their ſtatutes and privileges, and ſetting up an exempt juriſdiction.

Popery was eſtabliſhed in England with chriſtianity itſelf, and continued to be the only religion till the reformation. The church of Rome had infected all Chriſtendom with its errors and corruptions; and the whole church was degenerated from its primitive purity by the artifices of the monks, who had polluted the clear ſtream of religion with the rank weeds of ſuperſtition.

The Anglo-Saxons, both kings and people, were greatly impoſed upon, and ſhorn, by the prieſts: but England had not ſeen to what height the temporal authority of the church of Rome would aſpire, till after the Norman conqueſt. It is true, the Norman princes were not ſo ſuperſtitious as thoſe of the Saxon line had been: yet Henry I. admitted a legate to reſide in England, when archbiſhop Anſelm ſtruck at his prerogative in wreſting the inveſtures out of his hands. The monks ſcourged Henry II. and the pope trampled on John; after which, the clergy, as well as the people, ſunk under the oppreſſion, till Wickliffe laid the ſeeds of the reformation. The popes conſidered England as a conquered country, and treated it with abſolute tyranny. They got the firſt fruits of all the benefices, and uſurped the collation of all the church preferments, in prejudice of the king, the chapters, and the patrons. They impoſed many heavy grievances on the nation, and eluded all the canonical elections; which made the people ſo weary of theſe encroachments, that they began, in the reign of Edward I. to look about for effectual means to emancipate themſelves from this intolerable kind of ſervitude.

The pope and clergy mutually ſtood by each other againſt the prerogatives of the king, and the privileges of the people; which is the true cauſe of the ſlow progreſs of the Engliſh in their deſign of rejecting the oppreſſions of the popes. The ſtudy of the canon law was firſt introduced in England during the reign of king Stephen, whoſe brother Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, was appointed legate by the pope, in prejudice to Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom it belonged; which engaged the two prelates in a diſpute, that occaſioned ſeveral appeals to Rome. Such appeals were not very common before: but the convulſions in that reign, on account of a diſputed title, gave the court of Rome a fine opportunity of employing the biſhop of Wincheſter as its proper inſtrument for rivetting the papal chain on the neck of England.

Pope Innocent III. in the reign of king John, ordered cardinal Langton to be choſen archbiſhop of Canterbury, in oppoſition to one nominated by the king; which created a quarrel between them, that gave the pope ſuch advantage as to end in making England a province to the ſee of Rome. The pope put the kingdom under an interdict; excommunicated the king; abſolved the people from their allegiance; proceeded to a formal depoſition, empowering Philip king of France to put the ſentence in execution, with the promiſe of the crown of England to him and his heirs, and exhorted all chriſtian princes to lend their aſſiſtance towards ſo pious an undertaking. John ſubmitted to the pope, reſigned his crown at the legate's feet, acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of the holy ſee, paid homage to the legate, and bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay a thouſand marks a year on pain of forfeiting their right to the crown.

Equal to 4000 l. ſterling at this time:

The tyranny of the church of Rome was grown to the utmoſt extravagance in the weak reign of Henry III. but it was checked by Edward I. who paſſed the ſtatute of mortmain to prevent eſtates from falling into dead hands; which gave a fatal blow to the power of the pope, and clergy, whoſe intereſts were generally united; though the latter ſometimes ſmarted under the rod of ſpiritual tyranny, as well as the laity. The grievances of the people aroſe principally from the riches of the clergy, which were daily increaſing, without being ſubject to alienation, whereby all the lands in the kingdom muſt have fell into their hands, if the ſtatute of mortmain had not been paſſed for the reformation of this abuſe.

The vigorous reſolutions of ſeveral parliaments, in the reign of Edward II. ſufficiently indicated the diſpoſition of the nation to throw off the galling yoke of Rome. But this unhappy prince was governed by a ſucceſſion of unpopular favourites, which obliged him to fly to the pope for protection againſt his ſubjects. It was in the glorious reign of his ſon Edward III. that the parliament applied themſelves with vigilance to redreſs theſe grievances by the ſtatutes of proviſors, and premunire, which were made in 1351 and 1353.

The ſtatute of proviſors was an act againſt thoſe who brought proviſions from the court of Rome for benefices, which had been beſtowed upon foreigners by the pope, who exhorted the king to withdraw the complaints made againſt the proviſions, which, in his opinion, were an undeniable prerogative of the holy ſee. Rapin ſays, it was frequently renewed in the ſucceeding reigns, when it was called the ſtatute of premunire: but he was miſtaken in this; as alſo when he ſaid, the ſtatute of proviſors made it death for any perſon to bring ſuch proviſions into the kingdom: for his tranſlator ſays, the perſon was to be impriſoned and fined at the will of the king; to make ſatisfaction to the party aggrieved, and find ſufficient bail for the future. And the ſtatute of premunire was made in conſequence of the prohibitions which Edward iſſued againſt thoſe who applied to the papal court; for it was calculated to prevent matters of property from being brought before the court of Rome, in prejudice of the king's courts in England, where the cognizance of property and crimes ought to lie: the penalty was to be put out of the protection of the king, to forfeit lands and goods, and be impriſoned and ranſomed at the royal will. Guthrie v. I. p. 282.

It is well known how before the reformation both church and common-wealth groaned under the heavy burden of the abbey Lubbers: the common-wealth whilſt they became lords of very little leſs than the one half of the temporalities of the kingdom; and the church whilſt they engroſſed into their hands the fruits of moſt of the beſt benefices of the realm. Nor was this all; the zeal of theſe men, who were thus munificently provided for, was conſtantly ſhewn in betraying the ſovereignty and wealth of the kingdom to the uſurpation of a deteſtable foreign power. Bp. Sanderſon. Bp. Biſſe.

From the days of king Edgar, in 964, the ſtate of monkery had been ſtill growing in England; for the ſecular clergy, who refuſed to put away their wives, were turned out of their livings. The monks were ſettled in moſt of the cathedrals in England, when they became wholly addicted to luxury and indolence; which rendered them reproachable in the eyes of learned men, as ſoon as Edward III. gave encouragement to learning and wore off the ruſt of ignorance. The monks were poſſeſſed of the beſt church-benefices, and ſtopt any progreſs that was made for the revival of literature, which they inſiſted would introduce hereſy in the church, and confuſion in the ſtate. The clergy, at this time, were very hateful to the people; for, as the pope made heavy exactions on them, they took all poſſible means to make the people repay what the popes wreſted from them. Bp. Burnet's reformation. v. I. p. 21. ibid. p. 23.

The clergy had engroſſed the greateſt part both of the riches and power of Chriſtendom: but the corruption of their worſhip and doctrine were eaſily detected; nor had they any varniſh to colour them by, except the authority and traditions of the church. When ſome ſtudious men began to read the ancient fathers, and councils, they found a vaſt difference between the firſt five ages of the chriſtian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the laſt ten ages in which ignorance had buried all their former learning; only a little miſguided devotion was retained for ſix of thoſe ages; and, in the laſt four, the reſtleſs ambition and uſurpation of the popes were ſupported by the ſeeming holineſs of the begging friars, and the falſe counterfeits of learning which were among the canoniſts, ſchool-men, and caſuiſts. Burnet, p. 30.

Wickliffe was the morning ſtar of the reformation; though he appeared like a meteor to the monks, when he oppoſed them in ſupport of the univerſity. The number of ſtudents there had been thirty thouſand; but, in 1357, they were ſo far decreaſed that the whole was not above ſix thouſand. This was entirely owing to the bad practices of the preaching friars, who took all opportunities to entice the ſtudents, from the colleges, into their convents; which made people afraid of ſending their children to the univerſity. The friars diſregarded the determination of the parliament in 1366, whereby it was enacted that they ſhould receive no ſcholar under the age of eighteen; and that the king ſhould have power to redreſs all controverſies between them and the univerſity. Wickliffe ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bold and zealous oppoſition againſt the uſurpations and errors of the friars, who juſtified their begging trade, by aſſerting, that the poverty of Chriſt, and his apoſtles, made them poſſeſs all things in common, and beg for a livelihood. This opinion was firſt oppoſed by Richard Kilmyngton, dean of St. Paul's; who was ſeconded by Richard

Fitz-Ralph, archbiſhop of Armagh; after which, Wickliffe, Thoreſby, Bolton, Hereford, Bryts, and Norris, openly oppoſed this doctrine at Oxford, where they made the friars bluſh for their audacity.

Wickliffe wrote with an elegance uncommon in that age, eſpecially in the Engliſh language, of which he may be conſidered as one of the firſt refiners, and his writings afford many curious ſpecimens of the old Engliſh orthography. In one of his tracts intitled "Of Clerks Poſſeſſioners," he expoſes the friars for drawing the youth of the univerſity into their convents, and ſays, "Freres drawen children fro Chriſt's religion into their private order by hypocriſie, leſings, and ſteling. For they tellen that their order is more holy than any other; that they ſhullen have higher degree in the bliſs of heaven than other men that been not therein; and ſeyn, that men of their order ſhullen never come to hell, but ſhullen dome other men with Chriſt at domeſday."

Bale. Wickliffe wrote and publiſhed ſeveral tracts againſt the beggary of the friars; particularly "Of the Poverty of Chriſt, againſt able Beggary;" and "Of Idleneſs in Beggary." He aſſerts, that "Chriſt bad his apoſtles and diſciples that they ſhould not bere a ſachell, ne ſcrip; but look what man is able to hear the goſpel, and eat and drink therein, and paſs not thence, and not paſs fro houſe to houſe. — Sith there were poor men enough to taken mens alms before that freres camen in, and the earth is now more barren than it was, other freres, or poor men, moten wanten of this alms: but freres, by ſubtle hypocriſie, gotten to themſelves, and letten the poor men to have theſe alms."

He diſputed with a friar, on able beggary, before the duke of Glouceſter, to whom he ſent an account of both their arguments, and addreſſed his highneſs in theſe words; "To you lord, that herde the diſputaſion be geve the fyle to rubbe away the ruſt in either partye."

Theſe controverſies gave Wickliffe ſuch great reputation in the univerſity, that, in 1361, he was advanced to be maſter of Baliol college; and four years after he was made warden of Canterbury-hall, founded by Simon de Iſlip, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1361, and now ſwallowed up in Chriſt-church. Tindal. The royal licence granted to the archbiſhop, for founding the college, is dated the twentieth of October 1361; and, only mentions "a certain number of ſcholars," religious and ſecular. There were to be a warden and eleven ſcholars, who were to ſtudy logic, the civil and canon law; for whoſe maintenance the archbiſhop ſettled on them the rectory of Pageham in Suſſex, and the manor of Wodeford in Northamptonſhire. He purchaſed ſome old houſes in the pariſh of St. Mary's in Oxford, and fitted them up for the reception of his ſcholars, whom he placed there himſelf, and appointed Henry de Wodehall, or Woodhall, to be the warden. This man was a monk of Chriſt-church, Canterbury, and doctor of divinity: but he was at ſuch variance with the ſecular ſcholars, that the archbiſhop, in 1365, turned him, and three monks, out of his new founded hall, in whoſe room he appointed Wickliffe to be warden, and three other ſeculars to be ſcholars. It was afterwards pretended, that the warden, and three of the ſcholars, were to be monks of Chriſt-church, Canterbury, and the other eight ſecular prieſts; though this limitation could not be proved from the writings relating to the foundation.

The letters of inſtitution, whereby the archbiſhop appointed Wickliffe to this wardenſhip, were dated the fourteenth of December, 1365; in which he is ſtiled a perſon "in whoſe fidelity, circumſpection, and induſtry, his grace very much confided; and one on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the honeſty of his life, his laudable converſation, and knowledge of letters."

Rapin. Wickliffe behaved with univerſal approbation, till the death of the archbiſhop, who had a great eſteem for him. His grace died the twenty-fifth of April, 1366, and was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal dignity by Simon Langham, biſhop of Ely, who had been a monk, and was inclined to favour the religious againſt the ſeculars. The monks of Canterbury applied to Langham to eject Wickliffe from his wardenſhip, and the other ſeculars from their fellowſhips. They alledged, that the warden was to be a monk, nominated by the prior and chapter of Canterbury, and appointed by the archbiſhop: but that Wickliffe craftily obtained the wardenſhip. Archbiſhop Langham ejected Wickliffe from the wardenſhip, and the three other ſeculars, in 1367; in conſequence of which, he alſo iſſued out his mandate, requiring Wickliffe and all the ſcholars to yield obedience to Wodehall as their warden. This was refuſed by them, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the founder; but the archbiſhop ſequeſtered the revenue, and took away the books and other things, which the founder by his laſt will had left to the hall.

Wickliffe, and the three expelled fellows, appealed to the pope; to which appeal the archbiſhop made a reply, and the pope commiſſioned cardinal Andruynus to examine and determine the affair; who, in 1370, ordained by a definitive ſentence, which was confirmed by the pope, that only the monks of Chriſt-church, Canterbury, ought to remain in the college called Canterbury-hall, and that the ſeculars ſhould be all expelled; that Wodehall and the other monks, who were deprived, ſhould be reſtored; and that perpetual ſilence ſhould be impoſed on Wickliffe and his aſſociates. Wickliffe, and three poor clerks, could not oppoſe ſuch a powerful combination, and the decree was ſtrictly put in execution, purſuant to the papal bull, dated at Viterbium the twenty-eighth of May, 1370, directed to Simon de Sudbury, biſhop of London, and others, who were to reſtore Wodehall, and the monks, and to compel all thoſe who contradicted them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, without permitting any appeal.

In this arbitrary manner Wickliffe was diſpoſſeſſed of the wardenſhip of Canterbury-hall; which had been conferred on him by the founder, whoſe munificent intentions were fruſtrated by the papal ſentence, which was directly contrary to the form of the licence of Mortmain that empowered the founder to endow his ſeminary for a certain number of ſcholars religious and ſecular, who now, by this papal ſentence, were to be all religious. It was, therefore, a queſtion in law, whether the hall and endowment were not forfeited to the crown? But the monks, in 1372, procured the royal pardon, and confirmation of the papal ſentence, Lewis, p. 15. on paying two hundred marks, which was equivalent to 800 pounds of our money.

While the diſpute was carried on about the right to Canterbury-hall, king Edward had notice from pope Urban, that he intended to cite him to his court at Avignon, to anſwer for his default in not performing the homage which king John acknowledged to the ſee of Rome; and for refuſing to pay the tribute of 700 marks a year, which that prince granted to the pope. The king laid this before his parliament, in 1366; who were determined to aſſiſt him Cotton's Abridg. p. 102. Rapin. with all their power againſt ſuch arbitrary attempts from the pope. The firmneſs of the parliament cauſed the pope to ſtop ſhort, and prevented his ſucceſſors from ever after troubling the kings of England on that account. However, one of the monks ventured to defend the claim made by the pope; to which Wickliffe replied, and proved, that the reſignation of the crown, and promiſe of a tribute made by king John, ought not to prejudice the kingdom, or oblige the preſent king, as it was done without conſent of parliament. No wonder, then, that Wickliffe ſhould incur the reſentment of the pope, who was impatient of contradiction, and could not bear any oppoſition to his pretenſions: but Wickliffe thereby made himſelf known to the court, and particularly to the duke of Lancaſter, who took him under his patronage. At this time Wickliffe ſtiled himſelf *peculiaris regis clericus*, or the king's own clerk or chaplain: but he profeſſed himſelf an obedient ſon of the Roman church, to avoid the perſonal injury intended him by his adverſaries.

However, this deprivation was no injury to the reputation which Wickliffe had acquired. Every body ſaw it was a party buſineſs; and that it was not ſo much againſt his perſon that the Rapin. monks had a prejudice, as againſt all the ſeculars that were members of the college. Shortly after, Wickliffe was preſented, by the favour of the duke of Lancaſter, to the living of Lutterworth, in the dioceſe of Lincoln; and then it was that he publiſhed, in his writings and ſermons, certain opinions which appeared to be novel, becauſe contrary to the received doctrine of thoſe days. As he did not declare his ſentiments till after he had loſt his rectorſhip, his enemies have taken occaſion, from thence, to accuſe him of acting out of a ſpirit of revenge, by reaſon of the injury that had been done him. "I ſhall not, ſays Rapin, undertake to clear him from this charge. As there is none but God alone that ſees into the hearts of men, it is raſhneſs to accuſe or excuſe them, with regard to the ſacred motives of their actions. I ſhall only take notice, that Wickliffe's bittereſt enemies have never taxed him with any immoralities."

Wickliffe was turned out of his rectorſhip by the court of Rome; and a man muſt be Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 286. poſſeſſed of a very diſintereſted way of thinking, not to reſent ſuch uſage; eſpecially as Wickliffe was irreproachable in his morals. The ſpirit of the times was no little encouragment to his reſentment. I muſt however, ſays Mr. Guthrie, do Wickliffe the juſtice, which has *not been done him before*, of obſerving, that he ſeems to have maintained his reforming opinions even before he was turned out of his rectorſhip. This is to his honour, and removes one of the ſtrongeſt objections againſt the motives of Wickliffe's reformation, as we have it from an author unfavourable to his memory. Walſingham.

But Wickliffe began more early to attempt the reformation of thoſe diſorders and corruptions which he ſaw in men of his own profeſſion; and particularly the exactions and uſurpations of the pope. This is evident from his tract, "Of the laſt Age of the Church," Lewis, p. 316. which he publiſhed in the year 1356, fourteen years before he loſt the rectorſhip.

Wickliffe, in 1372, took his degree as doctor of divinity, which he publickly profeſſed, and read lectures in it with very great applauſe; for he had ſuch authority in the ſchools, Leland. that his opinion was received as an oracle, inſtead of being diſregarded after his ejectment. In theſe lectures, he more ſtrongly expoſed the follies and ſuperſtitions of the friars: he charged them with holding fifty hereſies and errors: he ſhewed their corruptions, and detected their practices. This was ſtriking at the root of all the abuſes which had crept into the church; at a time, when the greater and more neceſſary articles of faith, and all Wharton. genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends, and romantic ſtories; fables which, in this reſpect, only differed from thoſe of the ancient heathen poets, that they were more incredible, and leſs elegant.

The pope diſregarded the ſtatute of proviſors, by ſtill continuing to diſpoſe of eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities as he thought fit. Theſe were enjoyed by Italians, French- Rapin.

men, and other aliens, who had the revenues of them remitted abroad. The parliament frequently complained to the king and the pope of this intolerable grievance, by repreſenting its fatal inconveniences to the church, and pernicious conſequences to the kingdom.

Barnes. This oppreſſion was ſo inſupportable, in 1373, that the king ſent the biſhop of Bangor, and three other ambaſſadors, to the pope, to require of him that he would not interfere with the reſervation of benefices: but this ambaſſy was ineffectual; for though the pope Malvern. entered into a concordate about that matter, it was only a temporal conceſſion; and the parliament renewed their requeſt, that remedy ſhould be provided againſt the proviſions of Cotton. the pope, whereby he reaped the firſt fruits of eccleſiaſtical dignities.

Fox's acts. The king, in 1374, iſſued out a commiſſion for taking an exact ſurvey of all the eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, throughout his dominions, which were in the hands of aliens. The number and value of them aſtoniſhed the king, who then appointed ſeven ambaſſadors to treat with the pope upon the buſineſs of the former ambaſſy. Doctor Wickliffe was the ſecond perſon mentioned in this commiſſion; and the ambaſſadors were met at Bruges by the pope's nuncio, two biſhops, and a provoſt, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of England. The treaty continued two years, when it was concluded, that the pope ſhould deſiſt from making uſe of reſervations of benefices. But all treaties with that corrupt court were of no ſignification; and the parliament, the very next year, complained the treaty was infracted. A long bill was brought into parliament againſt the papal uſurpations, as the cauſe of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm: they remonſtrated that the tax paid to the pope amounted to five times as much as the tax paid to the king; and that God had given his ſheep to the pope to be paſtured, not fleeced. Doctor Wickliffe was now made more ſenſible of the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope, whom he boldly expoſed in his public lectures, and private converſation. He called him "Antichriſt, the proud worldly prieſt of Rome, and the moſt curſed of clippers and purſe-Lewis. "kervers." He alſo very freely reproved the corruptions which prevailed among the prelates and inferior clergy, obſerving, "that the abomination of deſolation had its beginning "from a perverſe clergy, as comfort aroſe from a converted clergy." Of prelates, he ſays, "Oh Lord, what token of mekeneſs, and forſaking of worldly riches is this? A prelate, "as an abbot or priour that is dead to the world, and pride and vanity thereof, to ride "with fourſcore horſe, with harneſs of ſilver and gold: and to ſpend with earls and barons, "and their poor tenants, both thouſand marcs and pounds, to meyntene a falſe plea of "the world, and forbare men of their right." But Wickliffe ſufficiently experienced the hatred and perſecution of thoſe whom he endeavoured te reform. The monks complained to the pope that Wickliffe oppoſed the papal powers, and defended the royal ſupremacy; on which account, in 1376, they drew up nineteen articles againſt him, extracted from his public lectures and ſermons. Theſe articles were ſent to the pope, and were principally as follow:

Walſingham. Rapin. "That the euchariſt, after conſecration, was not the real body of Chriſt, but only an "emblem or ſign of it. That the church of Rome was no more the head of the univerſal church than any other church; and that St. Peter had no greater authority given "him than the reſt of the apoſtles. That the pope had no more juriſdiction in the exerciſe of the keys, than any other prieſt. That if the church miſbehaved, it was not "only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpoſſeſs her of her temporalities. That when a prince, "or temporal lord, was convinced that the church made an ill uſe of her endowments, "he was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away. That the goſpel was ſufficient to direct a chriſtian in the conduct of his life. That neither the pope, nor any "other prelate, ought to have priſons for the puniſhing offenders againſt the diſcipline of "the church; but that every perſon ought to be left at his liberty in the conduct of his "life."

This was oppoſing the rights which the popes had long aſſerted, of a ſuperiority over temporal princes, and of depriving them of their kingdoms, whenever they thought proper. It was juſtifying the regale, in oppoſition to the papal pretenſions of an eccleſiaſtical liberty; or an exemption of the perſons of the clergy, and the goods of the church, from the civil powers. It was denying the power that the pope maintained of remitting, or retaining, the ſins of individuals abſolutely: it was ſhewing the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and rejecting the opinion of papal indulgences.

Guthrie. Such are the tenets with which this famous reformer is charged: but our modern hiſtorians have omitted taking notice, that the opinions here recited by Walſingham are not to be charged perſonally upon Wickliffe. The hiſtorian repreſents them as the opinions of a party of which Wickliffe was one, perhaps the head; and this party was compoſed of people who agreed in nothing more perfectly than their averſion to the temporal power of the pope. Wickliffe himſelf was far from treating the pope after the manner repreſented in the above articles; for in his own belief, ſtill extant in the Bodleian library, he allows the pope an amending power, even in matters of faith; and ſays, "If my faith be error, the pope will wiſely amend it." Walſingham ſays, both Wickliffe and his followers affected a peculiar auſterity of manners, by which numbers of the middling rank of gentlemen, as well as the higheſt among the nobility, became their diſciples. Thoſe followers of Wickliffe went greater lengths than he intended: but Walſingham and Knighton were prejudiced writers; and all the opinions which they have fathered upon the Wicliffites are not to be regarded.

Wickliffe had opened the eyes of the people; and they began to think, the moment they could ſee; to which they were the more incited by the example ſet them by the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Henry Piercy, earl-marſhal, who took Wickliffe under their patronage and protection. This alarmed the court of Rome; and pope Gregory XI. ſent forth ſeveral bulls againſt Wickliffe, all dated the twenty-ſecond of May 1377. One was directed to Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, biſhop of London, whom he delegated to examine into the matter of the complaint. Another was diſpatched to the king himſelf: and a third to the univerſity of Oxford. In the firſt bull, to the two prelates, he tells them, "he was informed that Wickliffe had raſhly proceeded to that deteſtable degree of madneſs, as not to be afraid to aſſert, and publicly preach, ſuch propoſitions, as were erroneous and falſe, contrary to the faith, and threatening to ſubvert and weaken the eſtate of the whole church." He therefore required them to cauſe Wickliffe to be apprehended and impriſoned by his authority; and to get his confeſſion concerning his propoſitions and concluſions, which they were to tranſmit to Rome; as alſo whatever he ſhould ſay, or write, by way of introduction or proof: but, if Wickliffe could not be apprehended, they were directed to publiſh a citation for his perſonal appearance before the pope within three months. The pope requeſted the king to grant his patronage and aſſiſtance to the biſhops in the proſecution of Wickliffe, who had promulgated "opinions full of errors and containing manifeſt hereſy; ſome of which appeared to be the ſame with thoſe of Marcillus of Padua, and John de Gandun, condemned by pope John XXII." In the bull to the univerſity, he ſays, the heretical pravity of Wickliffe tended "to ſubvert the ſtate of the whole church, and even the civil government:" and he orders them to deliver Wickliffe up in ſafe cuſtody to the delegates.

King Edward III. died the twenty-firſt of June 1377, before the bulls arrived in England. The univerſity treated their bull with contempt, or with very little devotion. They favoured and protected Wickliffe, who was powerfully ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter, and the earl-marſhal. Thoſe noblemen openly declared, they would not ſuffer him to be impriſoned: and, indeed, there was yet no act of parliament which empowered the biſhops to impriſon heretics without the royal conſent. But the delegated prelates, on the nineteenth of February 1378, iſſued out their mandate to the chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, commanding him to cite Wickliffe to appear before them in the church of St. Paul's, London, in thirty days.

Walſingham.
Rapin.
Lewis.

Before that day came, the firſt parliament of king Richard II. met at Weſtminſter, where it was debated, "whether they might lawfully refuſe to ſend the treaſure out of the kingdom, after the pope required it on pain of cenſures, and by virtue of the obedience due to him?" The reſolution of this doubt was referred, by the king and parliament, to doctor Wickliffe, who anſwered it was lawful; and undertook to prove it ſo, by the principles of the law of Chriſt.

Cotton.
Fox.

Wickliffe appeared to the ſummons of the delegates at St. Paul's, where a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled to hear the examination. The doctor was attended by the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord-marſhal Piercy, who had conceived ſuch a very high opinion of his learning and integrity, that they aſſured him he had nothing to fear, and that he might make his defence with courage againſt the biſhops, who were but meer ignorants in reſpect to him. When Wickliffe came near the place of the aſſembly, there was ſo great a croud of people attending, that it was with difficulty he and his two patrons got admittance into the church. This manner of their appearance, by introducing Wickliffe as to a triumph, rather than a trial, touched the biſhop of London, who told the earl-marſhal, "if he had known what maſteries they would have kept in the church, he would have ſtopped them from coming there."

Rapin.
Guthrie.

The archbiſhop, and the biſhop of London, held their court in the chapel, where ſeveral other prelates, and ſome noblemen, attended to hear the trial. Wickliffe ſtood before the commiſſioners, according to cuſtom, to hear what was laid to his charge: but the earl-marſhal bid him ſit down, "as he had many things to anſwer, and had need of a ſoft ſeat to reſt him upon, during ſo tedious an attendance." The biſhop of London objected to this; which was anſwered by the duke of Lancaſter, in ſuch warm terms, that he told the biſhop, "he would bring down the pride of all the prelacy in the kingdom." The biſhop made a ſpirited reply: and the duke ſaid ſoftly, to one who ſate by him, that, "rather than take ſuch language from the biſhop, he would drag him out of the church by the hair of his head." This was over-heard by ſome of the bye-ſtanders, and the aſſembly was inſtantly in a violent commotion. The Londoners declared they would oppoſe any inſults upon their biſhop: the noblemen treated the citizens with diſdain; they carried off Wickliffe in ſafety; and the court broke up without entering into an examination

tion of the buſineſs. But the Londoners plundered the duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, and the duke turned the mayor and aldermen out of the magiſtracy, for not reſtraining the ſedition. Wickliffe had the happineſs to find his doctrine embraced by men of letters, and perſons of quality. Some would make us believe, that people were Collier. frightened into a feigned approbation of his doctrine: but it may be ſaid, with much Rapin. greater probability, that fear deterred many from being his followers. The truth is, a man ran no riſk in continuing to adhere to the old tenets; whereas it might be dangerous to embrace the new ones.

The duke of Lancaſter was made preſident of the council; and the biſhops were afraid to offend the avowed protector of Wickliffe. However, the two prelates ſummoned the doctor a ſecond time before them, at Lambeth. He appeared; when the Londoners forced themſelves into the chapel, to encourage the doctor, and intimidate the delegates. Wickliffe ſeemed willing to give the prelates ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, and delivered them a paper, wherein he explained the ſeveral concluſions with which he was charged. In all appearance, the delegates would not have been contented with ſo general an explanation; if the king's mother had not obliged them to deſiſt, by ſending Sir Lewis Clifford to forbid their proceeding to any definitive ſentence againſt Wickliffe. The delegates were confound- Walſingham. ed with this meſſage; and, as their own hiſtorian ſays, "at the wind of a reed ſhaken, their "ſpeech became as ſoft as oil, to the public loſs of their own dignity, and the damage of "the whole church." They dropped the thoughts of all cenſures againſt Wickliffe, and diſmiſſed him, after enjoining him ſilence; to which injunction he paid no regard, and maintained his opinions in the utmoſt latitude. This ſteadineſs ill agrees with the explanation of his opinions, which it is pretended he made before the biſhops, and is repreſented as full of equivocations and evaſions. The diſguiſing his ſentiments is little conformable Rapin. to his natural temper, which was far enough from being fearful: though a modern writer Guthrie, v. 2. p. 287. takes upon him to ſay, "that Wickliffe appears to have been a man of ſlender reſolution." He alſo calls Wickliffe's explanations aukward apologies: but he ſhould have remembered Ibid. p. 642. they are only ſuch as are given us by Walſingham, whom he calls a prejudiced Writer.

Walſingham, p. 206, 207, 208. The duke of Lancaſter flattered himſelf with the hopes of being ſole regent during the minority of the king his nephew, who was crowned on the thirteenth of July 1377; but the parliament joined ſome biſhops and noblemen with him in the regency. This was a Guthrie, v. 2. p. 644. damp upon the Wickliffites, or Lollards, who were become ſo numerous, that two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. But pope Gregory XI. died the twenty- Rapin. ſeventh of March 1378, which was a great advantage to doctor Wickliffe; for, by his Walſingham, p. 205. death, an end was put to the commiſſion of the delegates. Here the hiſtorian ſeems to be miſtaken, when he ſays the demiſe of the pope occaſioned grief to the faithful. Becauſe Wickliffe did not make his appearace before the delegates of Lambeth till almoſt three months after the death of Gregory. A ſchiſm enſued, by a double election of two popes; which Cotton. was a real advantage to the Wickliffites; ſince Urban VI. was not acknowledged by the kingdom to be lawful pope till the end of the next year. On this occaſion, Wickliffe wrote a tract "Of the Schiſm of the Roman Pontiffs:" and ſoon after publiſhed his book "Of the Truth of the Scripture." In the latter he contended for the neceſſity of tranſlating the Scriptures into the Engliſh language, and affirmed that the will of God was evidently revealed in two Teſtaments; that the law of Chriſt was ſufficient to rule the church; and that any diſputation not originally produced from thence muſt be accounted profane.

Bale. The fatigues which Wickliffe underwent, by attending the delegates, threw him into a dangerous fit of illneſs, on his return to Oxford. The mendicant friars took this advantage, and ſent a deputation to him, to inform him of the great injuries he had done them, by his ſermons and writings. The deputies told him he was at the point of death, and exhorted him to revoke whatever he had advanced to their prejudice. Wickliffe immediately recovered his ſpirits, raiſed himſelf on his pillow, and replied: "I ſhall live, to declare the "evil deeds of the friars:" which put the deputies in confuſion, and he afterwards recovered to expoſe their iniquities; while they continued to proſecute him with all the malice of inveterate adverſaries.

Rapin. The parliament, which aſſembled in 1380, was famous for a ſtatute made againſt the blood-ſuckers that had long devoured the land; the foreign eccleſiaſtics, who, by this ſtatute, were rendered incapable of holding any benefices in England. At the ſame time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, for fear they ſhould inſtil notions into the people of England, repugnant to the good of the ſtate. While Wick- Lewis. liffe, in his lectures, ſermons, and writings, embraced every opportunity of expoſing the Romiſh court, and detecting the vices of the clergy both religious and ſecular.

The feſtivals of Wickliffe, which are extant, and his ſermons on the *Commune Sanctorum*, Rapin. gave great offence to the monks, who kindled a ſeditious ſpirit among the people on account of the poll-tax, which ſoon broke out into thoſe inſurrections headed by Wat Tyler, Ball, and Littſtar. Theſe rebels beheaded Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Rapin. lord high-treaſurer, and put many others to death. Their deſign was to murder the king, root out the nobility, and deſtroy all the clergy except the mendicant friars. Some hiſtorians accuſe the Wickliffites with cauſing this rebellion; but without any foundation. It is certain, that religion had no hand in theſe commotions; ſince the duke of Lancaſter, avowed protector of Wickliffe, was the principal object of the rebels fury: beſides, Wickliffe then reſided on his living of Lutterworth, and was never charged with any thing on that account. Nor can we hardly find an inſtance of inſurrections, cauſed by a religious zeal, appeaſed in ſo ſhort a time as this was, which continued only about a month, from the beginning to the end.

The holy ſcriptures had never been tranſlated into Engliſh; except by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbiſhop of Armagh, and John de Treviſe, a Corniſh-man, who both lived in the reign of Edward III. That taſk was now undertaken by doctor Wickliffe, and other learned aſſociates; which made it neceſſary for Wickliffe to apologize for their undertaking, by ſhewing that Bede tranſlated the Bible, and king Alfred the Pſalms, into the Saxon tongue. The monks declaimed againſt Wickliffe for his tranſlation of the Bible out of Latin into Engliſh, as, by that means, he laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it uſed to be to the moſt learned of the clergy, whoſe principal talent was made for ever common to the laity. However, ſome great and learned men were of opinion, there was an older tranſlation: though it has ſince been aſſerted, "the firſt tranſlation that was ever made of the whole Bible into the Engliſh language, as ſpoke after the conqueſt, was made by doctor Wickliffe." He and his aſſiſtants were very careful in making their tranſlation, by correcting the Latin text, collecting the gloſſes, and conſulting the ancient divines; after which they ſet about the tranſlation, not litterally, but as clearly as they could to expreſs the ſenſe and meaning of the text according to the Hebrew, as well as the Latin Bibles. They diſtinguiſhed which books had the authority of holy writ, and which were apocryphal: they juſtified their tranſlations; and affirmed, "that he that kepeth mekeneſs and charitie, hath the trewe underſtandynge and perfection of holi write."

Lewis.
Rapin.
Knighton.
Sir Tho. Moore.
Archbp. Uſher.
Lyndwood.
Lewis, p. 331.
Prologue.

Wickliffe proceeded in detecting the errors and abuſes that had crept into the church; and oppoſed the popiſh doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which was aſſerted by Radbertus about the year 820. It is confeſſed by the papiſts, that this man was the firſt who wrote ſeriouſly and copiouſly on this ſubject, "the truth or reality of the body and blood of the euchariſt." This was contrary to the catholic doctrine that had exiſted near a thouſand years after Chriſt, and particularly in the church of England according to the Saxon homilies. Wickliffe attacked this error in his divinity lectures, in 1381, and maintained the true and ancient notion of the Lord's ſupper. On this account he publiſhed ſixteen concluſions, the firſt of which is, that "the conſecrated hoſt ſeen upon the altar, is not Chriſt, or any part of him; but an effectual ſign of him." He offered to enter into a public diſputation with any man upon theſe concluſions; which was prohibited by the religious, who were doctors in divinity; and Wickliffe then publiſhed his opinion concerning the euchariſt.

Bellarm.

In his Tract de Blaſphemia, he obſerved, that the true doctrine of the ſacrament of the euchariſt was retained in the church a thouſand years; even till the loſing of Satan: but this oppoſition to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation ſoon brought Wickliffe into more difficulties; for he was attempting to eradicate a notion that exalted the myſtical and hierarchical powers of the clergy. William de Barton chancellor of the univerſity, and eleven doctors, of whom eight were of the religious, condemned Wickliffe's concluſions as erroneous aſſertions. Wickliffe told the chancellor, that neither he, or any of his aſſiſtants, were able to confute his opinion; and he appealed from their condemnation to the king.

Archbp. Uſher.
Leland.

William Courtney, biſhop of London, ſucceeded archbiſhop Sudbury in the ſee of Canterbury, and was entirely devoted to the intereſt of his patron the pope. This prelate had before ſhewn himſelf a violent oppoſer of Wickliffe, and now proceeded againſt him and his followers. But as ſoon as the parliament met, in 1682, Wickliffe preſented his appeal to the king, and both houſes. Walſingham repreſents this, as done with a deſign to draw the nobility into erroneous opinions; and that it was diſapproved by the duke of Lancaſter, who ordered Wickliffe to ſpeak no more of that matter. Others ſay, that the duke adviſed the doctor, not to appeal to the king, but ſubmit to the judgment of his ordinary; upon which, the monks aſſert, he retracted his doctrine at Oxford, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſix biſhops, and many doctors, ſurrounded with a great concourſe of people. It is true, he openly read a confeſſion in Latin; which was ſo far from being a retraction, that it ſeems rather a vindication of his opinion of the ſacrament; for it declares his reſolution to defend it with his blood, and cenſures the contrary as hereſy. He at large explains his meaning, how he underſtood the body of Chriſt to be in the euchariſt, or ſacrament of the altar; and expreſsly ſays, "this venerable ſacrament is naturally bread and wine; but is ſacramentally the body and blood of Chriſt."

Archbp. Wake.
Antiq. Oxon.

Rapin.

The new archbiſhop prevailed upon the king to empower the biſhops to impriſon heretics, without aſking the royal permiſſion: but the houſe of commons complained to the king, that this was a breach of the peoples privileges, and very deſtructive to liberty; ſince the clergy thereby became the abſolute maſters of the honour and fortune of private perſons. The king revoked the grant, but the revocation is not to be found on the parliament rolls, where it was expunged by the artifices of the clergy, whoſe chief view was to puniſh the Wickliffites.

Spelman. Archbp. Wake.

The king, in 1682, married Anne of Luxemburg, ſiſter of the emperor Wenceſlaus; and this princeſs became a great patroneſs to the Wickliffites to the time of her death, which happened in 1394. But archbiſhop Courtney proſecuted Wickliffe, and appointed a court of ſelect biſhops, doctors, and batchelors; which aſſembled in the monaſtery of the preaching friars, London. This court declared fourteen concluſions of Wickliffe, and others, heretical and erroneous.

Wharton. Cave. Lewis. Knighton. Hiſt. univer. Oxon. Guthrie, v. 2. p. 644. Bp. Gibſon's codex. Cotton. Archbp. Wake.

It is ſaid, Wickliffe was cited to appear at this court, but was prevented by his friends, who adviſed him, that a plot was laid by the prelates to ſeize him on the road. However, his cauſe was undertaken by the chancellor of Oxford, the two proctors, and the greateſt part of the ſenate, who, in a letter, ſealed with the univerſity ſeal, ſent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. Doctor Nicholas Hereford, Doctor Philip Rapyngdon, and John Ayſhton, M. A. were the principal followers of Wickliffe, and appeared at this court, where they defended his doctrine, as alſo in the convocation. Doctor Hereford afterwards took a journey to Rome, and offered, in conſiſtory before the pope, to defend the concluſions lately condemned by the archbiſhop, who committed him to priſon on his return to England. It has alſo been ſaid, that the duke of Lancaſter deſerted the Wickliffites; and that all of them, except Wickliffe, ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed church. Archbiſhop Courtney exerted all his own authority, and all his intereſt at court, to puniſh the Wickliffites, and ſuppreſs their doctrine. He ordered the condemnation of the heretical articles to be publiſhed in the univerſity. But Wickliffe increaſed in reputation, and his doctrine gained ground in the affections of the people; while he was obliged to quit his profeſſorſhip, and retire to Lutterworth, where he ſtill vindicated his doctrine, and juſtified his followers.

Antiq. Oxon. Knighton. Camden.

Doctor Wickliffe was ſeized with the palſy, in 1382, ſoon after he left Oxford; and the pope then cited him to appear at Rome. Wickliffe returned a letter of excuſe to this citation; wherein he tells the pope, that “Chriſt taught him more obeiſhe to God than to man.” His enemies were ſenſible, that his diſtemper would ſoon put a period to his life; and therefore they permitted him to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquility, after he had been many years expoſed to continual danger. He was ſeized with another violent fit of the palſy, on Innocent's day 1384, as he was hearing maſs in his church of Lutterworth, when he fell down, never recovered his ſpeech, and ſoon expired, in the ſixtieth year of his age.

Wharton. Camden. Camden. Lewis.

The chriſtian world has not produced a greater man in theſe laſt ages than doctor Wickliffe, who ſeems to have been placed as much above praiſe as he is above envy. He had well ſtudied all the parts of theological learning; and he was endowed with an uncommon gravity and ſanctity of manners; from whence aroſe that vehement deſire of reſtoring the primitive purity in the church in that ignorant and degenerate age. His moſt inveterate adverſaries never preſumed to call in queſtion his excellent piety, and unblemiſhed life: but many of them have ſufficiently acknowledged his great learning, and uncommon abilities. Indeed, in thoſe writings of his which are yet remaining, doctor Wickliffe has ſhewn an extraordinary knowledge of the ſcriptures; he diſcovers a ſound judgment, argues cloſely and ſharply, breathes a ſpirit of true piety, and preſerves a modeſty becoming his character. Nothing is to be found in him either puerile or trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age; but every thing he ſays is grave, judicious, and exact. He wanted nothing to render his learning conſummate, but his living in a happier age.

Guthrie, v. 2. p. 644.

The cenſure which the great Melancton paſſed on Wickliffe was made great uſe of by the papiſts: and ſome proteſtant writers have charged him with maintaining ſeveral erroneous opinions; but what Collier ſays of him is beneath contempt. Another writer ſpeaks of him with too little reſpect, when he ſays, “he ſeems to have been a ſtrong predeſtinarian, though very indifferently verſed in the controverſy.” Yet he acknowledges, that “his notions about the fopperies of religion, images, pilgrimages, legends, and the like, are many of them ſenſible, and moſt of them allowable: that his opinions with regard to the ſacraments of the church, as then believed in England, are free, and ſuch as have been adopted by many ſtrict foreign churches: that, however immoderate he was in his principles, he appears to have been a wiſe and moderate man in his practice; witneſs his dying in peace upon his own living, amidſt an univerſal combuſtion which his tenets had raiſed: and that he muſt be allowed to have left behind him the dawn of that reformation which was afterwards compleated.”

But we are told, that doctor James wrote the life of Wickliffe, to ſhew his conformity with the now church of England.

Wood, p. 460.

Whatever Walſingham and Knighton have advanced in prejudice of Wickliffe, is ſufficiently contradicted by letters teſtimonial given by the univerſity of Oxford, in 1406, in his behalf, and ſealed with their common ſeal; wherein it is ſaid, "that his converſation, "from his youth to his death, was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt in the univerſity, that he "never gave any offence, or was he aſperſed with any mark of infamy or ſiniſter ſuſpicion: "but that in anſwering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, as a "valiant champion of the truth, and catholicly vanquiſhed by ſentences of holy ſcripture all "ſuch as by their wilful beggary blaſphemed the religion of Chriſt. That this doctor was "not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our prelates delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid that our prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſo great probity "for an heretic, who had not his equal in all the univerſity in his writings of logic, philoſophy, divinity, morality, and the ſpeculative ſciences."

Hiſt. univ. Oxon.

As doctor Wickliffe was very diligent and frequent in preaching, and reading his divinity lectures; ſo he wrote and publiſhed a great many tracts, of which biſhop Bale has given a particular account. They are two hundred and fifty-five in all, of which thirty-two are preſerved in Trinity-college, and C. C. C. Cambridge; five in Trinity-college, Dublin, four in the Bodleian library, two in the Cotton library, and three in the king's library. Moſt of them are theological; but ſome are philoſophical; forty-eight are in Engliſh, and the others are in Latin. Beſides theſe, there is a volume of Engliſh tracts ſaid to be wrote by Wickliffe; ſome of which are yet extant. He is ſaid to have wrote two hundred volumes, beſides his tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh, a fair copy of which is in Queen's-college, Oxford, and two more in the univerſity library. "It was done no doubt in the "moſt expreſſive language of thoſe days, though ſounding uncouth to our ears; the *knave* "of Jeſus Chriſt for ſervant; and Philip baptized the *gelding*, for eunuch: ſo much our "tongue is improved in our age."

Lewis. Sandy's Anglorum ſpeculum, p. 180. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 4. p. 142.

His opinions were miſrepreſented by his adverſaries; but he was protected by many powerful friends, and his doctrine was embraced by the greateſt part of the kingdom. King Edward III. the princeſs dowager of Wales, the duke of Lancaſter, the queen of Richard II. the earl-marſhal, Geoffry Chaucer the father of Engliſh poetry, and lord Cobham, who diſperſed Wickliffe's works all over Europe, were his patrons and friends. From ſuch a noble fountain the ſtream ran pure, and was ſoon increaſed; for many eminent divines, noblemen, and other perſons of diſtinction, embraced the new doctrine, which conſtantly gathered ground, notwithſtanding it was violently oppoſed by the prieſts, who raiſed bloody perſecutions againſt the Wickliffites in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V.

The number of thoſe who believed in the doctrine of Wickliffe multiplied like ſuckers growing out of the root of a tree. The ſecular and eccleſiaſtical powers were combined to ſuppreſs its growth; and archbiſhop Arundel, in convocation, condemned eighteen of Wickliffe's concluſions, twelve years after his death. Acts of parliament were made againſt the Wickliffites, and many of them were burnt for heretics. The books of Wickliffe were prohibited to be read in the univerſities: and, in 1416, archbiſhop Chichely ſet up a kind of inquiſition in every pariſh to diſcover and puniſh the Wickliffites; by which cruel and unchriſtian methods the great and good John lord Cobham was burnt for hereſy; and he was the firſt nobleman whoſe blood was ſhed in England, on account of religion, by popiſh barbarity.

Knighton. Spelman. Fox.

The infallibility of the pope was oppoſed to the doctrine of Wickliffe; and the council of Conſtance, on the fifth of May 1415, condemned forty-five articles, maintained by Wickliffe, as heretical, falſe, and erroneous. His bones were ordered to be dug up, and caſt on a dunghill: but this part of the ſentence was not executed till 1428, when orders were ſent by the pope to the biſhop of Lincoln to have it ſtrictly performed. The remains of this excellent man were accordingly dug out of the grave, where they had lain undiſturbed four and forty years: his bones were burnt, and the aſhes caſt into an adjoining brook called the Swift, which ſprings near Knaptoft in Leiceſterſhire. Such was the reſentment of the Romiſh church on the memory of him who was called the firſt Engliſh Lollard [a]. Camden ſays, this was done forty-one years after his death by warrant of the council of Sienna: but this is a miſtake, for it was done by the ſame council of Conſtance that condemned John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, to be burnt for favouring the doctrine of Wickliffe, and maintaining others which were alſo condemned as heretical. This council ſate to give ſanction to injuſtice, and to eſtabliſh iniquity by law; though it inflicted an irretrievable blow upon the papal authority. I am

Camden. Fuller.

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[a] The ſect of the Lollards, ſpread throughout Germany, had for their leader Walter Lollard, who began to diſperſe his errors about the year 1315. He deſpiſed the ſacraments of the church, and derided her ceremonies and her conſtitutions; obſerved not the faſts of the church, nor its abſtinencies; acknowledged not the interceſſion of the ſaints, and believed that the damned in hell, and even the evil angels, ſhould one day be ſaved. Irithemius, who recites the errors of thoſe ſectaries, ſays, that Bohemia and Auſtria were infected with them; that there were above 24,000 perſons in Germany which held thoſe errors, and that the greater part defended them with obſtinacy, even to death.—Du Pin.

I am informed, by a gentleman who lives near Lutterworth, that the gown which doctor Wickliffe wore now covers the communion table in that church: and, as this eminent man may juſtly be conſidered as the author of the reformation, not only in England, but throughout all Europe; ſure ſome decent reſpect ſhould be paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory.

The Wickliffites were oppreſſed, but could not be extinguiſhed: perſecution ſerved only to eſtabliſh that faith which became general at the reformation, about a hundred years after theſe reſtraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimouſly embraced the doctrine which Wickliffe began; and popery was aboliſhed in England, that the purity of religion might increaſe the bleſſings of liberty.

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The LIFE of JOHN HUSS, D. D.

In the UNIVERSITY of PRAGUE.

Doctor Lowth's Life of William of Wykeham, p. 207.

WHILE the Wickliffites were perſecuted and diſperſed, the ſeeds of the reformation were ſown more widely, and the harveſt, by being delayed, became the more plentiful. Their doctrine was carried into Bohemia, where it took deep root, and flouriſhed in a ſtrong ſoil. What doctor John Wickliffe was in England, doctor John Huſs was in Bohemia: he boldly defended his doctrine, and fell a martyr in the glorious cauſe of religion.

John Huſs, or Hus, whoſe name in the Bohemian language ſignifies Gooſe, was born at Huſſenitz, a village in Bohemia. His parents were not bleſt with affluenee; but they gave him a liberal education, which he improved by his ſtrong mental abilities, and cloſe application to his ſtudies, in the univerſity of Prague, where he commenced maſter of arts, and batchelor of divinity, in 1408. It was in this year that Sbynko, or Subinſko Lepus, the archbiſhop of that city, iſſued two orders to ſuppreſs the doctrine of the Wickliffites, which had been introduced into that kingdom, and was countenanced by the greateſt part of the maſters and ſcholars of the univerſity of Prague, who had got the books of Wickliffe into their hands.

Lewis.

Guthrie.

Queen Anne, the wife of king Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and ſiſter to Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia, and emperor of Germany. She was a princeſs of great piety, virtue, and knowledge; nor could ſhe endure the implicit and unreaſonable ſervice and devotion of the Roman church. Her death happened in 1394, and her funeral was attended by all the nobility of England. She had patronized doctor Wickliffe, who ſpeaks of her in his book "Of the three-fold Bond of Love," in theſe words: "It is poſſible that the noble queen of England, the ſiſter of Cæſar, may have the goſpel "written in three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin: but to hereticate her, on this "account, would be Luciferian folly." After her death, ſeveral of doctor Wickliffe's books were carried by her attendants into Bohemia, and were a means of promoting the reformation there.

Lewis, p. 198.

Dupin's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of the fifteenth Cent. p. 118.

Lewis, p. 143.

Cochle's Hiſt Huſſit. lib. 1.

The books of Wickliffe were carried into Bohemia by Peter Payne, an Engliſhman, one of his diſciples: but the archbiſhop of Prague ordered the members of that univerſity to bring him the books of Wickliffe, that thoſe in which any errors were found might be burnt. The tracts of Wickliffe had been ſo carefully preſerved, that we are aſſured a certain biſhop wrote out of England, that he had got two very large volumes of them, which ſeemed as large as St. Auſtin's works. Archbiſhop Sbynko burnt two hundred volumes of them, very finely written, and adorned with coſtly covers and gold boſſes; for which reaſon, they are ſuppoſed to belong to the nobility and gentry of Bohemia.

Hiſt. Bohem. apud faſ rerum, vol. 1. p. 297.

Hiſt. univ. Oxon. p. 204.

Peter Payne was principal of Edmund-hall, in the univerſity of Oxford, where he was diſtinguiſhed for his excellent parts, and his oppoſition to the friars. He was a good diſputant, and confuted Walden, the Carmelite, about the beggary of Chriſt, pilgrimages, the euchariſt, images, and relicts; for which he was obliged to quit the univerſity, and fly into Bohemia, where he contracted an acquaintance with Procopius, and publiſhed ſome books wrote by Wickliffe, which were greatly eſteemed by Huſs, Jerom, and the greateſt part of the univerſity of Prague. The ſtudents belonging to this learned ſeminary were

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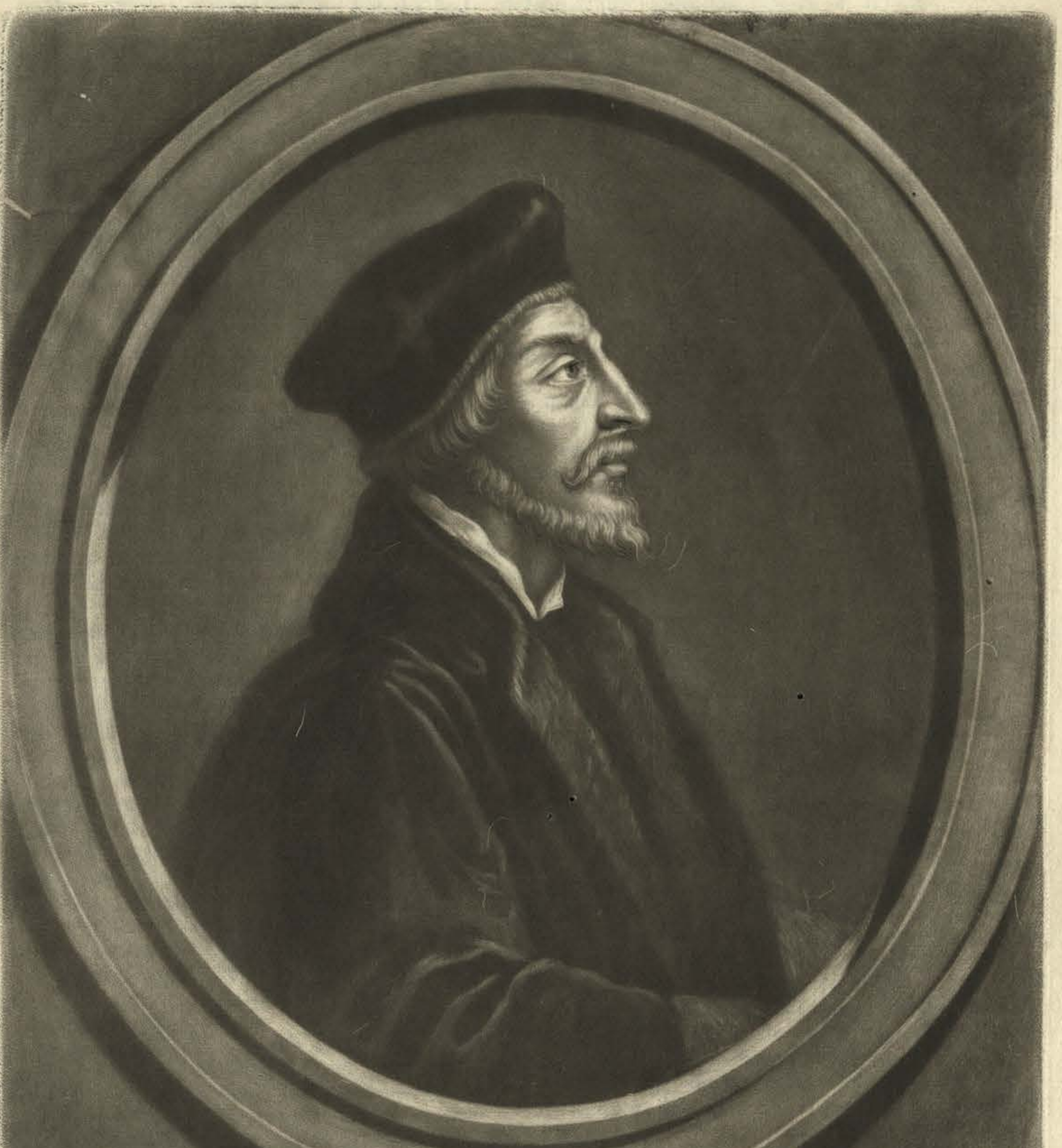


R. Houston Fecit.

Johannes Hus, Martyr.

2^{d} May^{i} A^{o} 1415 Combustus Mortem Obijt.

Printed for H. Parker & E. Bakewell in Cornhill London.

offended with their archbiſhop for ſuppreſſing the books of Wickliffe, and ordering the Bohemian clergy to teach the people, that, after the pronunciation of the words of the holy ſacrament, there remained nothing but the body of Jeſus Chriſt under the ſpecies of bread, and the body of Jeſus Chriſt in the cup. Dupin.

Huſs had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the univerſity, where he taught grammar and philoſophy. He had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and the Latin fathers: he was become an excellent preacher, and was made chaplain in the church of the holy innocents, called Bethlehem, at Prague. He was held in great eſtimation for his exemplary life and converſation as a divine, and for having been one of the principal perſons who had obtained a great favour to the univerſity. It ſhould be obſerved, that this univerſity was founded by the emperor Charles IV. who compoſed it of perſons from the four different ſtates of Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Poland. The three latter were almoſt all Germans, and had three voices againſt one, which made them maſters of the profeſſor's chair, governors of the univerſity affairs, and diſpoſers of the beſt benefices in the city: while the poor Bohemians, whoſe proſperity depended entirely on thoſe advantages, found themſelves utterly excluded. This was the ſtate of that ſeminary, when doctor Huſs, aſſiſted by others, repreſented the cauſe of the complaining Bohemians to their king Wenceſlaus V Huſs was ſucceſsful; he obtained a revocation of the privileges granted to thoſe foreigners, and the Bohemians were reſtored to the principal places in the univerſity; which ſo greatly offended the foreigners, that they retired to Miſnia, and carried with them upwards of two thouſand ſcholars. This increaſed the reputation of doctor Huſs, and made him of great conſideration in the univerſity, when the archbiſhop publiſhed two orders againſt Wickliffitiſm.

John Huſs arduouſly embraced the doctrine of Wickliffe, and eaſily perſuaded many members of the univerſity, that the firſt of theſe orders, made by the archbiſhop, was an infringement of the privileges and liberties of the univerſity, whoſe members had a right to read all ſorts of books, without any moleſtation. He alſo obſerved, that the ſecond order contained a moſt intolerable error, in ſeeming to affirm that there was nothing but the body and blood of Chriſt under the ſpecies of bread, and in the cup. Upon this foundation, they appealed from thoſe orders to Gregory XII. at Rimini, who was then acknowledged pope in Germany, in oppoſition to John XXIII. at Rome, and Benedict XIII. at Avignon. Their appeal was received, and the pope cited the archbiſhop to Rome. But that prelate informed Alexander V. that the doctrine of Wickliffe began to take root in Bohemia: upon which the archbiſhop obtained a bull, whereby that pope gave him commiſſion to prevent the publiſhing of thoſe errors in his province.

The archbiſhop, by virtue of this bull, definitively condemned the writings of Wickliffe; proceeded againſt four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine; and prohibited them, notwithſtanding their privileges, to preach in any congregation. Doctor Huſs, with ſome other members of the univerſity, and the patron of the chapel of Bethlehem, made their proteſtations againſt theſe proceedings; and, on the twenty-fifth of June 1410, entered a new appeal from the ſentences of the archbiſhop. This affair was carried before pope John XXIII. who granted a commiſſion to cardinal Colonna to cite John Huſs to appear perſonally at the court of Rome, to anſwer the accuſations laid againſt him of preaching both errors and hereſies. Doctor Huſs deſired to be excuſed a perſonal appearance, and was ſo greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Wenceſlaus, the queen, the nobility, and the univerſity, deſired the pope to diſpenſe with ſuch an appearance; as alſo that he would not ſuffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the defamation of being accuſed of hereſy, but permit them to preach the goſpel with freedom in their places of worſhip; and that he would ſend legates to Prague to correct any pretended abuſes, the expence of which ſhould be defrayed by the Bohemians.

Three proctors appeared for doctor Huſs, before cardinal Colonna, who was elected pope, in 1417, and aſſumed the name of Martin V. The proctors alledged excuſes for the abſence of Huſs, and declared they were ready to anſwer in his behalf: but the cardinal declared Huſs contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly.

The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed the cardinals of Aquileia, Brancas, Venice, and Zabarella, to draw up the proceſs of this whole affair. Thoſe commiſſioners not only confirmed the judgment given by cardinal Colonna, but carried the matter much further, for they extended the excommunication; which had paſſed againſt Huſs, to all his diſciples, and alſo to his friends. He was declared a promoter of hereſy, and an interdict was pronounced againſt him. From theſe proceedings he appealed to a future council; and, notwithſtanding the deciſion of the four commiſſioners, and his being expelled from the church of Bethlehem, he retired to Huſſenitz, the place of his nativity, where he boldly continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote, about this time, are very numerous; and he compiled a treatiſe wherein he maintained that the reading of the books of heretics cannot be abſolutely forbidden. He juſtified Wickliffe's book on the trinity, and defended the character of that reformer againſt a charge brought by one Stokes, an Engliſhman, and others, who accuſed him of diſobedience.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

It is truth, and not opinion, which can travel through the world without a paſſport. The glorious cauſe of truth had been freely eſpouſed by Huſs, who undauntedly declaimed againſt the clergy, the cardinals, and even againſt the pope himſelf. He wrote a diſcourſe to prove, that the faults and vices of churchmen ought to be reproved from the pulpit, regarding the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, which many pretended to have as a relick. He obſerved, that Chriſt, being glorified, took up with him all his own blood, and that there is no remains of it on earth; as alſo that the greateſt part of the miracles which are reported about the apparition of his blood, are the frauds and impoſtures of avaricious and deſigning men. He maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt might be called bread: but he departed not from the doctrine of the church about the tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt. He believed tranſubſtantiation, and maintained it in his writings. He conſtantly profeſſed to hold the doctrines of the real preſence and tranſubſtantiation. Thus he quotes Bede with approbation: "*Quia panis cor hominis confirmat, et vinum auget ſanguinem, in homine, merito idem panis in carnem domini mutatur, et idem vinum in ſanguinem transfertur, non per figuram, nec per umbram, ſed per veritatem.*"

Dupin's Hiſt. of the fifteenth Cent. p. 119. Moreri. Lewis. Paſſio Chriſti ex IV. Evangeliſt. apud opera J. Huſs, vol. 2. p. 16.

About this time, Peter of Dreſden was obliged to fly from Saxony, and ſeek a refuge at Prague, where he encouraged Jacobelle of Miſnia, a prieſt of the chapel of St. Michael, to preach up the eſtabliſhment of the communion under the ſpecies of Wine. This opinion was embraced by doctor Huſs and his followers, who began to preach that the uſe of the cup was neceſſary to the laity, and that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered under both kinds. Archbiſhop Sbinko was incenſed at theſe proceedings, and applied to king Wenceſlaus for aſſiſtance, which that monarch refuſed. The prelate then had recourſe to Sigiſmund, king of Hungary, who promiſed to come into Bohemia, and ſettle the affairs of the church in that kingdom: but Sbinko died in Hungary, before Sigiſmund began his journey into Bohemia. Albicus ſucceeded to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Prague, who permitted the Huſſites to continue their ſermons, and their doctrine became almoſt general.

Doctor Huſs left his retirement, and returned to Prague, in 1412, at the time that pope John XXIII. publiſhed the bulls againſt Laodiſlaus, king of Naples, whereby he ordered a croiſade againſt him, and granted indulgences to all thoſe who undertook this war. Theſe bulls were confuted by Doctor Huſs, who declaimed againſt croiſades and indulgences. The populace became animated by his orations, and declared that pope John was antichriſt. The magiſtrates cauſed ſome of them to be apprehended, and the reſt took up arms to ſet them at liberty; but they were pacified by the magiſtrates, who gave them ſolemn aſſurances that no injury ſhould be done to the priſoners: however, they were privately beheaded in the judgment-hall. The blood which ran out from the place of execution diſcovered the maſſacre of theſe men to the common people, who took arms again, forcibly carried off the bodies of thoſe that were executed, honourably interred them in the church of Bethlehem, and reverenced them as martyrs.

The magiſtrates of Prague found it neceſſary to publiſh their reaſons for theſe rigorous proceedings againſt the Huſſites. They aſſembled many doctors of divinity in their city, who drew up a cenſure of forty-five of Wickliffe's propoſitions; and in their preface to it, they aſſerted the authority of the pope, the cardinals, and the church of Rome; after which, they accuſed the Huſſites of ſedition. Doctor Huſs wrote many books, and other diſcourſes, againſt the cenſure of theſe doctors, whom he called Prætorians. He maintained ſome of the articles which they condemned; particularly thoſe concerning the liberty of preaching, the power of ſecular princes over the revenues of eccleſiaſtics, the voluntary payment of tythes, and the forfeiture that ſpiritual and temporal lords make of their power when they live in mortal ſin.

Doctor Huſs wrote a long treatiſe about the church, to confute the preface of that cenſure, in which he maintains, that the church conſiſts of thoſe only who are predeſtinate; that the head and foundation of it is Jeſus Chriſt; that the pope and cardinals are only members of it, and the other biſhops are ſucceſſors to the apoſtles as well as they; that no one is obliged to obey them, if their commands are not agreeable to the law of God; and that an excommunication which is groundleſs hath no effect. He particularly anſwered the writings of Stephen Paletz, Staniſlaus Zuoima, and eight other doctors. He alſo cauſed a writing to be fixed upon the church of Bethlehem, charging the clergy of theſe ſix errors:

Firſt, Of believing that the prieſt, by ſaying maſs, becomes the creator of his creator. Second, Of ſaying that we ought to believe in the virgin, in a pope, and in the ſaints. Third, That the prieſts can remit the pain and guilt of ſin. Fourth, That every one muſt obey his ſuperiors, whether their commands be juſt or unjuſt. Fifth, That every excommunication, juſt or unjuſt, binds the excommunicate. The ſixth relates to ſimony.

He alſo wrote three large volumes againſt the clergy; the firſt intitled, "The Anatomy "of the Members of Antichriſt." The ſecond, "Of the Kingdom of the People, and the "Life and Manners of Antichriſt.". The third, "Of the Abomination of Prieſts, and "carnal Monks, in the Church of Jeſus Chriſt." Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral other tracts on Traditions, the unity of the Church, Evangelical Perfection, the Myſtery of Iniquity, and the Diſcovery of Antichriſt. With what ſurprizing Spirit, Strength of Argument, and powerful Judgment, he wrote on theſe ſubjects, may be well conceived by the amazing influence that his doctrines obtained.

Wickliffe had advanced, "That if a biſhop or prieſt ſhould give holy orders, or con-"ſecrate the ſacrament of the altar, or miniſter baptiſm, whiles he is in mortal ſyn; it "were nothing avaylable." This was vindicated by doctor Huſs, who obſerves, that the article conſiſts of three parts: Firſt, That a civil or temporal lord is no lord while he is in mortal ſin: Secondly, That a prelate is no prelate while he is in mortal ſin: Thirdly, That a biſhop is no biſhop while he is in mortal ſin. Both theſe divines taught ſubjection and obedience to princes: but Wickliffe aſſerted, that "if temporal lords do wrongs "and extortions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his people, and tyrants of "antichriſt:" and Huſs corroborated this opinion by ſhewing that it was held by St. Auſtin.

Parſons's Converſions. Hiſt. and Mon. vol. 1. p. 159.

Lewis, p. 110.

Though John Huſs, and Jerom of Prague, ſo far agreed with Wickliffe, that they oppoſed the tyranny and corruptions of the pope and his clergy: yet they were not of the ſame opinion with relation to the euchariſt, for neither of them ever oppoſed the real preſence, and tranſubſtantion, as Wickliffe had done.

Hiſtoire du concile de Conſtance, p. 290, 390.

The great and noble Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, had ſpoken boldly in ſeveral parliaments againſt the corruptions of the chriſtian faith and worſhip, and had frequently repreſented to the kings Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. the inſufferable abuſes committed by the clergy. This nobleman, at the deſire of doctor Huſs, cauſed all the works of Wickliffe to be wrote out, and diſperſed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe. But that good man, who had wrote ſeveral diſcourſes concerning a reformation of diſcipline and manners in the church, was abandoned by Henry V. and fell a ſacrifice to the fury of the prieſts. He was condemned, in 1413, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury as a heretic, and ſent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him. He eſcaped from his confinement, and avoided the execution of his ſentence till 1418, when he was taken, and burnt hanging. His behaviour, at the time of his death, was great and intrepid. He exhorted the people to follow the inſtructions which God had given them in the Scriptures; and admoniſhed them to diſclaim thoſe falſe teachers, whoſe lives and converſations were ſo contrary to Chriſt, and regugnant to his religion. England was filled with ſcenes of perſecution, which extended to Germany and Bohemia, where doctor Huſs, and Jerom of Prague, were marked out to ſhare the fate of Sir John Oldcaſtle.

Goodwin's life of Henry V. p. 361.

Ibid. p. 167.

Lewis, p. 201.

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 449.

The council of Conſtance was aſſembled the ſixteenth of November 1414, to determine the diſpute between the three perſons who contended for the papacy. Bartholomew Coſſa took the name of John XXIII: Angeli de Coraro called himſelf Gregory XII: and Pedro de Luna was ſtiled Benedict XIII: but it was John who ſummoned doctor Huſs to appear at Conſtance. The emperor Sigiſmund, brother and ſucceſſor to Wenceſlaus, encouraged Huſs to obey the ſummons, that he might clear the Bohemian nation from the imputation of hereſy: and, as an inducement to his compliance, he ſent him a paſſport, with aſſurance of ſafe conduct, whereby he gave him permiſſion to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

Dupin.

Doctor Huſs cauſed ſome placarts to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in Prague, wherein he declared, that he went to the council to anſwer all the accuſations that were made againſt him; and that he was ready to appear before the archbiſhop, to hear his adverſaries, and juſtify his innocence. He demanded of the biſhop of Nazaret, the inquiſitor, whether he had any thing to propoſe againſt him; from whom he received a favourable teſtimony: but when he preſented himſelf at the court of the archbiſhop, who had called an aſſembly againſt him, he was denied admiſſion. When he departed from Prague to repair to Conſtance, he was accompanied by Wences, lord of Dunbar, and John, lord of Chlum. Huſs made public declarations, in all the cities through which he paſſed, that he was going to vindicate himſelf at Conſtance, and invited all his adverſaries to be preſent. He arrived at Conſtance on the third of November; and ſoon after Stephen Paletz came there as his adverſary, who was joined by Michael of Cauſis. They declared themſelves his accuſers, and drew up a memorial againſt him, which they preſented to the pope, and prelates of the council.

Dupin.

Doctor Huſs, twenty-ſix days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been obſerved, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own requeſt: but, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct, he was no ſooner come within the pope's juriſdiction, than he was arreſted, and committed priſoner to a chamber in the palace. This

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 659.

violation of common law and juſtice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial ſafe conduct: but the pope obſerved, that he never granted any ſafe conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor. The emperor arrived at Conſtance on the twenty-third of December, and pope John fled from thence, as the council had reſolved, that he and his two rivals, Gregory and Benedict, ſhould diveſt themſelves of all authority, that their competition might be fairly decided, ſchiſm extirpated, and an univerſal reformation of faith and manners enacted, with reſpect both to the head and members of the church. The fourth ſeſſion was held on the twenty-ſixth of March 1415, in which the powers of the council, independent of the pope, were reacknowledged and ratified. The eighth ſeſſion was held May the fifth, when the doctrines of Wickliffe were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles: and in the twelfth ſeſſion, held the twenty-ninth of May, pope John XXIII. was depoſed.

The fathers of the council were ranged under five nations; Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain. All matters propoſed in the council were to be determined by the plurality of voices in each nation: but the cardinals, and their college, had their votes: and it was agreed, that after the buſineſs had paſſed through the different committees, the full ſtate of the whole ſhould be made to the council, and that their decree ſhould be formed upon the plurality of the votes of the nations. Robert Halam, biſhop of Saliſbury, the biſhop of Litchfield, and the abbot of St. Mary's in York, were members of this council for the Engliſh nation.

The ſpirit with which the council of Conſtance acted againſt the popes; their declaring themſelves as a council, and all councils to be above popes; the rigour with which they executed their decrees, and the awful form of their proceedings, are commendable. But to what did it all tend? To no generous principal of love to God, or benevolence to man. It only tranſlated the ſeat of wicked power. The people were as much ſlaves to ignorance; they were as much tied down to ſuperſtition; and they had as little the exerciſe of any one rational ſentiment, as ever. This council acted the part of inquiſitors: they ordered the remains of doctor Wickliffe to be dug up and burnt, "with this charitable caution, if they might be diſcerned from the bodies of other faithful people. His aſhes were caſt in the Swift; that brook conveyed them into the Avon; Avon into the Severn; Severn into the narrow ſeas; they into the main ocean. Thus the aſhes of Wickliffe are the emblems of his doctrine, which is now diſperſed all over the world."

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 662.

Fuller's Church Hiſt. book 4. p. 171. Dupin's Hiſt. of the fifteenth Cent. p. 122.

Doctor Huſs was allowed to be a man of conſequence, and reputation, in Bohemia: he was a great and good man, whom we may really call a martyr to chriſtianity. His accuſers preſented a petition to the pope, containing the heads of the accuſation which they had to propoſe againſt him, and requeſted that commiſſioners might be named to draw up his proceſs. The patriarch of Conſtantinople, and two biſhops, were the perſons commiſſioned, who heard many witneſſes againſt doctor Huſs, and ordered his books to be examined. While this proceſs was drawing up, pope John eſcaped from the emperor Sigiſmund, who delivered Huſs into the hands of the biſhop of Conſtance, by whoſe order he was confined in a caſtle beyond the Rhine, near to Conſtance.

Guthrie. Dupin.

The council appointed the cardinals of Cambray, and St. Mark; the biſhop of Dol, and the abbot of the Ciſtercians, to finiſh the proceſs againſt doctor Huſs, and renew the condemnations againſt the doctrine of Wickliffe. Soon after, they joined to theſe commiſſioners a biſhop for each nation, and granted a commiſſion to cite Jerom of Prague, the companion and friend of doctor Huſs, who was one of the principal preachers of this new doctrine. The nobility of Bohemia and Poland preſented a petition to the emperor and council, wherein they deſired that doctor Huſs might be ſet at liberty, as he had been ſeized and impriſoned contrary to the ſafe conduct of his imperial majeſty. The Bohemians preſented a writing to the council, wherein they maintained, that the propoſitions which the enemies of Huſs had drawn out of his books were mutilated and falſified, on purpoſe to put him to death: they prayed the council to ſet him at liberty, that he might be heard for himſelf, and offered to give bond for his appearance. The patriarch of Antioch anſwered, in the name of the council, that they could not ſet Huſs at liberty; but would ſend for him, and give him a favourable hearing. The lords of Bohemia then addreſſed the emperor, who had ſent him there to defend that kingdom from a charge of hereſy, and was now one of his perſecutors.

The fourteenth ſeſſion was held the fifth of June, when it was reſolved, that, before they ſent for doctor Huſs, the articles drawn out of his books ſhould be examined, and condemned, even without hearing his vindication. This was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by the nobles of Bohemia, that the emperor told the council, they muſt hear Huſs, before they condemned him; upon which they ſent for him, ordered him to acknowledge his books, and read the firſt articles of his accuſation. Theſe were about thirty, drawn from the writings of Wickliffe, and ſome of them he freely admitted; ſuch as, "that there was one, only, univerſal church, which is a collection of all the elect. That the apoſtle

Poggius.

“ Paul was never a member of the devil, which he proved from the teſtimony of St. Auguſtin. That a predeſtinate perſon always continues a member of the church; becauſe, though he may ſometimes fall from that grace which is adventitious to him, yet never from the grace of predeſtination. That no member of the true church apoſtatizes from it, becauſe the grace of God, which eſtabliſhes him, never fails. That St. Peter never was, nor is, the head of the catholic church, becauſe this is the peculiar prerogative of Chriſt. That the condemnation of the forty-five articles of Wickliffe was irrational and unjuſt. That there was no colour of reaſon there ſhould be a ſpiritual head always viſibly converſant with the church, and governing it.”

Theſe are doctrines which, even in the pureſt ages of the church, have received countenance, and Huſs boldly acknowledged them. But one circumſtance bore more hard againſt him, which was, wiſhing his ſoul to be with the happy ſpirit of Wickliffe. Doctor Huſs had too generous, too open, a nature, to deny what he thought; nor did he imagine that life was worthy prevarication. He freely confeſſed, he was ſo charmed with Wickliffe's books, that he wiſhed his ſpirit might enjoy the ſame fate with his hereafter. A great many other falſe and frivolous objections were raiſed againſt him, which he refuted with a manly eloquence; and recommending himſelf, and his cauſe, to God, he was carried off.

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 662.
Dupin, p. 123.

He was no ſooner gone, than the emperor, whoſe ſubject he was, and who ſhewed a peculiar zeal in his fate, roſe, and told the aſſembly, “ That, in his opinion, every tenet he had then held, deſerved death. That if he did not abjure, he ought to be burnt: and that all his followers, eſpecially Jerom of Prague, ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed.” But we are told, that the emperor and the cardinal of Chambre, exhorted doctor Huſs to ſubmit to the deciſion of the council. The next day, he was brought again before the aſſembly, where eighty-nine articles were read to him, which were ſaid to be drawn out of his books, and he was adviſed to abjure them all: but he replied, that there were many of thoſe propoſitions which he had never maintained, and he was ready to explain his opinion regarding the others. After many diſputes, he was ſent back to priſon; and a reſolution was then taken to burn him as a heretic, if he would not retract.

Poggius.
Dupin.

The emperor, on the tenth of June, ſent four biſhops, and two lords, to the priſon, to prevail on Huſs to make a recantation. But that pious divine, with truly chriſtian ſimplicity, called the great God to witneſs, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conſcious of having preached, or written, any thing againſt the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then repreſented the great wiſdom and authority of the council. “ Let them, ſaid Huſs, ſend the meaneſt perſon that can convince me, by arguments, from the word of God, and I will ſubmit my judgment to him.” This chriſtian and pious anſwer had no effect; becauſe he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon truſt, without the leaſt ſhadow of an argument offered; and the deputies departed in high admiration of his obſtinacy!

Poggius.
Guthrie.

While this good confeſſor was in bonds, he wrote letters to incite his countrymen to perſevere in the doctrines he had taught; and expreſſed his own firm reſolution of never departing from them while he had life.

Doctor Huſs, on the ſeventh of July, was conducted to the place where the fifteenth ſeſſion of the council was held. He was required to abjure, which he refuſed: and the biſhop of Lodi, in a bloody, perſecuting ſermon, about the deſtruction of heretics, pronounced the prologue of his fate. The proctor of the council demanded that the proceſs againſt Huſs ſhould be finiſhed; the condemned articles of Wickliffe were read, and the thirty articles alledged againſt Huſs, who explained ſome, and defended others. Many other articles of accuſation were alſo read, which were proved by witneſſes againſt him. His fate was determined, his vindication diſregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were thereby condemned, and he was declared a manifeſt heretic, convicted of having taught many hereſies and pernicious errors; of having deſpiſed the keys of the church, and eccleſiaſtical cenſures; of having ſeduced and given ſcandal to the faithful by his obſtinacy; and of having raſhly appealed to the tribunal of Chriſt: the council, therefore, cenſured him for being obſtinate and incorrigible, and ordained, “ That he ſhould be degraded from the prieſthood, his books publickly burnt, and himſelf delivered to the ſecular power.”

Dupin.
Poggius.

Doctor Huſs heard this ſentence without the leaſt emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and ſaid, with all the ſpirit of primitive martyrdom, “ May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this injuſtice of my enemies. Thou knoweſt the injuſtice of my accuſations: how deformed with crimes I have been repreſented; how I have been oppreſſed by worthleſs witneſſes, and an unjuſt condemnation: yet, O my God, let the mercy of thine, which no tongue can expreſs, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs.” Theſe excellent ſentences were ſo many expreſſions of treaſon againſt the trade of prieſtcraft, and conſidered as ſuch by the narrow-minded aſſiſtants. The biſhops appointed by the council ſtript him of his prieſtly garments, degraded him, and put a mitre of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inſcription,

Dupin.

tion, “ A ringleader of heretics.” Our heroic martyr received this mock-mitre with a gallant air of unconcern, that ſeemed to give him dignity inſtead of diſgrace. A ſerenity, a joy, a compoſure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his ſoul had cut off many ſtages of tedious journey in her way to the point of eternal joy and everlaſting peace.

The biſhops delivered Huſs to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke Dupin. of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the Poggius. ſuburbs to be burnt alive. When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, ſang portions of pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, and repeated theſe words: “ Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt “ good and faithful God.” When the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, “ My Lord Jeſus Chriſt was bound with a harder chain than this “ for my ſake; and why ſhould I be aſhamed of this old ruſty one?” When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to deſire him to abjure. “ No, ſays Huſs, I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and “ what I taught with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood.” He ſaid to the executioner, “ Are you “ going to burn a gooſe? In one century, you will have a ſwan you can neither roaſt nor boil.” If he was prophetic, he muſt have meant Luther, who had a ſwan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr ſang a hymn with ſo loud and chearful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles, and the noiſe of the multitude. At laſt his voice was cut ſhort, and he was conſumed in a moſt miſerable manner. The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr's cloaths into the flames: after which, his aſhes were carefully collected, and caſt into the Rhine.

Dupin. While doctor Huſs was in priſon, he wrote ſome treatiſes about the commands of God, of the Lord's Prayer, of mortal Sin, of Marriage, of the Knowledge and Love of God, of the three Enemies of Man, and the ſeven mortal Sins, of Repentance, and of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. He alſo drew up a little piece about the Communion in both kinds. He wrote an anſwer to the propoſitions drawn out of his books, which had been communicated to him: and he prepared three diſcourſes; one about the Sufficiency of the Law of Jeſus Chriſt; another to explain his faith about the laſt Articles of the Creed, and the third about Peace. All theſe treatiſes were printed in one volume at Nuremburg in 1558: as alſo a ſecond volume containing a Harmony of the four Evangeliſts, with moral Notes; many ſermons; a Commentary upon the firſt ſeven Chapters of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians; Commentaries upon the ſeven canonical Epiſtles, the cixth Pſalm, and thoſe following to the cxixth; a piece againſt the Propoſition, that a Prieſt is a Creator of the Creator, wherein he maintained tranſubſtantiation; a Treatiſe of the Adoration of Images, wherein he maintained, that the humanity of Jeſus Chriſt ought not to be adored with the worſhip of Latria, but only with the worſhip of Hyperdoulia; and that the images of Chriſt ought not be adored.

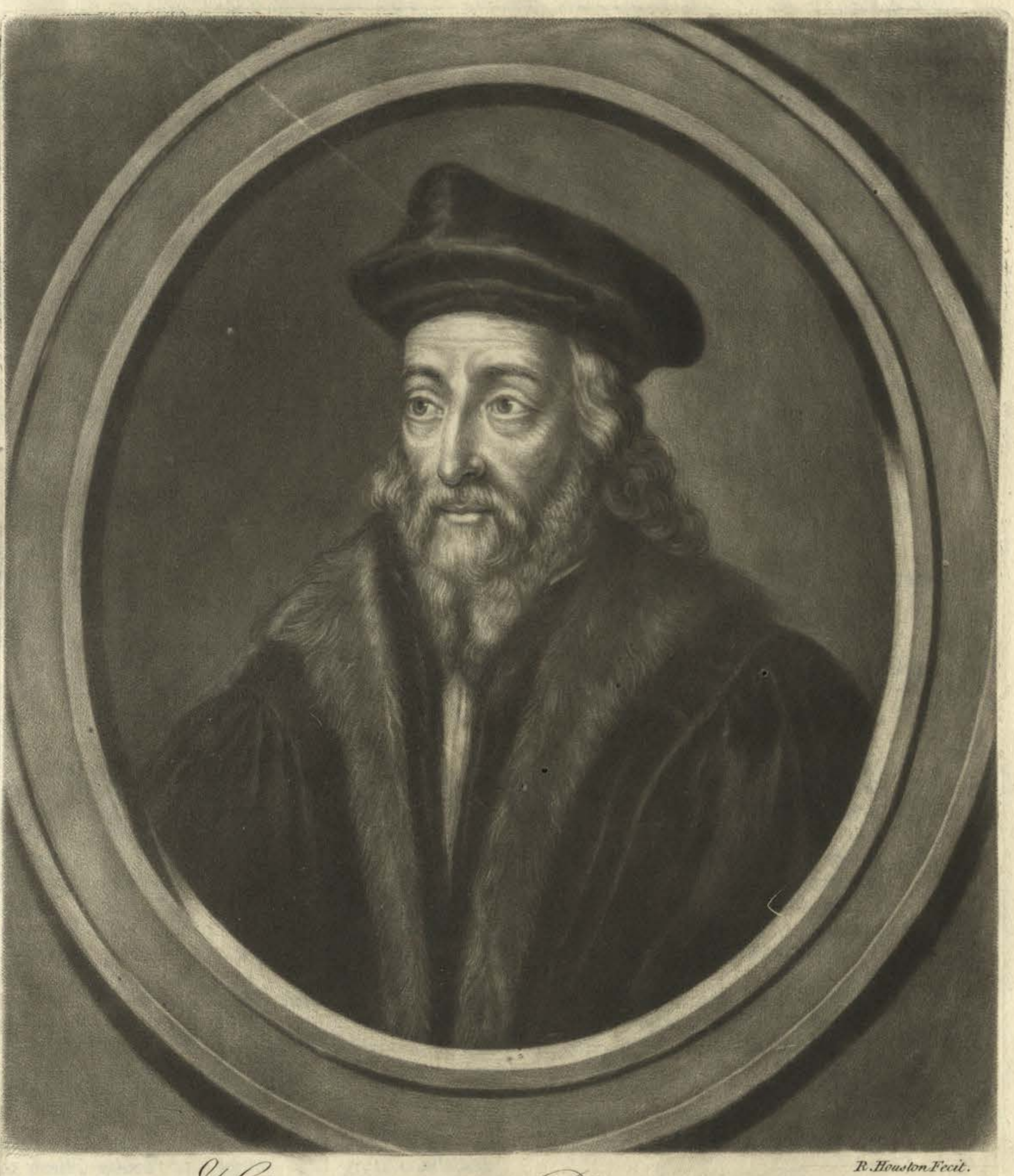
Guthrie. This is a full account of the doctrines, the trial, and death of this great martyr; who as well as his friend Jerom, may be conſidered, in ome meaſure, as dying for the principles of Wickliffe tranſmitted to them from England.

The LIFE of JEROM of PRAGUE.

THE fifteenth century of the church is full of great tranſactions; and the ſchiſm of the popes, which appeared at the beginning of it, was for many years the great care and buſineſs of the princes and prelates of the Weſt. After this, the difference between the council of Baſil and pope Eugenius IV. and the projects of the reunion of the Greeks to the Latin church were the great concerns of the whole world: but the former had not thoſe miſchievous conſequences that were feared, nor the latter that ſucceſs which Dupin. was hoped. Some time before this century, there aroſe a religious controverſy in England, which hath ſince produced great revolutions in Europe; for it was conveyed from England into Germany, where it kindled great commotions both in church and ſtate. Among many bad effects, ſays a popiſh writer, it produced theſe two good ones: it put men upon the ſtudy of uſeful learning, and chiefly upon ſearching into the holy Scripture and tradition: and it obliged the prelates to labour after the reformation of the manners of Chriſtians, and of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

Jerom

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston Fecit.

Hieronimus à Praga, Martyr.

1.^{s} Jun.^{s} A.^{o} 1416. Combustus Mortem Obijt.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker, in Cornhill London.

Jerom of Prague was the companion and co-martyr of Doctor Huſs, to whom he was inferior in experience, age, and authority; but he was eſteemed his ſuperior in all liberal Guthrie. endowments. He was born at Prague, and educated in that univerſity, where he was admitted maſter of arts; and promoted the doctrine of Wickliffe in conjunction with Huſs. Dupin, p. 121. He travelled into moſt of the ſtates of Europe, and was every where eſteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the ſchools, where he promoted what Huſs had advanced. The univerſities of Paris, Cologne, and Heidelberg, conferred the degree of maſter of arts upon Jerom, who was accuſed of making diſturbances at Heidelberg. Dupin. He went over to England, where he copied out the books of Wickliffe, and returned with them to Prague.

Jerom was cited before the council of Conſtance, on the ſeventeenth of April 1415, when his friend doctor Huſs was confined in a caſtle near that city. He arrived at Conſtance the ſame month, when he was informed how his friend had been treated, and that he alſo would be ſeized: upon which, Jerom retired to Iberlingen, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the emperor and council to deſire a ſafe conduct; and one was preſented to him, which gave him permiſſion to come, but not to return. He then cauſed a proteſtation to be fixed up, wherein he declared, that he would appear before the council to juſtify himſelf, if a proper ſafe conduct was granted: and he demanded of the Bohemian lords an act of his declaration. After this, he began his journey to return into Bohemia: but he was ſtopt at Hirſchau, by the officers of John the ſon of prince Clement, count Palatine, who had the government of Sultzbach: and Lewis, another ſon of the ſame prince, carried Jerom to Conſtance, where he was to anſwer the ſame accuſation as had been exhibited againſt doctor Huſs, who was martyred the ſeventh of July.

Jerom had many friends at the council, who bore him great affection, and tried all they could to bring him to a recantation, as they were convinced he had no chance of eſcaping if he took his trial, becauſe the emperor had declared that he ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed. Poggius. His friends prevailed, and he was brought before the council, in the nineteenth ſeſſion, held the twenty-third of September, when he read a public abjuration of his doctrines, thinking thereby to elude his proſecution.

In this retractation, he is ſaid, to have anathematized the doctrines of Wickliffe and Dupin, p. 124. Huſs; to have proteſted, that he was of the ſame ſentiments with the Romiſh church; and to have profeſſed, that he would follow its doctrine, particularly about the keys, the ſacraments, the orders, the offices, and the cenſures of the apoſtolic ſee; as alſo concerning indulgences, the relics of ſaints, eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the ceremonies. It is farther ſaid, that he thereby approved the condemnation of the articles which the council preſcribed; acknowledged they were faithfully extracted from the works of Huſs, and that he was juſtly condemned. But he was carried back to priſon, notwithſtanding this recantation, and was accuſed of inſincerity. New articles of accuſation were brought againſt him, and it was alledged, that it would be dangerous to ſet him at liberty. He immediately repented of his abjuration, and of condemning Huſs. He deſired audience of the council, and was twice heard in the general congregations held in May 1416, when one hundred and ſeven heads of accuſation were propoſed againſt him, which he endeavoured to anſwer, and made an oration, wherein he declared that he repented of his recantation, and of having approved the condemnation of Wickliffe and Huſs. Dupin alſo ſays, that the fathers of the council were fully ſatisfied of his relapſe, and ſent for him to the twenty-firſt ſeſſion, held the thirtieth of May. The biſhop of Lodi, who preached the ſermon previous to the condemnation of Huſs, now preached another to uſher in the fate of Jerom. When the ſermon was ended, the martyr, unjuſtly ſtigmatized a heretic, declared he ſtill perſiſted in his laſt retractation; but profeſſed he held tranſubſtantiation. He was then condemned as a heretic relapſed, delivered over to the ſecular power, and led away to death, which he endured with great conſtancy.

Such is the account given by the popiſh writers; but the Florentine ſecretary, who was a Poggius. ſpectator of all he relates, and gave a full account of the matter to Aretinus the pope's Guthrie. ſecretary, is more circumſtantial and impartial in his relation of this affair. He tells us, that as Jerom was returning to Bohemia, he was brought back to Conſtance by the duke of Bavaria; and, the next day, carried as a priſoner before the council, where it ſoon appeared, that his abjuration had ſlipt from him in one of thoſe unguarded minutes when virtue and religion are off their guard. Poggius, who was one of the beſt judges of the age, aſſerts, that Jerom ſpoke with ſuch a quickneſs of ſentiment, ſuch a dignity of expreſſion, and ſuch ſtrength of argument, that he ſeemed to equal the nobleſt of the ancient compoſitions. When ſome members of the council called out for him to put in his anſwers, he told the aſſembly, that the objections againſt him were the effects of prepoſſeſſion and prejudice: that, therefore, in juſtice, they ſhould permit him to lay open the whole tenor of his doctrine, life, and converſation, whereby he could indubitably weaken and invalidate all the prepoſſeſſions which ignorant, zeal and open malice had rendered too ſtrong againſt him in his unhappy condition. He was told, he could not expect ſuch indulgence. This exhauſted his patience, and he exclaimed to the whole aſſembly in theſe terms. "What barbarity is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been through "all the variety of priſons. There is not a miſery, there is not a want, that I have "not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fulleſt ſcope of accuſation: to "me you deny the leaſt opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you indulge me in "preparing for my trial. You have ſwallowed the blackeſt calumnies againſt me. You "have repreſented me as a heretic, without knowing what is my doctrine; as an enemy "to the faith, before you knew what faith I profeſſed; and as a perſecutor of prieſts, "before you could have any opportunity of underſtanding my ſentiments on that head. "You are a general council: in you center all that this world can communicate of gravity, wiſdom, and ſanctity: but ſtill you are men, and men are ſeducible by appearances. "The higher your character is for wiſdom, the greater ought your care to be not to "deviate into folly. The cauſe I now plead is not my own cauſe: it is the cauſe of men; "it is the cauſe of Chriſtians; it is a cauſe which is to affect the rights of poſterity, "however the experiment is to be made in my perſon." The biggotted part of the aſſembly conſidered this ſpeech as poiſon to the ears of the auditors: but many of the members were men of taſte and learning, who were favourably inclined to the priſoner, and pitied him in their hearts, though a reſtraint was on their tongues.

Jerom was obliged to give way to their authority, and to hear his charge read, which was reduced under theſe heads; "that he was a derider of the papal dignity, an oppoſer "of the pope, an enemy of the cardinals, a perſecutor of the prelates, and a hater of "the Chriſtian religion." He anſwered this charge with an amazing force of elocution, and ſtrength of argument. "Now, ſays he, wretch that I am! whither ſhall I turn me? "To my accuſers! My accuſers are as deaf as adders. To you my judges! You are "prepoſſeſſed by the arts of my accuſers." We are told by Poggius, that Jerom, in all he ſpoke, ſaid nothing unbecoming a great and wiſe man: and he candidly aſſerts, that, if what Jerom ſaid was true, he was not only free from capital guilt, but from the ſmalleſt blame.

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accuſation, and witneſſes were examined in ſupport of the charge. The priſoner was prepared for his defence; which will appear almoſt incredible, when it is conſidered that he had been three hundred and forty days ſhut up in a dark offenſive dungeon, deprived of day-light, food, and ſleep. His ſpirit ſoared above theſe diſadvantages, under which a man leſs animated muſt have ſunk; nor was he more at a loſs for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furniſhed with the fineſt library in Europe.

Many of the zealots and bigots of the aſſembly were againſt his being heard, as they knew what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds even of the moſt prejudiced. However, it was carried by the majority that he ſhould have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in ſuch an exalted ſtrain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was ſeen to melt, and the mind of ſuperſtition ſeemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable diſtinction between evidence as reſting on facts, and as ſupported by malice and calumny. He laid before the aſſembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct, which he owned had been always open and unreſerved. He juſtly obſerved, that the greateſt and moſt holy men have been known to differ in points of ſpeculation, with a view to diſtinguiſh truth, not to keep it concealed. And he then expreſſed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cauſe of virtue and truth. He next entered on a high encomium upon doctor John Huſs; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious tract of martyrdom. He then touched upon the moſt defenſible part of Wickliffitiſm; and concluded what he had to ſay on that head with obſerving, that it was far from his intention to advance any thing againſt the ſtate of the church of God; that it was only againſt the abuſe of the clergy he complained; and that he could not help ſaying, with his dying breath, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpoſe of charity and univerſal benevolence, ſhould be proſtituted to the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of the eye, in whores, feaſts, foppiſh veſtments, and other reproaches to the name and profeſſion of chriſtianity.

The priſoner received many interruptions from the impertinence of ſome, and the inveteracy of others: but he anſwered every one with ſo much readineſs, and vivacity of thought, that, at laſt, they were aſhamed, and he was permitted to finiſh his defence. His voice was ſweet, clear, and ſonorous; pliable to captivate every paſſion, and able to conciliate every affection, which he knew how to do with wonderful addreſs. He was admired by his enemies, and compaſſionated by his friends: but he received the ſame ſentence that had been paſſed upon his martyred friend; and, Poggius ſays, the aſſembly condemned him with great reluctance.

The ſame author tells us, that Jerom had two days allowed for his recantation; and that the cardinal of Florence uſed all the arguments he could for that effect, which were ineffectual. The divine was reſolved to ſeal his doctrine with his blood; he could not be ſeduced to make another retractation; and he ſuffered death with all the magnanimity of Huſs. He embraced the ſtake to which he was faſtened, *with the peculiar malice of wet cords*. When the executioner went behind him to ſet fire to the pile, " *Come here, ſaid* " *the martyr, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I dreaded ſuch a ſight, I ſhould never* " *have come to this place, when I had a free opportunity to eſcape.*" The fire was kindled, and he then ſung a hymn, which was ſoon finiſhed by the incircling flames.

This martyr, as well as doctor Huſs, conſtantly profeſſed to hold the doctrines of the real preſence and tranſubſtantiation: but it has been ſaid, that " he alſo profeſſed to hold " and believe, what the church believes and holds; ſaying, that he rather believed Auſtin, and the other doctors of the church, than Wickliffe and Huſs."

Lewis, p. 9. Hiſtoire du concile de Conſtance, p. 396.

The Wickliffites in England, and the Huſſites in Bohemia, were very numerous: there was little difference in their doctrine; and the ſeverity which the council of Conſtance had ſhewn to Wickliffe, Huſs, and Jerom, exaſperated the majority of the people in both nations. The martyrdom of their two countrymen incited the Bohemians, particularly the Huſſites of Prague, to ſedition: they plundered the palace of the archbiſhop, deſtroyed the houſes of the eccleſiaſtics, and maſſacred many perſons. The nobility of Bohemia and Moravia were ſo far incenſed, by the breach of promiſe made to them, that they formed an aſſociation, whereby they covenanted, that they would never receive the decrees of the council; they made a formal proteſtation in defence of Huſs and Jerom; and they wrote very animated letters upon that ſubject to the council, who juſtified their ſentences, and cited a great number of thoſe who defended the doctrine of Huſs.

Dupin.

The ſect of the Huſſites then began to be divided in two parties: the one called Calixtines, and the other Thaborites. The former differed from the church about the uſe of the cup; and the latter denied tranſubſtantiation. They united their force, aſſembled thirty thouſand men, and declared war againſt the papiſts. They took poſſeſſion of Prague, and ſet up the famous Ziſca againſt the emperor Sigiſmund, to whom the kingdom of Bohemia devolved, upon the death of his brother Wenceſlaus in 1418. Ziſca obtained many victories over Sigiſmund, made himſelf maſter of all Bohemia, and died in 1424. He was chief of the ſect Pyghards, called by others Picards, or Waldenſes: they abhorred the prieſts, and the monks, rejected many doctrines of popery, and nearly reſembled moſt of the preſent proteſtants. Eraſmus, in 1519, cenſured the Pyghards very warmly; and yet, like them, he exclaimed againſt the multitude of holydays, as being an heavy impoſition on poor people, who, whilſt they were hindered from working on thoſe days, were in reality prevented from getting their bread. But Bayle ſays, that Picard was a Flemming, who overſtretched the errors of the Adamites, and that Ziſca put the ſect to the ſword. Sleidan diſtinguiſhes the Bohemians in this manner. " After the death of John Huſs they " were divided chiefly into three ſects. One of them acknowledged the pope of Rome as " head of the church, and vicar of Chriſt. Another partook of the Lord's Supper in both " kinds, and in that ſervice they recited ſome things in the vulgar tongue; but in other re-" ſpects they differed not from the papiſts. The third ſect was named Picards; who called " the pope, and all that adhered to him, Antichriſt, and the whore deſcribed in the Reve-" lation: they received nothing beſides the Scriptures: they choſe their own biſhops and " prieſts: they forbid none to marry: they performed no funeral rites; and had very few " feſtivals and ceremonies." However Rudigerus, in his hiſtory of the brethren of Bohemia, rejects the name of Picards that was impoſed upon them, and conjectures that it was given them by their enemies to diſhonour them by ſo infamous a title; as if we had been only, ſays he, the wretched remains of the leud Picard, who renewed the ancient hereſy of the Adamites, by introducing nakedneſs and infamous actions.

Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, p. 197.

Bayle, vol. 4. p. 629.

Lib. 3.

Pag. 148.

The pope, and the emperor, perceived it was impoſſible to reduce the Bohemians by force, and invited them to the council of Baſil, in 1432. The Bohemians ſent a ſolemn deputation of three hundred perſons to Baſil, at the head of which were Procopius, and Peter Payne. The Bohemians reduced their pretenſions to four heads. Firſt, That the euchariſt ſhould be adminiſtered to the laity in both kinds. Second, That the word of God might be freely preached by the prieſts to whom it belonged. Third, That the eccleſiaſtics ſhould have no more revenues, nor temporal demeſnes. Fourth, That public crimes ſhould be puniſhed by the magiſtrates. They declared, they were ready to defend theſe articles; and that they had been unjuſtly condemned by the council of Conſtance. Peter Payne undertook to prove, that it was unlawful for the clergy to have demeſnes, and temporal revenues. The controverſy began in January 1433, and continued fifty days without any ſucceſs: for the Bohemian deputies perſiſted in their opinion, and returned into their own country, where Payne was perſecuted for being an Engliſhman, and a Wickliffite. Procopius was killed in fighting at the head of the Thaborites againſt the nobility, who accommodated matters with the council, and acknowledged Sigiſmund their king. The monks were permitted to return, on condition that the monaſteries ſhould be rebuilt. Philbert, biſhop of Conſtance, and ſome other prelates ſent from Baſil, in 1436, reſtored the ceremonies of Rome in the churches of Prague. The emperor Sigiſmund died in 1437; and Albert duke of Auſtria, who married his daughter, was declared king of Bohemia. The Thaborites were baniſhed: but the uſage of communicating the euchariſt in both kinds was maintained by George Pogebrac, who made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, and was declared a heretic by pope Paul II. Many perſons ſeparated from the Calixtines, and made a new ſect under the name of "The Brethren of Bohemia," who had Keleſiſky, a ſhoemaker, for their captain, and Matthias Convaldus for their paſtor. Bayle. They were called Picards; though they had nothing common with thoſe that were exterminated by Ziſca. They were avowed enemies to the clergy and the church of Rome; they rebaptized all thoſe who were admitted into their ſect; and afterwards joined with the Lutherans and Calviniſts, when the reformation became general.

* * *

The LIFE of JOHN COLET, D.D.

Dean of St. PAUL's in the Reigns of King HENRY VII. and HENRY VIII. and Founder of St. PAUL's School.

Knight's Life of Colet.

If we look back upon that time when religion and learning, after many and great ſtruggles, got the better of ignorance and ſuperſtition, we ſhall find dean Colet to have made a glorious ſtand in defence of the truth. There is no period in the Engliſh hiſtory ſo little underſtood, and more deſerving to be known, than the fifty years preceding the reformation; in which time true religion and uſeful learning were firſt dawning upon the world; and the great Eraſmus, with his friend dean Colet, flouriſhed as the great forerunners of the reformation.

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 648.

Archbiſhop Courtney died in 1396, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Arundel archbiſhop of York, who condemned eighteen articles, extracted from Wickliffe's Triologus. Arundel was very inſtrumental in the great revolution that ſettled the duke of Lancaſter upon the throne of England, in 1399. The Wickliffites, or Lollards, were perſecuted under Henry with great ſeverity. The parliament itſelf was too violent in thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, and gave the clergy a power which their maſter never gave them; that of putting their fellow-creatures to death for mere matters of opinion. The burning of heretics was a doctrine unknown to the primitive fathers of Chriſtianity, and one of the monſters engendered by a long night of barbariſm and ignorance.

Guthrie, p. 649. Lewis, p. 229.

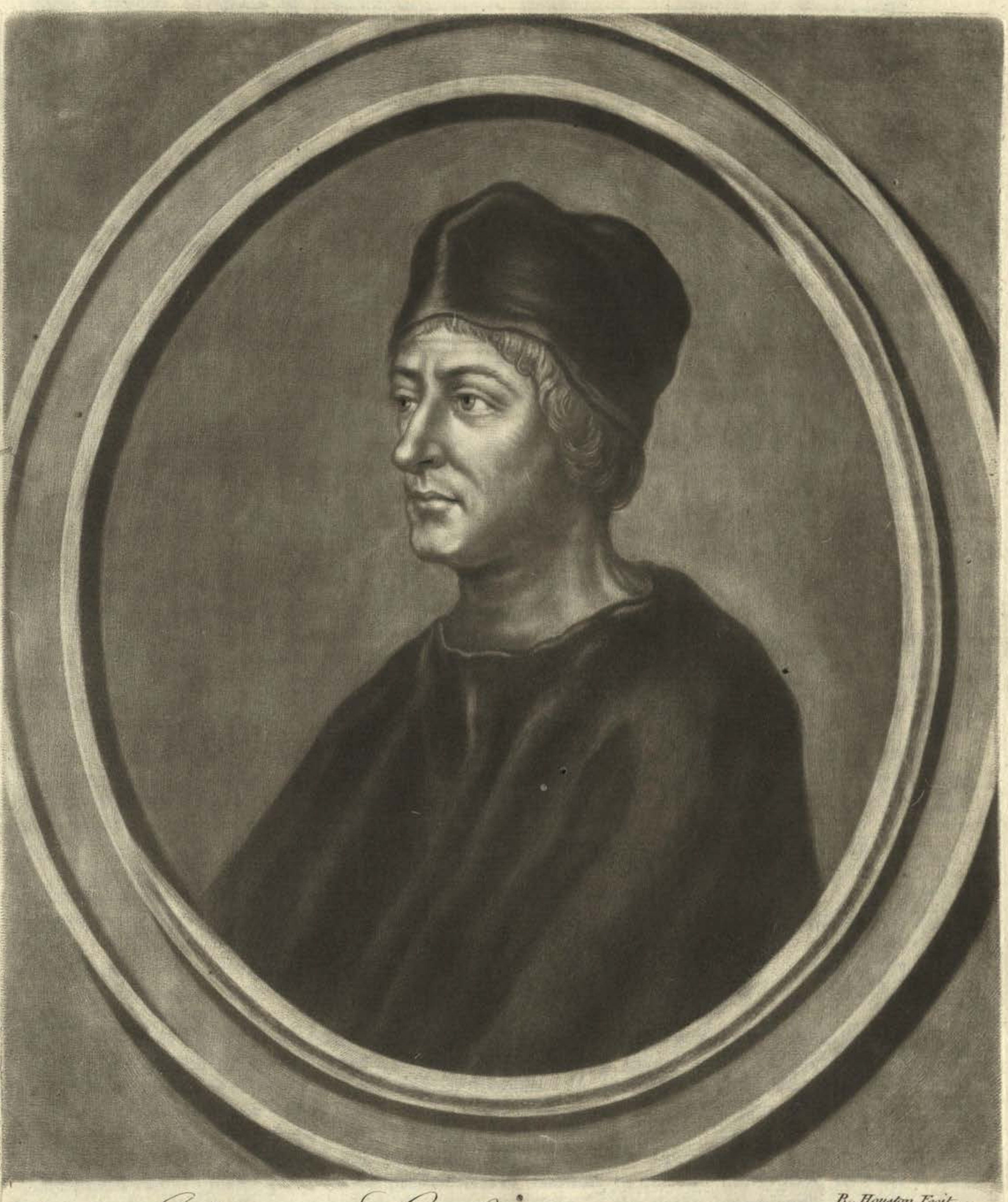
William Sawtree, pariſh-prieſt of ſaint Oſyth, or ſaint Seithe the virgin, in London, a man of an innocent life, was convened before the convocation in 1400, and condemned to be burnt as an incorrigible heretic. The writ *de heretico comburendo* was taken out, and executed againſt this unhappy perſon, who was the firſt that ſuffered death in Fuller, b. 4. p. 156. Fox's Martyr's, p. 477. England by burning for hereſy. He is conſidered as the protomartyr of Engliſh proteſtants, and died a martyr for denying tranſubſtantiation. His death ſtruck a terror among the Wickliffites, who were afterwards glad to enjoy their conſcience in private, without profeſſing it in public.

Guthrie, vol. 2. p. 399.

The earl of Saliſbury, who was beheaded the ſame year, died a Wickliffite: but the people of that ſect every day grew more diſguſted with the eſtabliſhed church, and formed new definitions from it. Archbiſhop Arundel, in 1408, publiſhed thirteen canons for ſuppreſſing the Lollards; and, in 1410, applied to the pope for a bull to dig up Wickliffe's bones. In 1412, the houſe of lords preſented a ſtrong addreſs to the king againſt the Lollards, who were then reſtrained from preaching, or writing, againſt the church, on pain Fuller, p. 168. of impriſonment without bail. In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. the Lollards began to appear again, with ſome more aſſurance: but, in 1418, Sir John Oldcaſtle was hanged and burnt for a heretic. The Lollards were perſecuted; and their ſchools, or places of meeting, ſuppreſſed. The king wanted to conquer France, which he knew could not be done without a firm coalition between the crown and the church; and therefore he left to the clergy the full ſway in all matters pertaining to their own juriſdiction. The greateſt among the laity ſaw themſelves deprived, by eccleſiaſtical tyranny, of exerciſing the leaſt act of humanity; while a flood-gate was opened, through which the pride and

revenge

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston Fecit.

Johannes Coletus S^{ti} Pauli Decanus

Scholæ Paulinæ Fundator. Natus A^{o} 1446 Obijt A^{o} 1519.

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revenge of prieſts poured in, to the extinction of civil order, and of chriſtianity itſelf, if providence had not interpoſed.

John Cleyden, a citizen of London, was burnt as a heretic; and a kind of univerſal proſcription went out againſt the Lollards. The biſhops carried the injunctions of the convocation into execution with a fiery zeal, and many perſons were obliged to abjure the doctrine of Wickliffe. However, the ſpirit of reformation worked itſelf pure in its progreſs, notwithſtanding archbiſhop Chichley had appointed a ſort of an inquiſition againſt hereſy.

The reformation of the Benedictine monks concluded the reign of Henry V. and that of his infant ſon was began with trying three perſons for hereſy, who denied tranſubſtantiation. Peacock, biſhop of Chicheſter, appeared like a new phænomenon among the clergy: he was a free-thinker in point of religion, and ſoared a pitch much higher than any divine, or ſchiſmatic, in that reign: but the ſynod at Lambeth, in 1450, obliged him to recant great part of his writings as hereſies and errors. His books were burnt, and he was deprived of his biſhopric.

The civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter checked the biſhops from perſecuting the Lollards: but this could not prevent a controverſy between the begging friars, and ſecular prieſts. Such was the ſtate of religion in England when Henry VII. obtained the crown, in 1485, at which time doctor Colet began to make a figure in the world.

Fuller.

"This excellent perſon was ſon and heir to Sir Henry Colet, knight, a younger "ſon of Robert Colet, of Wendover, near Aileſbury, in the county of Bucks, eſquire, "who was born in that county, at the manor of Hale; near which place ſome of "his name ſtill continue." His father was bred a mercer at London, and was one of the ſheriffs in 1477. He eſcaped the tyranny of Richard III. and aſſiſted Henry VII. in the beginning of whoſe reign he was knighted, and elected lord mayor. In 1495, he had the honour to be called a ſecond time to the chair, and diſcharged that high office with great loyalty, prudence, courage, and fidelity.

Doctor Knight's Life of Colet.

Sir Henry Colet had ten ſons, and as many daughters (others ſay eleven ſons, and eleven daughters) but John was the eldeſt and ſole-ſurviving child by his wife Chriſtiana, and was born in the pariſh of St. Antholin, in the city of London, in the year 1466: at which time, it was reputed a ſort of nobility to be born and bred in that great city. His father died in 1510, and was buried at Stepney, where his monument ſhews he was third ſon of Robert Colet, eſquire. He had his grammatical education at a free-ſchool in Threadneedle-ſtreet, which was then the moſt eminent ſchool in London, where Sir Thomas More, archbiſhop Heath, archbiſhop Whitgift, and many other eminent men received the rudiments of their learning.

Fuller, b. 5. p. 167.
Stow.
Eraſmus.
Wood's Athenæ, p. 10.
Knight.
Warner's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 3.

Colet was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford in 1483; at which time, one or more of his firname were of St. Mary Magdalen college, as moſt probably he was himſelf. After he had ſpent ſeven years in logicals and philoſophicals, he was licenſed to proceed in arts, being ſo exquiſitely learned, that all the works of Tully were as familiar to him as his epiſtles. "He was no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, whom he had not only read, but "conferred and paralleled; peruſing the one, as a commentary on the other: and as for "the mathematics, there was ſcarce any part thereof, wherein he was not ſeen above his "Years."

Wood.
Knight.
Wood.
Collier.
Wood, p. 10.

Such was the infelicity of thoſe times, that the Greek tongue was not taught in any of the grammar-ſchools in England; nor was there thought to be any great need of it in the two univerſities, by the generality of ſcholars. It is worth notice, that Standiſh, who was a bitter enemy to Eraſmus, ſtiles him *Græculus iſte*: which was a long time after the phraſe for an heretic: and for this very reaſon, thoſe very few that underſtood Greek, were afraid to teach it, leſt they ſhould be thought to propagate hereſy.

Knight.

It would caſt a greater glory on the preſent ſtate of learning in our two univerſities, to look back upon the clouds of ignorance which hung over them in the times immediately preceding the reformation. As for Oxford, its own hiſtory and antiquities ſufficiently confeſs, that nothing was known there but Latin in the moſt depraved ſtile of the ſchool-men. Cornelius Vitellius an Italian, was the firſt who taught Greek in that univerſity; and from him the famous Grocyne learnt its firſt elements. In Cambridge, the ſtate of learning was very low, in 1485, and Eraſmus was the firſt who taught the Greek-grammar in that univerſity: but Eraſmus himſelf was not maſter of Greek when he came firſt into England, in 1497. Linacer and Grocyne were the two only tutors that were able to teach it, and Eraſmus learnt it of the former: but his friend Colet, and biſhop Fiſher, like the elder Cato, neglected the ſtudy of the Greek tongue till their old age, when they found it was neceſſary to be taught in the ſchools.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.
Eraſmus.

Colet and Eraſmus were much of an age, and became the moſt familiar friends imaginable, to the very end of their lives. This learned Dutchman tells us, that while Colet was a youth, he run diligently through a courſe of all manner of ſcholaſtic philoſophy,

Eraſmus, Jod. Jonæ. 1521.

and deſerved his title of maſter of the liberal arts and ſciences, being perfectly verſed in every one of them. Before his travels abroad, he had determined his ſtudies to divinity, and had ſearched into the ancient fathers, with whom he was delighted, particularly Dionyſius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambroſe, and Jerom: but he had the leaſt reliſh of all to ſaint Auſtin. He ſometimes read Scotus and Thomas, and ſuch traſh of the ſchoolmen, rather in compliance with the faſhion, than from any pleaſure he received. He was alſo very induſtrious in conſulting the beſt tracts in the civil and canon-law. There was no book relating to the hiſtory and conſtitution of the church and ſtate which he had not diligently read. He even ran through all the Engliſh poets, for the true uſe of them, to help to correct and embelliſh his language and ſtile, and to fit and prepare him for a more eloquent preacher

Polyd. Virg. lib. 26. Another of his cotemporary writers ſays, that Colet, by an eaſy and natural diſpoſition, was inclined to piety and religion: therefore, as ſoon as he grew towards a man, and was well inſtructed in all thoſe arts and ſciences that are called humanity, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, chooſing St. Paul as his particular maſter, and exerciſing himſelf perfectly in his writings both at Oxford and Cambridge.

When Colet had taken his degrees in arts at Oxford, he had a ſufficient eſtate to ſup- Eraſmus. port him as a gentleman, and a fair intereſt to recommend him at court. He had the advantage of a tall and graceful perſonage: and this turn to a courtier might perhaps have been the advice of his father, who had been uſed to gaiety and ſplendour in the public offices in the city, and gained a very particular intereſt in the king. But the pious young man, determined by his own ſpirit of religion, was reſolved to enter into holy orders, and Knight, p. 20. renounce the temptations of his birth and fortune.

Sir William Knevet, knight, and Dame Joan his Wife, preſented Colet, in 1485, to the church of St. Mary Denyngton, in the county of Suffolk, and dioceſe of Norwich. Knight. This made Cambridge a convenient road between Oxford and his benefice, and might well intitle him to that relation to both univerſities, which is aſcribed to him by Polydore Virgil. He was ſcarce nineteen years old when he was preſented to this great living of Denyngton, which he kept as long as he lived. In 1490, he was alſo preſented by his own father to the living of Thrynning, in the county of Huntingdon, and dioceſe of Lincoln; which he reſigned in 1493, when he was admitted to the prebendary of Botevant in the church of York, upon the reſignation of the famous Chriſtopher Urſwicke. He was alſo made prebend of Goodeaſter in the church of St. Martin Le Grand, which he reſigned the 26th of January 1503, having been admitted the year before to the prebend of Durneſford in the church of Sarum. Theſe early preferments had great weight upon his mind; as well as every thing that tended towards bringing on a reformation in the church. But he had ſuch a tender regard to the dignity of his ſacred office and function, that he deferred being ordained deacon till the 17th of December 1497, and the ſame year he was made prieſt.

Collier. Colet, after theſe improvements at home, travelled into France and Italy, ſtudied divinity, Knight, p. 23. and was very much admired by foreigners for his learning. He left Oxford in 1493, and ſeems to have been travelling abroad till 1497. The grand mart of letters was then at Paris, where he met with an agreeable companion in Robert Gaguinus, the hiſtorian, who had been ambaſſador from Charles the French king, in 1490, to Henry VII. Gaguinus raiſed a ſtrong deſire in Colet to be acquainted with Eraſmus, by ſhewing him a ſpecimen of his parts and abilities, in a letter ſent to him upon his publiſhing the hiſtory of France. Colet alſo became acquainted with Deloine and Budeus, at Paris; the former of which recommended him to the friendſhip of Eraſmus, and ſpoke honourably of him on many occaſions.

At this time, the Engliſh ſtudents and travellers were ſo intent upon attaining the Greek and Latin tongues, and ſo inquiſitive after the pureſt writers in them, that they had no Knight. Eraſmus, Ep. p. 335. leiſure, or inclination, to ſearch after their own hiſtorians, and national antiquities; though many ancient books lay dormant in their colleges and monaſteries, which their keepers were unwilling to communicate, and muſt be ſtolen or loſt, or eat up by moths and duſt.

Colet viſited ſeveral parts of Italy, and reſided ſome months at Rome, where there was an Engliſh court, on account of frequent embaſſies. It was here that the celebrated William Lily firſt fell under his notice, who had learnt the Greek at Rhodes, and was improving himſelf in Latin at Rome, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. Colet alſo contracted an intimacy with ſome learned foreigners, as well as with his own coun- G. Lilii Elog. p. 91. trymen Grocyne and Linacer, who were perfecting their ſkill in Greek, at Florence, under the inſtruction of Demetrius and Politianus, as William Latymer was at Padua.

Colet ſo effectually proſecuted his theological ſtudies in Italy, that none of his time exceeded him in that faculty, and he returned to England about 1497. He had now a greater temptation to appear at court, that he might ſhew the accompliſhments which he had acquired to the world. Beſides, he was endued with ſome natural propenſities more adapted for a public life, than the confinement of a College. He had naturally a high ſpirit, impatient of the leaſt injury and affront. By the ſame bent of nature he was alſo Eraſmus. addicted to love and luxury: he had a tincture of avarice; and was inclined to an air Knight. of freedom and pleaſantry. Had he followed theſe inclinations, he muſt have been fitter for any courſe of life than that of a ſtudent and divine. But he firſt conquered, and then commanded himſelf, by ſo far ſubjecting his high ſpirit and paſſions to reaſon and philoſo- Eraſmus. phy, that he could bear a reproof even from his own ſervants. He reſtrained his diſpoſition to love, ſleep, and luxury, by a continual abſtinence from ſuppers, a ſtrict ſobriety, cloſe application to his ſtudies, ſerious thinking, and religious converſation. So that by his philoſophy, divinity, watchings, faſtings, and devotions, he preſerved every ſtep of his whole life from the pollutions of the world; and, as far as Eraſmus could poſſibly gather from Ep. Iodoco Jonæ. their familiar diſcourſes, he was perfectly chaſte, and died in virgin purity.

With this excellent ſpirit, and correct underſtanding, he would not truſt himſelf among the allurements of the city, and the ſplendour of the court. He ſtaid a ſufficient time with his father and mother at Stepney to ſhew his duty and reſpect; and retired to Oxford, for the happy opportunities of a ſtudious and pious life.

About this time, it was almoſt come to a cuſtom for men of diſtinguiſhed parts and Knight. learning in that univerſity to ſet up voluntary lectures, by way of expoſition or comment upon ſome celebrated writer; to which the ſtudents would repair, according to the opinion they had of the men and their performances. Colet had neither taken nor deſired any degree in divinity: but he read public lectures in the univerſity, without ſtipend or Eraſmus. reward, by way of expoſition on the epiſtles of St. Paul. The novelty of theſe exerciſes Wood. might at firſt gather an audience; yet nothing could keep it up but the abilities of the performer. Men of more honourable degrees and years were not aſhamed to learn from a younger and inferior perſon. There was not a doctor in divinity or law, nor abbot, or any other dignitary in the church, who neglected to hear Colet, or with-held from him the applauſe that he deſerved.

Colet was now ſingularly happy in becoming acquainted with the learned and immortal Eraſmus, one of the reſtorers of good letters and good ſenſe to Europe. That great man had lived at Paris, where he was tutor to ſeveral of the young Engliſh nobility, particularly the lord Montjoy, who prevailed on him to paſs over from Calais to Dover, about the latter end of the year 1497. Eraſmus went directly to Oxford, as the ſeat of learning, where he was recommended by the prior and canons of St. Genoveſe at Paris to Richard Charnock, prior of the regulars of the order of St. Auſtin in the college of St. Mary the virgin, where he was received, and accommodated with diet and lodging, in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner.

Charnock informed Colet, that Eraſmus was a very excellent perſon, and worthy his friendſhip. Colet had not the patience to wait for an opportunity of ſeeing this learned ſtranger; but would make his firſt addreſs with his pen, and wrote immediately to him, from his own chamber, an elegant and agreeable epiſtle, in ſuch a turn of obliging thoughts and words, as ſhewed the writer to be a ſcholar, a traveller, and a gentleman. He tells Knight, p. 32. him, "that his friend Brome had heartily recommended him by letter; but that he ſtood "before highly commended to him, as well by the fame of his reputation abroad, as by "the teſtimony of his writings. That, while he was at Paris, the name of Eraſmus was in "great eſteem among the learned: and that he had there particularly read over an epiſtle "of his to Gaguinus, wherein he had celebrated his induſtry and ſkill in drawing up the "hiſtory of France; which ſeemed to him to be the ſpecimen of a perfect writer, both for Eraſmus. "learning and the knowledge of the world. I congratulate, ſays he, your arrival in this "iſland; and wiſh our country could be as pleaſant to you, as I know you, by your "great learning, muſt be uſeful to our country. I am, Sir, and ſhall always be, devoted "to one, whom I think to be the moſt learned and the beſt of men."

Eraſmus immediately returned an elegant anſwer, and ſaid, "if he could find any thing commendable in himſelf, he ſhould be proud of being commended by ſuch a worthy perſon, to "whoſe judgment he allowed ſo great a weight, that his ſilent eſteem alone had been "preferable to all the applauſes of a theatre at Rome. Your country of England, ſays "he, is moſt pleaſant to me upon many accounts, particularly on this, that it abounds with "thoſe bleſſings, without which nothing would reliſh with me, men of admirable learning, among whom no mortal will repine that I reckon you the chief." He then commends the ſtile of his letters, as eaſy, ſmooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as waters from a clear fountain; even, and in every part like itſelf; open, plain, modeſt, having nothing in it rough, turbid, or intricate; ſo that he could ſee the image of his ſoul in his letters.

This foundation of friendſhip laid in writing, ended in the ſtricteſt intimacy imaginable, Knight. which continued to the end of their lives. They ſtudied to improve each other, and inſtruct mankind. Thus, after a Latin ſermon, they were at a public dinner in the univerſity, where Colet ſate as moderator, and the table-talk was ſcholaſtic and theological;

when Colet ſaid, “that the greateſt offence of Cain, and the moſt odious in the ſight of God, was his diſtruſting the bounty of our Creator, and placing too much confidence in his art and induſtry, by tilling the ground; while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, was only feeding ſheep.” The whole company engaged upon this argument: “but in truth, ſays Eraſmus, Colet was more than a match for us all: he ſeemed to be filled with a divine ſpirit, and to be ſomewhat above a man: he ſpoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole deportment.”

Colet introduced Eraſmus to the acquaintance of Mr. More, who was afterwards a great ornament to his country. Their intimacy was ſo great, that Eraſmus, in 1498, acquainted lord Montjoy, “that nothing could be more ſweet, lovely, and charming, than the temper and converſation of Colet; and that he could live in Scythia, or the remoteſt part of the world, with ſuch an agreeable friend and companion.”

Knight, p. 41.

In 1499, Eraſmus and his admired friend Colet firſt held their conferences upon our bleſſed Saviour's reluctances and fears before his laſt paſſion. Colet could not approve of the common opinion of divines, that our Saviour, upon a proſpect of his agonies, ſhrunk from them in his human nature. Eraſmus maintained the opinion of the ſchoolmen: but Colet had the advantage of the beſt meaning, and of the greateſt courage, in departing from the common ſentiments of the ſchools and the church, in that credulous age. Eraſmus concludes his epiſtle concerning this diſpute in the moſt friendly and reſpectful manner; calling himſelf a raſh man, and a raw ſoldier, for entering the liſts with ſuch an experienced general as Colet.

Eraſmus was confuted, and pleaſed; as it was done in a manner becoming a gentleman of ſenſe and good-nature. Colet told him, “when, like two flints, we are ſtriking one another, if any ſpark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it: we ſeek not for our own opinion, but for truth; which, in this mutual conflict, may be extorted as fire out of ſteel.”

Colet alſo freely expreſſed to Eraſmus his great diſlike of that new theology, which was unhappily brought into the church by the modern ſchoolmen, and was in effect nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling. He told him, he had ſet himſelf againſt thoſe ſcholaſtic divines; and would, if poſſible, reſtore the theological ſtudies that were founded upon the Scriptures, and the primitive fathers. He ſaid, it was upon this view, he had publicly expounded the epiſtles of St. Paul; and ſhould be glad of a partner in that labour of ſearching the Scriptures.

When Eraſmus left England, Colet ſtill continued at Oxford, where he went on with his uſeful expoſition of the apoſtolical epiſtles; though it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures, even in that place where a public divinity-lecture was founded by king Edward IV. The ſcholaſtical divinity was then generally prevalent, and had little concern with Scripture. Their readings were uſhered in with a text, or rather a ſentence of Scotus and Aquinas: the explication was not trying it by the word of God, but by the voice of other ſcholaſtic interpreters, and the intricate turns of what they called logic; which was then only the art of corrupting human reaſon, and the Chriſtian faith. The uſe and ſtudy of the Scriptures was ſo low at this time, that the higheſt degree of doctor of divinity could not admit a man to the reading of the Scriptures. This made Colet negligent of thoſe degrees, which he declined taking ſeveral years after he was capable of them. However, by the importunity of his friends, we find him doctor of divinity in 1504: but his thoughts were entirely bent on the deſtruction of that idol of ignorance, the cobweb divinity of the ſchools, and to exalt the Scriptures and Jeſus Chriſt in its room. He deſpiſed the Scotiſts, becauſe they would be divines, without reading the Scriptures; as Eraſmus obſerved, with indignation.

Hiſt. et Ant. Un. Oxon. l. 2. p. 32.

Knight, p. 51.

Pet. Lombard.

Wood, p 10.

Enchirid.

Thoſe ſcholaſtical divines, on both ſides of the church of Rome, had made themſelves the pillars and buttreſſes of it: but if they were removed, the mighty fabric would appear weak, and ready to fall. Colet, by his own ſtrength of judgment, and Eraſmus by his example, ſhewed great ſenſe and courage to deſpiſe the opinions of Scotus and Aquinas, in thoſe dark days of ignorance and ſuperſtition. But the learned languages made ſlow advances in the world; becauſe the ſchoolmen called thoſe heretics who underſtood Greek, and tranſlated or criticized upon the New Teſtament. This averſion to good literature remained all the reign of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII. though Colet and Eraſmus had ſhewn a good ſign of their ſoon opening a way for the reformation.

The ſchoolmen always looked upon Colet with a jealous eye; and he thought diſputing with thoſe old theologues, was like “fighting with beaſts at Epheſus:” yet theſe were the monſters he frequently engaged, always vanquiſhed, and never convinced. Colet thought ſome uſages in the church intolerable, which Eraſmus could more eaſily bear: but both agreed in the neceſſity of a reformation. They jointly promoted this great work, by expelling the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them; by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of monaſteries, and houſes called religious; and by ſhewing the perils of impoſing celibacy on the clergy.

King Henry VII. loved to give unexpected and undeſired favours. He looked upon Colet as a moſt eminent divine, and excellent preacher: he found this prieſt without ambition, therefore thought him more worthy of preferment; and, in 1505, Colet was made dean of St. Paul's, without his ſolicitation or knowledge.

Sir Henry Wotton.
Wood.

Eraſmus was then at Paris, and immediately ſent a letter to doctor Colet on his promotion, wherein he ſays, "he could not ſo much congratulate his perſon, as the world, which would have the benefit; and the honours themſelves, which then ſeemed worthy of their name, when they fell upon a man of merit, without his own ſeeking." Eraſmus afterwards ſaid of Colet, "This excellent man, as if he had been called to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, reſtored the decayed diſcipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himſelf upon Sundays, and all ſolemn feſtivals. He would not take a deſultory text out of the goſpel or epiſtle for the day; but choſe a fixed and larger ſubject, which he proſecuted in ſeveral ſucceſſive diſcourſes, till he went through the whole; as ſuppoſe the goſpel of St. Matthew, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer. He had always a full auditory, and the chief magiſtrates of the city."

He was not only a free and conſtant preacher of the goſpel in his own cathedral; but at court, and in many other churches in the city, where his ſermons were much frequented by courtiers and citizens: becauſe the ſtrict diſcipline of his life regularly correſponded with the integrity of his doctrine.

Wood.

The public lecturers, both in the univerſities, and the cathedral churches, took the liberty of reading upon any book rather than upon the holy Scriptures, till dean Colet reformed that practice, by introducing, in Oxford and St. Paul's, the more uſeful way of reading and expounding the Scripture. He was aſſiſted by Grocyne, and other learned and able perſons, whom he prevailed on to read divinity lectures, which he maintained by a ſuitable exhibition. Eraſmus, and John Sowle, a Carmelite, encouraged theſe divinity readers; and dean Colet, at laſt, procured a certain ſettlement for theological lectures to be conſtantly read in his church, three days in every week, by the chancellor, or his deputy.

Wood, p. 6.

Till this time, there was ſcarce ſo much as a Latin Teſtament in any cathedral church in England. Inſtead of the goſpel of Chriſt, the goſpel of Nicodemus was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the church; as Eraſmus ſays, who was ſurprized at it, in the metropolitical church of Canterbury. But the method that dean Colet took in expounding the Scriptures, though in a language unknown to the people, began to raiſe in them an enquiry after thoſe oracles of God; and gradually inflamed them to that love and zeal to ſearch the Scriptures, which ſoon opened a way to the reformation.

Knight, p. 71.

Dean Colet had a great deſire to extricate himſelf from the affairs of the world, if he could have entered into any ſociety, that would combine to live according to the rules of the goſpel of Chriſt, which he deſpaired of among the religious in England. He was greatly incenſed with many of the biſhops, who acted like wolves, inſtead of ſhepherds. And he thought no men more execrable; becauſe, under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themſelves to the veneration of the people, while they were perfect ſlaves to the world in their own hearts, and regarded nothing but its glory and gain. The colleges in England, which were built and endowed with great magnificence and bounty, he ſaid, rather prevented than promoted the right courſe of ſtudies, and the quick progreſs of learning; as they were only the neſts of drones, or the cells of idle fellows. He condemned auricular confeſſion, purgatory, and the daily celebration of maſs. He would have all divine ſervice performed in a ſerious and ſolemn manner: he was delighted with the apoſtolical epiſtles; but more affected with the admirable words of our Saviour in the goſpels, which he ſelected under proper heads, and intended to write a book upon them; whereby it appears, that the dean was diveſted of many of the groſſeſt errors, and rankeſt ſuperſtitions, of the Romiſh church.

Eraſmus.

Eraſmus congratulated his friend Colet on being made dean of St. Paul's: he was then very intimate with the dean; and has tranſmitted the following relation as an example to poſterity.

"The dean's table, under the name of hoſpitality, had ſerved too much to pomp and luxury, which he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertainment: it had been his cuſtom for many years to eat only one meal a day, that of dinner; ſo that he always had the evening to himſelf. When he dined privately with his own family, he had ſome ſtrangers for his gueſts; but few, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, though genteel. The ſittings were ſhort, and ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and good. When grace before meat was ſaid, ſome boy, with a good voice, read diſtinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epiſtles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon. When the chapter was ended, the dean would mention ſome particular part of it, from whence he would frame a ſubject for converſation, and aſk his companions their ſenſe of its

Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, p. 20.
Ep. 10. Jonæ.
Pol. Virg.

“ meaning: but he ſo adapted his manner to their diſpoſitions, that he cauſed even theſe grave ſubjects neither to tire their patience, or give any other diſtaſte. Towards the end of the repaſt, he generally ſtarted another ſubject of diſcourſe; and then diſmiſſed his gueſts, profitted both in mind and body from thoſe viſits which they paid him. The converſation of his particular friends gave him infinite delight; which he would ſometimes protract till far in the evening: but their diſcourſe was either on religion or learning. He was curious in the choice of his company; therefore, if he could not have ſuch as were agreeable, he cauſed a ſervant to read to him out of the Scriptures. In his travelling, ſays Eraſmus, he would ſometimes make me of his company, and then no man was more eaſy and pleaſant. He always carried a book with him, and ſeaſoned his converſation with religion. He had an averſion to all indecent or improper ſpeaking: loved to be neat and clean in his apparel, furniture, entertainment, books, and whatever belonged to him; yet he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence. Though it it was then a cuſtom for the higher clergy to appear in purple, his habit was only black. His upper garment was of plain woollen cloth, which in cold weather was lined with fur. Whatever he received by church preferments, was delivered to his ſteward to be laid out in family occaſions, or hoſpitality: and all that aroſe from his large paternal eſtate, was appropriated to pious and charitable uſes.”

However, dean Colet could not eſcape the cenſure of an heretic, or an enemy of the church; while his charity and beneficence ſtood confeſſed to all the world. He reſigned
Knight. p. 265. his living of Stepney, which was one of the richeſt parochial churches in the kingdom, that he might give more conſtant attendance at St. Paul's: but doctor Fitz-James, then biſhop of London, was not well affected towards the dean, who was expoſed to the hatred and calumnies of the more ignorant and inferior part of the clergy.

The dean had great tenderneſs and compaſſion for the honeſt people who ſuffered as Lollards; and he had the courage to interpoſe for one of them with the king, who granted him his life and liberty. This act of humanity was ſufficient to make the dean reputed a heretic by his biſhop, who was a rigid Scotiſt, and a virulent perſecutor of the new
Eraſmus. ſect. The biſhop accuſed the dean of hereſy, and preſented articles againſt him to the archbiſhop. He charged him with teaching, that images were not to be worſhipped: and that he had preached againſt the temporal poſſeſſions of the biſhops. But archbiſhop Warham well knew the worth and integrity of dean Colet: from a judge, he became his
Fox, vol. 2. p. 54. Archbp. Parker. Tindal. Biſhop Latimer. advocate: he defended and patronized him; nor would he give him the trouble of putting in any formal anſwer. It is alſo ſaid, that the biſhop would have made the dean a heretic for tranſlating the *Pater Noſter* into Engliſh, if the archbiſhop had not ſtood up in his defence.

The troubles and perſecutions which dean Colet underwent, increaſed his charity and devotion. He had a plentiful eſtate, without any near relations; and he was reſolved to conſecrate the whole property of it, to ſome permanent benefaction, in his own life time, as William of Wykeham had done at Wincheſter in the reign of Edward III. Churches, monaſteries, religious houſes, and chauntries, had long been the charnnels of public charity in England: but they now began to give way to the erecting of colleges, and providing for ſtudents in the univerſities. Learning was brought out of Italy, and was diffuſed by the art of printing. Colet thought it would promote the reſtoration and improvement of letters, to provide a grammar-ſchool, for the inſtruction of youth in the two ſubſidiary languages of Latin and Greek, to come at the true ſenſe and ſpirit of claſſic authors. He apprehended, this would be laying the beſt foundation for academical ſtudies, particularly thoſe of divinity: and conceived, that, in being the founder [of one ſuch grammar-ſchool, he ſhould be the reſtorer of the two univerſities.

London was the place of his nativity, and was moſt worthy of his intended charity, in
Wood. which a conſiderable progreſs was made before the death of Henry VII. in 1508. “He was at the charge of four-thouſand five-hundred pounds, for founding a free-ſchool in the eaſt part of St. Paul's church-yard, for 353 [a] poor mens children, to be taught free in that ſchool; and he committed the over-ſight of it to the mercers of London, whom he endowed with a hundred and twenty pounds yearly, for the maintenance thereof. He alſo at the ſame time gave orders for the ſcholars, whereby alſo the ſchool-maſters themſelves ſhould be directed.”

Pol. Virg. b. 26. Another writer ſays, that dean Colet was eſteemed as if he had been a ſecond St. Paul. He founded a magnificent ſchool, and appointed William Lily, and John Righthouſe, the two maſters; both men of learning, good manners, and the greateſt diligence. By this ſchool, the youth of London have been poliſhed and improved; from whence the whole kingdom has enjoyed the good effects of a daily progreſs of languages and ſchool learning.

Grafton. Lily. Holingſhead. The foundation is placed by ſome, in 1509; and others fix it in 1510: but the beſt account is given by Eraſmus, as follows. “He laid out a great part of his inheritance in

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[a] The ſtatutes ſay 153.

“ building St. Paul's ſchool, which was a magnificent fabric, dedicated to the child Jeſus. “ Two dwelling-houſes were added for the two maſters, to whom ample ſalaries were allotted. The ſchool was divided into four apartments: the boys have their diſtinct forms “ one above another: and every form holds ſixteen. The wiſe founder ſaw that the greateſt “ hopes and happineſs of the commonwealth were in the training up of children to good “ letters and true religion; for which noble purpoſe he laid out an immenſe ſum, and “ would admit no perſon to bear a ſhare in the expence. After he had finiſhed all, he “ left the perpetual care, government, and ſuperintendency of the eſtate, not to the clergy, “ the biſhop, the chapter, or any great miniſter at court; but to married citizens, of probity and reputation. When he was aſked the reaſon, he anſwered, there was no certainty in human affairs; but he found leſs corruption in ſuch a body of citizens, than “ in any other body of men.”

Cooper. Ep. Iod. Jon.

The founder has not clogged this noble ſeminary with any ſtatute that might prevent it from being generally uſeful to the world. Children born in any part of the kingdom, even foreigners of all nations and countries, are capacitated to take part of its privileges. The wiſdom of the founder is alſo very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the ſenſe of his ſtatutes in general; and to alter or correct, add or diminiſh, as ſhould be thought proper and convenient, in future times, for the better government of the ſchool.

Theſe ſtatutes were drawn up by the dean himſelf, in Engliſh; but with ſuch a grave and pious ſtrain, that they ſeem to have been wrote by one who was not of the communion of the Romiſh church. In the prologue, he ſays, that “ deſiring nothyng more “ thanne education and bringing uppe children in good maners, and literature, in the “ yere of our Lorde A. M. fyve hundred and twelfe, he bylded a ſcole the eſtende “ of Paulis churche of CLIII to be taught fre in the ſame. And ordained there a “ maiſter, and a ſurmaiſter, and a chapelyn, with ſufficiente and perpetuale ſtipendes “ ever to endure; and ſett patrones and defenders governours and rulers of that ſame “ ſchole the moſt honeſt and faithful fellowſhipe of the mercers of London.” He firſt appoints the method of electing the hyghe maiſter by the wardens and aſſiſtance of the mercery, and in what manner they were to adviſe him of his duty. He gives the hyghe maiſter a power to chooſe a ſurmaiſter: but the chapelyn to be choſe by the mercery. The wages for the hyghe maiſter were declared to be “ a mark a weke, and a lyvery “ gowne of iiii nobles delivered in cloth.” The wages for the ſurmaiſter, “ VI s. viii d. “ a weke, and a lyvery gowne of iiii nobles:” and the chapelyn was to have “ VIII l. “ by the yere, and a lyvery gowne of XXVI s. VIII d.” He declares, that “ there ſhall “ be taught in the ſcole children of all nations and contres indifferently to the number “ [a] of cliii. The maiſter ſhall admit theſe children; but firſt ſe that they can ſay the “ Catechyzon, rede, and write competently: and a childe at the firſt admiſſion, once for “ ever, ſhall pay iiii d. for wrytinge of his name.” As to what ſhall be taught, he declares himſelf in theſe words: “ I will the children learne firſt above all the Catechyzon “ in Engliſhe; and after the Accidens, that I made, or ſome other, yf any be better “ to the purpoſe, to induce children more ſpedely to Laten ſpeech. And then *Inſtitutum* “ *Chriſtiani Hominis*, whiche that learned Eraſmus made at my requeſte, and the boke “ called Copia of the ſame Eraſmus. And then other authors chriſtian, as Lactantius, “ Prudentius, and Proba and Sedulius, and Juvencus and Baptiſta Mantuanus, and ſuche “ other as ſhall be thought convenient and moſt to purpoſe unto the true Laten ſpeech. All barbary, all corruption, all Laten adulterate, which ignorant blind foles brought into this “ world, and with the ſame hath dyſtained and poyſonyd the olde Laten ſpeche and the “ veraye Roman tongue, which in the tyme of Tully and Saluſt, and Virgill and Terenſe, “ was uſid; whiche alſo ſainte Jerom and ſainte Ambroſe and ſainte Auſten, and many “ holy doctors, lernid in theyre tymes: I ſaye, that fylthines, and all ſuche abuſion whiche “ the later blynde worlde brought in, which more rather may be called blotterature than literature, I utterly abonnyſhe and exclude out of this ſcole, and charge the maiſters that they teache “ alwaye that is beſte, and inſtruct the children in Greke and redyinge Laten, in redynge unto “ them ſuche autors that hathe with wiſdom joyned the purechaſte eloquence.” He declares “ the honourable company of mercers of London ſhall have all the care, charge, rule, and governance of the ſcole; and they ſhall every yere choſe of their company II honeſte and “ ſubſtantiall men called the ſurveyors of the ſcole, which in the name of the hoole “ fellowſhip ſhall take all the charge and beſineſſe about the ſcole for that one “ yere,” He gives the wardens and aſſiſtances libertye to declare the ſtatutes, “ becauſe “ in tyme to come many thyngs may and ſhall ſurvyve and growe by many occaſions and “ cauſes whiche at the making of this booke was not poſſible to come to mynde: therefore, both all this that is ſayde, and all that is not ſayde which hereafter ſhall come “ unto my mynde while I live to be ſayde, I leve it hoolely to their diſcretion and charity, to adde and diminiſhe of this boke, and to ſupply it in every defaulte: and alſo

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[a] Alluding to the number of fiſh taken by St. Peter, John xxi. 2.

" to declare in it every obſcuritie and darknes, as tyme, and place, and juſt occaſion ſhall " require."

The founder endowed his ſchool with the manors of Vach, Berwick, and other lands and tenements, in Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex, and London, of the yearly value of one hundred and twenty-two pounds four ſhillings and ſeven-pence: out of which he appointed ſeventy-nine pounds eight ſhillings and four-pence, for " charges ordinaire out payde yerely."

As dean Colet had been the pious founder of this ſchool for grammar learning, he alſo laboured himſelf to be the perpetual teacher and inſtructor of the ſcholars, by drawing up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and publiſhed them for the ſtanding uſe of Paul's ſchool. It was called Paul's Accidence, and dedicated to William Lily, the firſt maſter, in a ſhort elegant Latin epiſtle, dated the firſt of Auguſt 1510. In this introduction to grammar, the dean preſcribed ſome excellent rules for the admiſſion and continuance of boys in his ſchool; which were to be read over to the parents, when they firſt brought their children, for their aſſent to them, as the expreſs terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there. To theſe rules the dean prefixed his " Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, for the uſe of his ſchool." This contained " the Articles of Faythe; the ſeven Sacraments; Charyte; the Love of " God; the Love of thyne owneſelf; the Love of thy Neyghbour; Penaunce; Howſlynge; " in Syckneſſe; in Dethe; and Preceptes of Lyvynge;" all in Engliſh: and in Latin, " *Symbolum Apoſtolicum, Oratio Dominica, Salutatio Angelica, Oratiuncula ad puerum Jeſum* " *Scolæ præſidem: mi Domine, Jeſu ſuaviſſime.*" The dean prevailed on Eraſmus to tranſlate from the Engliſh the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man into Latin verſe, briefly and plainly, for the eaſy apprehenſion and memory of the boys; which was to be the ſchool Catechiſm. Cardinal Wolſey reprinted the Grammar Rudiments of dean Colet, for the uſe of the ſchools at Ipſwich, with a ſhort epiſtle to the maſters for that purpoſe. Theſe rudiments related chiefly to the more eaſy conſtruing of Latin, and are now, with ſome improvement, placed in the common Accidence after the eight Parts of Speech, though made before. A few years after the publication and general uſe of them in 1513, the dean proceeded to draw up, for the familiar uſe of his boys, another little tract of " The " Conſtruction of the eight Parts of Speech," which now makes up the Syntax in Lily's Grammar, with ſome alterations and additions, by Eraſmus, who publiſhed it at Baſil, in 1515, with an epiſtle giving an honourable account of the great concern that dean Colet had for his ſchool, and how careful he was to make the book paſs through ſeveral hands, that it might be the more correct and complete. Eraſmus alſo employed his vein of Latin poetry for the ſervice and honour of the ſchool founded by his friend; particularly in a Sapphic Ode, imploring the divine aid and ſucceſs to this new foundation; and expreſſing the deſign of it to be for the inſtitution of boys in the Greek and Latin tongues, and in the principles of religion: as alſo wiſhing, and portending, that from this ſeminary ſhould proceed, for generations to come, citizens ſons ſo well inſtructed in piety and learning as to be worthy of their Engliſh birth, and ſucceſſive ornaments of the church and nation. It redounds not a little to the honour of this ſchool, that not only the Latin Grammar is owing to the ſkill and care of the founder, and the firſt maſter of this ſchool; but alſo the common Greek Grammar, uſed throughout England, by the ſame authority as the Latin, was compoſed by the great Mr. Camden, who was educated in this ſchool.

Knight, p. 142. 446.

Reflecti-ons upon Learning, c. 3. p. 20.

Knight, p. 131.

Smith's Life of Camden.

Dean Colet obtained from Eraſmus many other good eſſays, both in poetry and proſe, towards directing and ſecuring the principles and morals of his ſcholars; and Eraſmus dedicated to him his two books *de copia verborum ac rerum*, to form the ſtyle and help the invention of young ſcholars, wherein he commends his piety and judgment in conſulting and promoting the good of his country. " In both theſe reſpects, ſays Eraſmus, " who would not love and admire that generous greatneſs of mind in you, that you paid " both theſe regards to your country in ſuch a ſincere and diſintereſted manner, that by ſo " many elaborate ſermons, in ſo long a courſe of years, you are not one farthing the richer; " and though you ſowed your ſpiritual things in ſuch plenty, you reaped no bodily things? " And though the expences of your ſchool were ſuch an immenſe burthen, that it might " well have affrighted any noble peer; yet you took it all upon yourſelf: when the " common ſort of mankind are well pleaſed to admit of any aſſiſtance in ſuch caſes, you " choſe to ſpend your patrimony, your whole revenue, your very furniture and houſhold " goods, rather than admit any perſon to be a partner in the glory of your ample foun- " dation. You become poor, to make them rich; naked, to cloath and adorn them. By " your great labours, you almoſt deſtroy yourſelf, to make them grow in Chriſt. You " ſpend yourſelf, to gain them ſalvation."

Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, p. 46.

Nothing of foppery, or Popiſh ſuperſtition, was recommended to the boys of this ſchool, which may be called the firſt Proteſtant-ſchool before the reformation. " And we may behold Colet's act, in committing the care of his ſchool to the company of mercers, not " only prudential, but ſomething prophetical, as foreſeeing the ruin of church lands, and

Knight, p. 148.

Fuller's ſixteenth Cent. p. 167.

“ fearing that his ſchool, if made an eccleſiaſtical appendent, might, in the fall of church-“ lands, get a bruiſe, if not loſe a limb thereby.”

Eraſmus obſerves, that Colet had a proverbial ſaying, “ We are all ſuch as our converſa-“ tion is, and come habitually to practiſe what we frequently hear.” He has preſerved this apothegm in his elaborate collection of adages, and has given it the preference to any of the ſentences of the ancient philoſophers. Colet rewarded Eraſmus for all his ſervices, and allowed him a yearly penſion: he ſtudied how to promote his intereſt, and recommended him to the patronage of Sir Henry Guilford, who was a riſing favourite at court, and maſter of the horſe to king Henry VIII. Colet was alſo inſtrumental in keeping up the correſpondence between the king and Eraſmus, and prevailed on his majeſty to ſend him a liberal preſent, with a ſtrong invitation to come once more into England.

Colet was ſtill intent on diſcharging his duty as a divine: but he deſpiſed eloquence, though he was a great maſter of ſtile and language. His preaching was popular, and adapted to the capacity of the common part of his congregation. However, it was agreeable to the better judgment of the men of wit and learning, particularly to Sir Thomas More, who was a great admirer of Colet, and had ſuch a veneration for his ſound preaching, and good living, that he made him his confeſſor. But, above all, archbiſhop Warham, who was, in effect, the ſupreme judge in the chancery, and in the church, teſtified the higheſt approbation of his performances in this kind; as appeared by this, that at the opening of a convocation of the province of Canterbury, the archbiſhop appointed dean Colet to preach the Latin ſermon on that ſolemn occaſion; whoſe ſubject was of the neceſſity of reformation, from Romans xii. 2. “ Be not conformed to this world; but be “ ye transformed, in the renewing of your minds, &c.” Biſhop Burnet thinks this ſermon was preached in 1513, though it is printed as preached in 1511: and he has given a tranſlation of part of it.

Knight, p. 150, 180.

Holland's Heroologia Ang. p. 146.

Hiſt. Reform. v. 3. p. 25.

Dean Colet preached without notes, and had the beſt ability for ſo doing, in a ſtrong and happy memory. “ A reformation was ſo much, at that time, in all mens mouths, “ that one of the beſt men in that age, Colet, dean of St. Paul's, being to open the “ convocation with a ſermon, made that the ſubject of it all.” In this diſcourſe he tells them, according to his own tranſlation, “ We wyſhe ye wold mynd the reformation of “ the churches matter. For it was never more nede. And the ſtate of the church dyd “ never deſyre more youre endevurs: therefore, with all your mynde, thynke upon the “ reformation of the churche.” He ſhewed, that the being conformed to this world, is to follow its four evils; pride, luſts, avarice, and ſecular buſineſs; all which reigned in the church and prieſts. As to the other part, he ſaid, “ Be we reformed to mekenes, to “ ſobernes, to charity, to ſpiritual occupation: therefore, let thoſe laws be reherſed that “ reſtrayne vice, and furder vertue.” He fully expoſed the vices of the clergy, and had the boldneſs to tell them, that “ prelates are choſen often times more by favour of men “ than by the grace of God: therefore, truly have we nat a fewe tymes byſhops full li-“ tell ſpiritual, men rather worldly than heavenly, ſavouryng more the ſpirite of this worlde “ than the ſpirite of Chriſte.” He expatiated upon the pomp and vanity of the dignified clergy; and ſaid, “ at the laſt lette be renewed thoſe lawes and conſtitutions of fathers of “ celebration of councels, that commaunde prouincial councells to be oftner uſed for the “ reformation of the churche: for there never hapeneth nothyng more hurtefull to the “ churche of Chriſte than the lack both of councell generall and provinciall.” He exhorted the biſhops to ſet a good example to the inferior clergy, and obſerved, that “ the “ clergies and ſpirituals part ones reformed in the churche, than may we with a juſte “ ordre procede to the reformation of the lays part; the whiche truely wyll be very eaſy “ to do, if we fyrſt be reformed; for the bodye followeth the ſoule. Our goodnes ſhall “ compel them into the right way, truly more effectuouſly, than all your ſuſpendynges and “ curſynges.” He concluded with a decent apology; yet admoniſhed them to reform, and freely ſaid, “ truly ye are gathered often tymes together (but by your favoure to ſpeke “ the trouth) yet I ſe nat what frute cometh of your aſſemblyng, namely to the churche.”

Wirtzung.
Burnet.

Biſhop Burnet tells us, “ that when he wrote his Hiſtory of the Reformation, he “ had doctor Colet's ſermon in his hands; and once he intended to have publiſhed it, as “ a piece that might ſerve to open the ſcene, and to ſhew the ſtate of things at the firſt “ beginnings of the reformation.” However, upon the great hopes and expectation from the convocation of the prelates and clergy after the reſtoration of king Charles II. for a ſort of precedent and rule to them, this ſermon of dean Colet was printed in Engliſh. The Latin original is in the public library at Oxford, and is the only entire work we have of the author, except the Rudiments of Grammar: but it is remarkable, that, in this ſermon to a Popiſh ſynod, there is no manner of popery. Eraſmus excuſes him for not leaving more in writing; “ though I wiſh, ſays that great man, he had not abſtained from writing “ books: I ſhould value the thoughts of ſuch a man, in whatever language they were “ dreſſed.”

Reflections on an Engliſh Convocation.

Dean Colet was elected prolocutor in this convocation, when, by his prudence and learning, he managed and reſtrained the ſpirit of perſecution that was then fermenting among the inferior Popiſh clergy. He preached two ſermons “Of War” before Henry VIII. when he was entering upon a war with France. Thoſe ſermons are loſt; but ſome account is given of them by Eraſmus, and archbiſhop Parker; from whence we may infer, that the dean, for his plain, free, ſcriptural way of preaching, lay under the ſuſpicion of hereſy: but he was protected by the king, who adviſed him to proceed in reproving and reforming a corrupt and diſſolute age. His majeſty told him, he would humble his adverſaries, and ſatisfy the world, that they who ſtruck at doctor Colet ſhould not go unpuniſhed.

Knight.

As a proof of this king's [b] moderation, we are told, that when he was preparing for war againſt France, doctor Colet was appointed to preach before him at court, which he did, and in general terms inveighed ſo ſtrongly againſt the impiety of going to war, that it was thought the preacher would have been ſent to priſon, or perhaps more ſeverely cenſured. But the king ſent for Colet, and was at ſo much pains to convince him of the neceſſity of the war he was entering upon, that the dean, in a ſecond ſermon upon the ſame ſubject, preached up the lawfulneſs, the piety, and expediency of war for the ſervice of our country. This ſermon pleaſed the king ſo much, that he gave the dean thanks, and, ever after, his countenance.

Guthrie, v. 3. p. 582.

It appears, that Henry VIII. was diſturbed at the doctrine which Colet delivered in his firſt ſermon; and afraid that ſuch a powerful diſſuaſive from war might cool the minds of his ſubjects, and even intimidate his ſoldiers, at this juncture of his declaring a war againſt France. His majeſty ſent for the dean, immediately after the ſermon, who waited his pleaſure in the Franciſcan monaſtery adjoining to the royal palace at Greenwich. The king went down to walk in the convent-garden, and diſmiſſed all his attendants when he ſaw the dean, whom he addreſſed in this friendly manner. “Maſter dean, that you may fear no harm, I ſent for you at this time; not to interrupt your holy labours in preaching, which I would rather encourage and promote: but to diſburden my own conſcience of ſome ſcruples upon it, and by your ghoſtly advice to direct myſelf in the preſent poſture of affairs.” He required the dean to ſhew the neceſſity and lawfulneſs of a defenſive war, which he undertook in another ſermon, with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and ſcripture, that he confirmed the king and his nobles in their intended enterprize, and animated the common people, who before were cool and indifferent to the war. The king publickly thanked the dean before all the people; and ſaid to his nobles, who attended him, “Well, let every one chooſe his own doctor; but this ſhall be mine.” His majeſty then took a glaſs of wine, and drank very graciouſly to the dean, whom he diſmiſſed with all the marks of affection, and promiſed him any favour he ſhould aſk for at court.

Eraſmus. Ep. Iod. Jonæ, p. 579.

Dean Colet was above the acceptance of a biſhopric: but he was made chaplain, and preacher in ordinary to the king. Eraſmus ſays, he was admitted to be one of the privy-council: but he affected privacy and retreat, for the more eaſy enjoyment of his book, his friend, and his prayers. The ſweating ſickneſs raged much in London, and carried off many of Colet's friends, which weaned him more than ever from this world, and he ſoon after died of the ſame diſtemper, which firſt broke out in 1485. “It was a peſtilent fever; but not ſeated in the veins or humours; for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple of livid ſpots; for the maſs of blood being not tainted, only a malignant vapour flew to the heart, and ſeized the vital ſpirit, which ſtirred nature to ſend it forth by an extreme ſweat.” Some call it an epidemical diſtemper. Lord Bacon ſays, it was not; but was conceived to proceed from a malignancy in the conſtitution of the air.

Lord Bacon.

Guthrie, v. 2 p. 773.

Dean Colet was taken with this illneſs, of which none died but on the firſt day: he recovered twice, and relapſed into a third fit, from which he very hardly eſcaped with life; and from the relics he fell into a conſumption which occaſioned his death. The Carthuſians had more auſterity, ſilence, and ſolitude, than any other order; on which account dean Colet was inclined to be near them, though not among them, in his latter days. For this purpoſe he built a convenient houſe within the precinct of the Carthuſian monaſtery at Sheen, near Richmond in Surry. He ſaid, “he prepared this ſeat for his old age; that, when broken with infirmities, and unable to diſcharge the duties of his function, he might retire from the world, to ſtudy and practiſe the true Chriſtian philoſophy.”

Sir Tho. More. Eraſmus.

Wood, p. 12. Eraſmus.

He found himſelf under a ſenſible decay, and prepared to meet his fate with the reſignation of a Chriſtian, and the fortitude of a philoſopher. He firſt took care to ſettle the perpetuity of his ſchool, and to regulate the diſcipline of his church: after which, he made his laſt will, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt 1518, without any of the common ſuperſtitious conceits that were then a part of teſtamentary writings; expreſſing himſelf only like a Chriſtian, and as a Proteſtant might do in the preſent age. He deviſed his

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[b] Mr. Guthrie means Henry VII. which is a miſtake: for that monarch died in 1509, and theſe ſermons were not preached till about 1512. But Collier is under the ſame miſtake in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

real eſtate, conſiſting of the manors of Weldon, Denthorpe, Kirkly-Dene, Byhvyk, and Thyrnyng in the counties of Northampton and Huntingdon, with other eſtates in Buckinghamſhire, and Norfolk, to the family of the Knyvets, who were his neareſt relations. His legacies were left only for truly chriſtian and charitable uſes; to reward his friends, relieve poor ſcholars, and ſupport old ſervants. He left all his printed books to be divided among poor ſtudents; and gave veſtments to ſeveral pariſh churches, without mention of one prayer for his departed ſoul.

His diſtemper increaſed, and his devotion grew with it. At length, he ſurrendered his Wood.
laſt breath to him who firſt gave it, on the ſixteenth of September 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. One of the phyſicians judged his diſeaſe to be the dropſy: but no extraordinary ſymptom appeared upon opening the body, only that the capillary veſſels of Eraſmus.
his liver had ſome puſtulary eruptions. His body was carried from Sheen to London; "and, by the care of his old decrepid mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of Wood.
"St. Paul, nigh to the image of St. Wigefort." Eraſmus ſays, he was buried on the ſouth ſide of the choir, with a humble monument that he had ſeveral years before appointed and prepared, with only this inſcription "Jo. Coletus."

His monument was revived by the company of mercers, who were willing to ſhew Weaver's
how much they valued him, by erecting another to his memory, with his effigies. Fun. Mon.
This was deſtroyed by the dreadful fire in 1666; but Sir William Dugdale has partly p. 3[illegible]. G. Lili-
preſerved it in his hiſtory of St. Paul's cathedral, where we have the elegant Latin um.
epitaph compoſed by William Lily. But the ruins of this monument are ſtill to be ſeen Strype's Life of
under St. Paul's, and the entire buſt, which is clay, burnt and painted; a fine art known Stowe. p.
and practiſed in former times. 14.

We are told, "his body, which was cloſed up in a leaden coffin, was laid up, and "incloſed in the wall, near to the place where his monument was afterwards put. In Wood.
"1680, when the wall was taken down, the coffin was diſcovered; for it laid in the wall "about two feet and an half above the ſurface of the floor. Some of the royal ſociety, "who out of curioſity went to ſee it, thruſt a probe into a chink of the coffin, which "bringing out ſome moiſture with it, found it of an ironiſh taſte, and fancied that it "felt ſoft and pappy like brawn."

The loſs of this excellent man was greatly lamented by all the learned men in Europe, and particularly by Eraſmus, who ſpeaks of him in this manner to Lupſet: "O "true divine! O pure preacher of the goſpel of Chriſt! with what labour and pleaſure "did he imbibe the principles of the right Chriſtian philoſophy! How ſweetly did he ſuck in "the doctrines, and the very ſpirit of St. Paul! How did he fully anſwer what he taught, "by what he lived!" He expreſſed his ſorrow to biſhop Fiſher in a more affecting man- Eraſmus.
ner, and ſays, "I write now in tears for the deceaſe of dean Colet: I know his ſtate "is happy: but, in the name of the world, I muſt deplore the loſs of ſuch an admirable "example of Chriſtian piety, ſuch an excellent preacher of the goſpel of Chriſt: and "even, in my own name, I muſt lament the loſs of a conſtant friend, and incomparable "patron." He drew up the life of Colet, to which he prefixed that of John Vitrier, for the uſe of Jodocus Jonas, rector of the univerſity of Ertfurd, to whom he ſays: "now, "in my opinion, you ſhould make no ſcruple of inſerting thoſe two good Chriſtians into "the catalogue of ſaints, though they were not canonized by the pope. Happy ſouls! "to whom I am ſo much beholden, aſſiſt with your prayers poor Eraſmus, yet ſtrug-"gling in this lower world; that he may be brought into your bleſt ſociety above, never "more to be ſeparated."

The characters of theſe two eminent men, drawn by ſo great a maſter, well deſerve Jortin's
to be carefully peruſed; and, if Eraſmus hath not a little given the reins to his imagi- Life of Eraſmus,
nation, and embelliſhed his ſubject, it is no wonder that he ſo ſincerely loved and ad- p. 168.
mired them both. They were two excellent eccleſiaſtics, and in many things bear no ſmall reſemblance to Eraſmus.

But the ſame author ſays, "it is obſervable of Colet, that, with all his ſenſe, and with Ibid p.
"all his learning, he was not able to acquire a purity, facility, and elegance in writing 171.
"Latin. Eraſmus takes notice of this defect in his illuſtrious friend, and aſſigns the cauſe "of it. It will uſually be the caſe, more or leſs, of thoſe who have not laid a gram-"matical foundation betimes.

"As for the things that he wrote, they are many, which being found in his ſtudy Wood, p.
"after his death, few underſtood them, becauſe written only for his own underſtanding, 11.
"with intentions, if life had been ſpared, that they ſhould have been all fairly tranſcribed "and publiſhed. The moſt part follow: *Orationes duæ ad clerum in convocatione*, an. "1511. *Comment. in eccleſiaſticam D. Dioniſii hierarcham*, M.S.—*Comment. in proverbia* "*Salomonis*, *Evang. S. Matthei*, *Epiſtolas D. Pauli*. The ſaid comment on the epiſtles of "St. Paul, are ſaid to be in M.S. in the library of Bennet-College, in Cambridge.—*Com.* "*in precationem domini. Symbolum fidei.*—*Breviloquium dictorum Chriſti. De Reformida-*"*tione Chriſti.*—*Conciones ordinariæ*; *extraordinariæ.*—*Epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum.*— *De moribus*

" *componendis.—Grammatices Rudimenta.—Epiſtolæ ad Thom. Taylerum.*—Daily Devotions; or, " the Chriſtian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice; before which is doctor Colet's Life, tritely " and impartially written by Thomas Fuller, of Waltham in Eſſex.—Monition to a godly " Life.—Sermon of Conforming and Reforming, made to the convocation in St. Paul's " church, on Rom. xii. 2. ann. 1511. This was publiſhed at Cambridge, in 1661, by Tho- " mas Smith of Chriſt's-College, there, with notes, of his making, put to it, and the par- " ticulars of his life in Engliſh, framed from ſome of the epiſtles of Eraſmus.—*Reſponſio* " *ad Argumenta Eraſmiana de tædio et pavore Chriſti.*"

Oecolompadius, and other eminent foreigners, have paid a friendly tribute to the memory of dean Colet, whom they have mentioned with great veneration and reſpect. Some account of his life was given by Mr. Henry Holland in his *Herologia Anglica*; by doctor Thomas Fuller in his Abel Redivivus; and by Mr. Thomas Smith, library-keeper of the public library in Cambridge. Beſides, Leland, George Lily, and the other remarkable writers who flouriſhed under the houſe of Tudor, have paid great encomiums on dean Colet: but Bale. it appears, his enemies intended to have burnt his bones, as thoſe of Wickliffe had been ſerved, if that piece of inhumanity had not been prevented by providence, after his death, as it was by the king before. Biſhop Latymer's Sermons, p. 174.

G. Lilium. Dean Colet had a very graceful perſon; and there was ſomething in his mien and carriage, which much became him, and every thing he ſaid or did. He is deſcribed by Eraſmus to be tall and comely: and he was very fair, till his complexion was changed by the ſweating ſickneſs and conſumption.

Knight, p. 264. The learning and piety of dean Colet were obſerved to be above the pitch of thoſe times in which he lived: and it is wonderful that he met with ſuch great favours from two ſucceſſive princes, who were none of the mildeſt in their tempers, as the ſufferings of other good men in their reigns ſadly teſtify. From the whole, it amply appears, that dean Colet was a very eminent forerunner of the reformation: and we glory in him as ſuch; as well as for his being founder of that famous ſeminary of learning, which has produced many excellent perſons in church and ſtate.

The LIFE of ERASMUS.

From 1467, to 1536.

Introduct. p, 12. DOCTOR Knight tells us, " he deſigned, in the life of dean Colet, to have given " more of the hiſtory of the learned Eraſmus; eſpecially that part of his life which " he ſpent in England: but that he ſhould rather publiſh it by itſelf: and it might very " well ſerve as a ſupplement to dean Colet's life, ſince it would illuſtrate the hiſtory " of the ſame time, and afford a very pleaſant, and even new entertainment, to all who " deſire to have a fuller account than has yet been given of that prodigy of learning."

Knight afterwards wrote the life of Eraſmus: but it has been lately given us by an abler hand. I mean doctor John Jortin, who ſays, in his preface, that, " Le Clerc, whilſt " he was concerned in publiſhing an edition of the works of Eraſmus at Leyden, drew " up his life, and inſerted it in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie.*" The doctor owns, " he has " taken that as a ground-work to build upon, and pays his grateful acknowledgments to " Le Clerc; being perſuaded that his manes, if the deceaſed concern themſelves about ſuch " things, will not be offended at the uſe he has made of his work."

Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, p. 1. Bayle v. 2. p. 800. Eraſmus was born at Rotterdam, the twenty-eighth of October 1467. " He took his denomi- " nation from this city, and always called himſelf Roterodamus; and ſhe made ſuitable re- " turns of gratitude to a name by which ſhe was ſo much ennobled, and perpetuated " her acknowledgments by inſcriptions, and medals, and a ſtatue placed near the princi- " pal church." He was born illegitimate, and chriſtened Gerard: he owns himſelf, that Bayle. his father and mother were never married. It is true, he ſays, that his mother granted the laſt favour upon hopes, and a promiſe of marriage. Her ſin was very different from thoſe committed by profligate, lewd women; and has produced ſo excellent a man, that, if ſhe had lived long enough to ſee the extraordinary merit of her ſon, ſhe would have had

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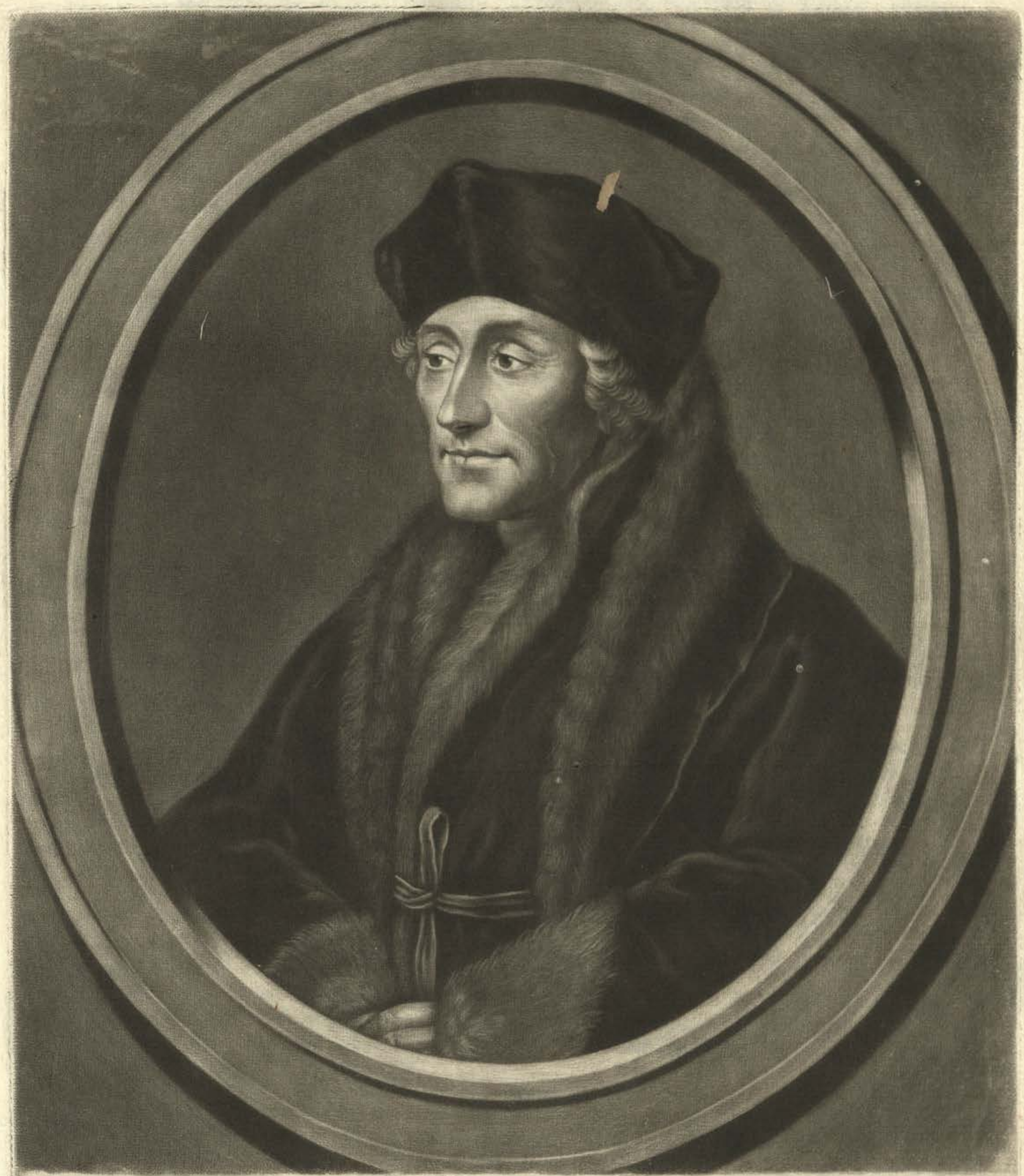

R. Houston Fecit.

Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus

Natus A^{o} 1467. Obÿt A^{o} 1536.

printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker; in Cornhill, London.

had more reaſon to boaſt of him than the mother of Peter Lombard, of Gratian, and of Comeſtor: for twenty authors of thoſe three are not worth one half of Eraſmus.

His father, whoſe name was Gerard, was a burgher, and inhabitant of Torgau, who made love to Margaret the daughter of Peter, a phyſician at Sevenbergen in Brabant. Gerard was reſolved to marry Margaret: but his father and brothers would not ſuffer him to do it: therefore, he abandoned that country, and went to Rome, leaving Margaret pregnant with this her ſecond ſon. She withdrew to Rotterdam, where ſhe brought Eraſmus into the world; and Gerard's friends ſent him word that ſhe was dead. His grief upon this occaſion gave him a religious caſt of mind, and made him take orders at Rome, where he had before employed himſelf in tranſcribing ancient authors: but upon his return to Holland he diſcovered the impoſition. He found Margaret and his two ſons alive: he was now diſabled from marrying, but always loved her with great tenderneſs; and ſhe never would marry any other perſon, having no other thoughts than to give a good education to their children.

Baudius. Jortin. Dupin. Bayle.

Gerard was a man of good learning, had a talent for preaching, and employed himſelf that way all the reſt of his life. He took care of his children, and ſent Eraſmus to ſchool when he was four years of age. The boy was committed to the care of Peter Winkle; and, having a pretty voice, was choſen choriſter in the cathedral church of Utrecht, where he learnt muſic ſoon after he had been taught to read. At nine years of age, he went to a ſchool at Daventer, where Alexander Hegius was his maſter; and Adrianus Florentius, afterwards pope Adrian VI. was his ſchool-fellow, and continued to be his friend. Zinthius, viſiting that ſchool, and taking notice of the abilities of young Eraſmus, is ſaid to have foretold the progreſs which he afterwards made in literature. This ſchool at Daventer was a college of regent ſchool-maſters, who all wore the ſame habit, though they were ſeculars. Rodolphus Agricola paid a viſit to his friend Hegius, and read over the compoſitions of his ſcholars: he extolled what was done by Eraſmus, and deſired to ſee the young ſcholar, who was then about twelve: Eraſmus was brought before him; and Agricola, looking on him very ſtedfaſtly, ſaid, that he would make a great man.

Dupin. Jortin. Dupin.

It is not true, as many believe, that Eraſmus was ſlow in learning: he made a very conſiderable progreſs in his ſtudies at Daventer; and it is reported of him, that he had then a great memory, and could repeat all Terence and Horace by heart. But he has given the beſt account of himſelf, in his tract of "the Education of Youth;" wherein he ſays, you may kill ſome children before you can mend them by beating; and yet you may do what you pleaſe with them with good words and kind uſage. "Of this temper, "ſays Eraſmus, I own myſelf to have been, when a boy. I was a favourite with my "maſter, who conceived great hopes of me, and had a mind to get a thorough know-"ledge of my diſpoſition; therefore, he made a trial how I could bear a ſound whipping. "Upon this, a fault was cooked up; of which I never ſo much as dreamed; and ac-"cordingly I ſuffered the diſcipline of the ſchool. Immediately I loſt all manner of reliſh "to my ſtudies; and this uſage damped my ſpirits ſo much, that it almoſt broke my "heart." This made Eraſmus approve of the practice of Speuſippus, who cauſed the pictures of joy and gladneſs to be ſet round about his ſchool, "to ſignify that the buſineſs "of education ought to be rendered as pleaſant as poſſible."

Bayle. Jortin. De Pueri Inſtitut. Knight. p. 174. Ap. Tillotſon.

The affectionate mother of Eraſmus followed him to Daventer, and died there of the plague when her ſon was about thirteen. Eraſmus then returned to Torgau, where his father, much affected with the loſs of his mother, followed her ſoon after; and they both died aged a little more than forty years.

Dupin.

Gerard left Peter Winkel, and two others, guardians to his two ſons; who proved baſe and diſhoneſt men, and ſent their two wards to Bois-le-duc in Brabant, where they were placed in a ſchool under the *fratres collationarii*, who formed their ſcholars for a monaſtic life. Eraſmus had a great averſion to this kind of life; and could diſcern even then, that religion was the thing leaſt regarded in religious houſes. His guardians ſent his brother Peter to a monaſtery near Delft: and Eraſmus was at laſt forced to enter among the regular canons in the monaſtery of Stein near Torgau, where he went through his year of probation with an unwilling mind.

Bayle. Jortin. Dupin. Bayle. Jortin.

Though he was chriſtened by the name of Gerard, he was called Deſiderius Eraſmus from his infancy; becauſe the name Gerard comes from the Dutch word *gieren*, which ſignifies "to love;" and implies much the ſame as *diſiderare* in Latin, and Eraſmus in Greek. But doctor Jortin more judiciouſly ſays, that "in his youth he took the name "of Eraſmus, having before gone by that of Gerard, which in the German language means "amiable. Following the faſhion of learned men of thoſe times, who affected to give their "names a Latin or a Greek turn, he called himſelf *deſiderius*, which in Latin, and E-"raſmus, which in Greek, hath the ſame ſignification. Afterwards he was ſenſible that "he ſhould rather have called himſelf *Eraſmius*; and he gave this name to his godſon, "*Joannes Eraſmius Frobenius*."

Dupin's Hiſt. of the ſixteenth Cent. p. 263. Collier, p. 4.

Dupin, p. 264. Eraſmus put on the habit at eighteen, and made his profeſſion in 1486, when he was nineteen. He continued ſome years in the monaſtery of Stein, and began his works by writing a little treatiſe "of the Contempt of the World." He was ordained prieſt by the biſhop of Utrecht in 1492: but he had quitted his monaſtic ſtate two years before, and was entertained by Henry à Bergis, archbiſhop of Cambray, with whom he was to have Bayle. gone to Rome, but was diſappointed, and went to Paris, where he ſtudied in the college Jortin. of Montaigu. He found it difficult to ſubſiſt in Paris, and paſſed ſome years in poverty, which obliged him to ſtudy, and read lectures to young pupils, whereby he ſoon became Knight, p. 31. illuſtrious in the republic of Letters. Among his diſciples, were ſome young Engliſhmen, particularly William lord Montjoy, and the honourable Thomas Grey, ſon of the marquis of Dorſet. The former prevailed on him to go over to England in 1497, and afterwards gave him an annual penſion of an hundred crowns. Eraſmus met with a very friendly reception at Oxford, where he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Colet, Grocyne, Linacer, Latimer, More, and other learned men. "He ſtudied at Oxford, as Wood ſays, "in St. Mary's college, in the years 1497, 1498, if not all of 1499." But he ſeems to Knight. ſtretch his ſtay too far.

Colet wanted Eraſmus to read divinity lectures upon the Old Teſtament; which he modeſtly declined. We find him at Paris in 1499, in ſuch indigence, that eight franks of Bayle. gold were ſent him from England by a ſpecial meſſenger. He was wonderfully pleaſed Dupin, p. 265. with the learning, and other advantages he found in England, which he viſited again that year. "There is a ſtory that Henry VIII. ordered the cuſtom-houſe officers to pillage Jortin, p. 16. "Eraſmus, who returned to complain to the king; and that the king laughed at him, and "ſent him away with a preſent, and with orders to receive his money again."

Eraſmus liked the Engliſh faſhion of ſaluting the ladies, and writes to Andrelin to invite him into that country, telling him, "here are nymphs beautiful as angels; wherever "you meet them you feaſt on their roſy lips." He looked upon England as his own Bayle. Eraſm. Ep. lib. 2. 16. country by adoption, and deſired to ſerve it as much as his own country by birth. He acknowledged the archbiſhop of Canterbury for his excellent patron: and ſhews, in ſeveral places, that he was charmed with England, where he had found ſeveral illuſtrious Mecænas's, and the triumph of the ſciences. He ſays, that the learned men with which it abounded, might well raiſe the envy of Italy. He obſerves, that "this honour was an "ancient prerogative of that nation; where the great lords diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the "culture and improvement of the ſciences; which is an advantage wherein the Engliſh "nobility ſurpaſs all other nations." It is pleaſant to read the difference he makes between the meals and feaſts of the churchmen and thoſe of the nobility. The prieſts were only remarkable for hard drinking, ſcurrilous noiſe, low jeſts, and raging ſcandal; whereas, among the noblemen, the ſciences and religious matters furniſhed the company with table-talk.

Knight, p. 245. Archbiſhop Warham beſtowed many civilities upon Eraſmus; and doctor John Fiſher, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, invited him to teach the Greek language at Cambridge, of which univerſity doctor Fiſher was then chancellor. Eraſmus was the firſt who taught P. 16. the Greek-Grammar in Cambridge: but he underſtood little of that language when he firſt came into England, and was taught it there by Linacer.

Though the Oxford hiſtorian mentions Eraſmus as teaching Greek at Oxford, and living there many years at different times; it is probable he never went there after his firſt coming to England, or made no ſtay there. By his own account, he had not Greek enough to ſet up for a teacher, even ſome years after his leaving England for the firſt time. He purſued thoſe ſtudies at Paris, as ſoon as he left England; and ſays, in one of his letters, that his application to Greek had almoſt killed him; and that he had no money to buy books, or retain a maſter. He was forced to make his own way by tranſlating Greek writers; and tells Colet, in 1504, he had cloſely applied himſelf to Greek for the three laſt years.

Bayle. Eraſmus was diſappointed in England, and returned to France in 1500, with an intent to go to Italy, to take a doctor's degree, which he obſerved makes one neither better nor worſe; but it muſt be done if a man would be eſteemed. He narrowly eſcaped being robbed and murdered in going from Amiens to Paris. He ſpent ſome time in the caſtle of the prince of Courtemburn; but he had no great inclination to the ſtudy of Jortin, p. 18. theology, and no mind to engage in it, leſt he ſhould oppoſe the commonly received opinions, and ſo paſs for an heretic. It is worth notice, that Standiſh, who was a bitter Knight, p. 14. enemy to Eraſmus, in his declamation againſt him, ſtiles him "*Græculus iſte*;" which was, a long time after, the phraſe for a heretic, or one falling under the ſuſpicion of heretical pravity. He would have maſtered the Hebrew tongue; but grew tired of the attempt. In 1503, he publiſhed divers of his works at Louvain, particularly the "*Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*;" or, the Chriſtian Soldier's Dagger, or Manual." He began this work in 1594, at the requeſt of a lady, who was brutiſhly uſed by her huſband: and he tells us, that he compoſed it, not to make a parade of wit or eloquence; but rather to correct a vulgar error of thoſe, who ſuppoſed religion to conſiſt in mere ceremonies and bodily obſervances, which ſurpaſſed even Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, and who ſtrangely neglected the things which concerned true piety. Hence it may be ſeen, that long before Luther made his appearance, Eraſmus had cenſured the minute devotions, which the directors of conſciences impoſed upon the people, inſtead of inſtilling into them that true piety, which conſiſts in the practice of Chriſtian virtues.

Jortin, p. 21.

Eraſmus returned to England in 1506, and dedicated the Tyrannicida of Lucian to Richard Whitford, a monk in Sion monaſtery near Brentford, and a declamation of his own in anſwer to it. He alſo dedicated the tranſlation of Lucian's Timon to doctor Ruthall, ſecretary to Henry VII. and afterwards biſhop of Durham. And he ſent a tranſlation of Lucian's Toxaris, as a new year's gift, to doctor Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter.

The ſame year Eraſmus went back to Paris, and took with him the ſons of doctor Joannes Baptiſta, firſt phyſician to Henry VII. He now proſecuted his deſign to go into Italy, and arrived at Bononia in November 1506. He compoſed a poem, as he was croſſing the Alps on horſeback, concerning the inconveniences and infirmities of old age: he complains that he already felt them, though he was not forty; and from this time forwards he repreſents himſelf as an old man; though he lived on to be really ſuch, with an infirm conſtitution, many diſtempers, and an uncommon application to literature.

Dupin, p. 265.
Jortin, p. 28.

He took his degree of doctor in divinity at Bononia, where he continued till 1508; and he alſo took the ſame degree at the univerſity of Turin. By miſtake, he was thought to be the ſurgeon of thoſe who were infected with the plague at Bononia, becauſe of the white ſcapulary which he wore as a canon regular; whereby his life was endangered: for thoſe who met him threw ſtones at him, and ſome of them purſued him with ſword in hand, being incenſed againſt him for not cautioning them to go out of the way. From Bononia he went to Venice, where he was corrector of the preſs in the famous printing-houſe of Aldus Manutius, at whoſe houſe he lodged in the ſame room, and lay in the ſame bed, with Hieronymus Aleander, afterwards archbiſhop of Brindiſi, nuncio, and cardinal. He alſo contracted an acquaintance with Marcus Muſurus, and Scipio Carteromachus who taught the Greek language at Padua, from whence he went to Rome in 1509. He was invited to Padua by Alexander, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, natural ſon to James IV. king of Scotland: and he was tutor to that young prince, who was killed with his father at the battle of Flodden in 1513.

Dupin.
Bayle.
Dupin, p. 265.

The reputation of Eraſmus was well known at Rome, where he met with a very favourable reception from the pope and cardinals, and eſpecially from cardinal de Medicis, who was afterwards pope Leo X. Eraſmus hath given a pretty account of the manner in which he was treated by cardinal Dominic Grimani, who received him as if he had been one of his collegues, offered him his own houſe, and exhorted him not to leave Rome, where men of genius were encouraged. Eraſmus told the cardinal, he had an invitation from the king of England, which muſt be Henry VIII. for Henry VII. died the twenty-ſecond of April 1509. The pope offered to make him penitentiary: but a land of ceremonies, and a land of inquiſition, was no proper habitation for a man of a temper ſo free and open, and ſo remote from the Italian grimaces.

Dupin.
Knight.
Jortin, p. 29.
Engliſhman's Hiſt. of England, v 2. p. 27.

Lord Montjoy promiſed Eraſmus great favours from Henry VIII. and archbiſhop Warham. He came to England upon theſe expectations in 1510, and dedicated a Latin tranſlation of the Hecuba of Euripides to Warham. He lodged with the famous Thomas More, who was then a young man; and it was in his houſe that he compoſed his book in "Praiſe of Folly," in which he ſhews that there are fools in all ſtations. The deſign of this ludicrous piece is to expreſs his reſentment of being neglected at Rome; and therefore he expoſes that court, not ſparing the pope himſelf: ſo that he was never after this looked upon as a true ſon of that church. He would have ſtayed in England the remainder of his life if he had found what had been promiſed him: but the young king, though a lover of learning and learned men, diſappointed his hopes. His majeſty had wrote a very friendly letter to him with his own hand. "Every one knows, ſays Eraſmus to Servatius, that if I would live but a few months at court, the king would "give me as many benefices as I deſire. The archbiſhop of Canterbury loves me as "though he were my father or my brother, and has given me a living worth an hundred "nobles." He extols the liberality of that prelate, other biſhops, and lord Montjoy. Dupin ſays, the archbiſhop offered him a living, which he refuſed to accept. But it is certain, that he gave him the rectory of Aldington in Kent, in 1511, which Eraſmus reſigned for a penſion of twenty pounds a year. As Eraſmus was at firſt invited down to Cambridge by biſhop Fiſher, he was accommodated by him in his own lodgings at Queen's college, and promoted by his means to the Lady Margaret's profeſſorſhip in divinity, and afterwards to the Greek profeſſor's chair; which places were of great ſervice to the univerſity, though more honourable than profitable to himſelf. He explained the Grammar of Chryſoloras, and intended to read lectures upon that of Gaza: but he ſeems to have

Dupin.
Jortin, p. 31.
p. 35.
Dupin.
Knight.
Bayle.
Knight.
Wood, p. 572.
Knight.
Fuller.

been ſo neceſſitous as to dedicate his book "*De Copia Verborum*" to dean Colet for fifteen angels.

Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Camb. p. 87.

Eraſmus came and went to and from Cambridge, for ſeven years together, having his abode in Queen's college, where a ſtudy, on the top of the South-Weſt tower, ſtill retains his name. His labour, in mounting ſo many ſtairs, was recompenſed with a pleaſant proſpect: but he frequently complained of the college ale, as raw, ſmall, and windy; in which he was relieved by Ammonius, and others in London, who ſupplied him with wine.

Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. 1. p. 127. Guthrie, v. 2. p. 907.

"Archbiſhop Warham was a great canoniſt, an able ſtateſman, a dextrous courtier, and "a favourer of learned men. He always hated Cardinal Wolſey, and would never ſtoop "to him, eſteeming it below the dignity of his ſee." Wolſey's houſe, like Cicero's Tuſculanum, was a retreat to all men of letters, without diſtinction. Though Eraſmus differed from him greatly, both in matters of politics and religion; yet he allowed him a large appointment, and offered to provide for him either in church or ſtate. He appointed Livinius, a pupil and relation of Eraſmus, to be his private ſecretary, and gave him an education worthy his merit. Is not this writer miſtaken? Wolſey gave Eraſmus a prebend at Tournay: but he tells his friend Botzem, that he had never received any thing from Wolſey, beſides compliments and promiſes.

Jortin, p. 52.

Eraſmus had long perceived, and declared to the world, that the religion of the monks conſiſted entirely in minute obſervances, and formal grimaces, with which the wicked can comply, as well as the good. He, on the contrary, made religion to conſiſt in ſuch things as none but worthy perſons obſerve; in the exerciſe of thoſe virtues which are formed in the mind, from a knowledge of our duty, and a perſuaſion of its importance. A man fixed in theſe ſentiments, and alſo continually occupied in learned ſtudies, would have found it very difficult to practice the rites and ceremonies with which religion was overrun and choked up in thoſe days. This neglect in England, as in all other places, was accounted a far more heinous crime than the vileſt immorality and debauchery. The monks harraſſed thoſe who who were not of their way of thinking; and the king ſhould have beſtowed a handſome penſion on Eraſmus, which would have exempted him from worldly cares.

Dupin.

Eraſmus, in 1513, dedicated a tranſlation of Plutarch "*De tuenda valetudine*," to John Young, dean of York, and maſter of the Rolls. But he found that he could not procure any convenient ſettlement in England, and went to Flanders in 1514. He valued not profit: he would not be rich: he deſired only what might enable him to preſerve his health, and purſue his ſtudies, without being a burden to any one. He ſays, he would have paſſed the reſt of his days in England, if the promiſes made to him had been performed: he was invited to Brabant, to the court of Charles archduke of Auſtria; which offer he accepted, and was made counſellor to that prince, by the favour of the chancellor of Burgundy.

Eraſ. to Servat.

Knight's Life of Colet, p. 126, 177. Ib. p. 140. Ib. 223. Wood's Athen. p. 13. Ib. p. 54. Ib. p. 86. Ib. p. 38.

During his reſidence in England, he aſſiſted his friend dean Colet in drawing up a ſyſtem of grammatical rules for the Latin language, and the better eſtabliſhment of St. Paul's ſchool. He alſo employed his vein of Latin poetry for the ſervice and honour of that ſchool: and when Colet died, Eraſmus wept for him more than a brother. The learned Grocyne was a familiar friend of, or rather tutor to Eraſmus: but Edward Lee, almoner to Henry VIII. and archbiſhop of York in 1531, was a violent antagoniſt of Eraſmus; for whom he was not a fit match, though he was a learned man. Eraſmus in his profeſſorſhip at Cambridge was ſucceeded by his friend Richard Croke, who planted the true and genuine Greek there. "Some think that Eraſmus ſtudied at Oxford in the year "1518 or 19, when cardinal Wolſey founded his lectures in that univerſity; at which "time Eraſmus read certain lectures in the public refectory of Corpus Chriſti-College." This muſt be a miſtake, for Eraſmus never returned to continue in England after he left it in 1514.

Jortin, p. 58.

At departing from London, he ſaluted the king, and the biſhop of Lincoln, who made him no preſent; though the biſhop treated him with magnificent promiſes. The biſhop of Durham gave him ſix angels; the archbiſhop of Canterbury the ſame; and the biſhop of Rocheſter gave him a piece of gold. "Eraſmus having been a great acquaintance of "the archbiſhop, had the honour to have his picture ſent to him by the owner: which "being with great devotion received, Eraſmus ſent him his, and between them paſſed "ſeveral epiſtles."

Wood, p. 572.

Bibl. Uni. 7. 139.

Eraſmus was now in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and had many infirmities of body. He had for ſome years been afflicted with the ſtone and gravel, which obliged him to drink only wine, and wine of a particular ſort: but he was of ſuch a facetious temper, and ſo fond of a witty ſtory, that he loved a good jeſt, though made upon himſelf. It is no wonder that the monks were enemies to Eraſmus, that they waged perpetual war with him while he lived, and tarniſhed his memory as much as they could when he was dead. He affirmed to Servatius, 'that the greateſt miſchief, that hath been done to the Chriſ'tian religion, aroſe from theſe religious orders: for what is more corrupt and more wicked 'than theſe relaxed religious? Would it not be better, according to the doctrines of our Saviour, to look upon Chriſtendom as upon one houſe, one family, one monaſtery, and all Chriſtians as one brotherhood? Would it not be better to account the ſacrament of baptiſm the moſt ſacred of all vows and engagements, and never trouble ourſelves where we live, ſo we live well?' This ſyſtem was founded on clear evangelical truths; and monkery muſt have been deſtroyed, if this doctrine had been embraced.

Charles archduke of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low Countries, and afterwards emperor, made Eraſmus one of his councellors of ſtate, and gave him a penſion of two hundred florins a year; which was continued till 1525. He was empowered to order every thing that he thought proper belonging to the college of the three languages, founded at Louvain by Francis Buſlidius, archbiſhop of Beſançon, who died at Toledo in 1502: and Eraſmus named Adrianus, Agathias, and Gochenius, to be profeſſors of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Dupin, p. 265.

Leo X. was raiſed to the papal dignity in 1513; and Eraſmus, who had known him when he was cardinal, congratulated him upon his advancement, and requeſted permiſſion to dedicate his Greek and Latin edition of the New Teſtament to his holineſs. The pope was pleaſed he ſhould do it: and Eraſmus ſent him a copy of the tranſlation; with a letter, informing him, that it was not his deſign to contradict the vulgar Latin, but to correct the faults that had crept into it. He compared the texts with nine manuſcripts; and his edition was approved by the biſhop of Baſil, according to the ſtatutes of the Lateran council: it was alſo commended by the pope, and many divines: but it was not well received at firſt at Louvain and in England.

He went to Baſil, to have his New Teſtament, his Epiſtles of St. Jerom, and ſome other works printed there. He paſſed ſome months in that city, where he contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Joannes Amerbachius, and Joannes Frobenius. The former was a man of wealth, who had three ſons that ſtudied Hebrew; and the latter was a ſkilful printer. They had joined in the project of publiſhing St. Jerom's works; and were pleaſed to have the aſſiſtance of ſo able a critic as Eraſmus, who was delighted to find them ſo diſpoſed. At this time, he alſo contracted an acquaintance with Joannes Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and other learned men He returned the ſame year to Bruſſels: but would not ſettle at Louvain, becauſe of the wretched divines with whom that place was infeſted.

The French king, Francis I. invited Eraſmus to ſettle in France, and offered him conſiderable advantages, both in benefices and penſions: but he refuſed theſe offers; and ſaid he was entirely devoted to the ſervices of the archduke. This prince nominated Eraſmus to a vacant biſhopric in Sicily, thinking it a part of his own patronage; and when he found the pope had the right of nomination, he deſired him to confer it upon Eraſmus, who laughed when he heard of this preferment, which was refuſed by the pope. Dupin, p. 266. Jortin, p. 65; Ep. 219.

In 1515, Eraſmus publiſhed an edition of Seneca the philoſopher. One would think, that he could not have proſecuted his ſtudies, when he travelled frequently from one country to another: but he had ſuch a capacious ſoul, that nothing was too difficult for him; and his application was ſo great, that he could go through much buſineſs in a ſhort time. When Luther began firſt to make himſelf conſpicuous, he uſed his beſt endeavours to engage Eraſmus in his party: but Eraſmus would not declare for him, though he diſapproved of the fiery zeal of his adverſaries. He adviſed Luther to behave himſelf with moderation; and told him, he ought to give ſolid reaſons for reforming ſome common cuſtoms, inſtead of confidently affirming that they ought to be aboliſhed. The cardinal of St. George preſſed Eraſmus to return to Rome: but he abſtained from going there, or even to the imperial court, for fear the pope or emperor ſhould command him to write againſt Luther, and what they called the new hereſies. Dupin. Jortin. Knight.

His New Teſtament, Greek and Latin, with notes, ſoon ſpread itſelf all over Europe; and he received the congratulations of his learned friends from all parts. In return, he exhorted them to labour ſtrenuouſly in the cauſe of reviving arts and ſciences: and ſoon after he publiſhed his edition of St. Jerom, dedicated to archbiſhop Warham, to whom he complains of the ignorance of the monks and friars. The archbiſhop ſent him twenty pounds, which was ſuch a ſeaſonable ſupply that he rejected the invitation of Erneſtus duke of Bavaria to viſit and improve his academy at Ingoldſtadt. Warham alſo wrote a polite letter to Eraſmus, and thanked him in the moſt obliging manner for having conferred immortality upon him: but the monks had a very different opinion from Warham, about the labours which Eraſmus beſtowed upon Jerom. Even Luther blames him for thinking too meanly of Auguſtin: but Oecolampadius ſent him a letter full of friendſhip and reſpect; and the biſhop of Liege invited him to his palace. Jortin, p. 95.

Eraſmus ſent to Henry VIII. a ſecond edition of a tranſlation of Plutarch, "concerning the method of diſtinguiſhing a flatterer from a friend." And he dedicated to cardinal Wolſey another treatiſe of Plutarch, "concerning the uſefulneſs which may be reaped from enemies." The king ſent ſixty angels, and offered him a good living. The ſame year, he dedicated an edition of Quintius Curtius to the duke of Bavaria, and derides the romantic genius of the Greek hiſtorians. He alſo dedicated his book, called "The Complaint of Peace," to Philip of Burgundy, archbiſhop of Utrecht, who would have given him a benefice.

It is hard to name two perſons, who were more generally and more deſervedly abhorred than the popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. Religion and morality ſat very looſe on Leo X. who was buſy in publiſhing his indulgences, while Eraſmus was employed in reviſing his New Teſtament. This was in the year 1518, when the turbulent and tempeſtuous times began between the reformed and the Romaniſts. Religious diſputes were now to produce bloody wars and cruel perſecutions. Power and dominion were contended for on one ſide; life and liberty on the other. Luther refuted the doctrine of indulgences: but the monks ſaid, "Eraſmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." From this time, Eraſmus was moſt maliciouſly perſecuted by the eccleſiaſtics, who complained that he had ſet Luther the example to cenſure the monks.

Burnet. Luther's breach was occaſioned by the ſcandalous ſale of pardons and indulgences; which all the writers of the Popiſh ſide give up, and acknowledge that it was a great Jortin, p. 117. abuſe. His warmth againſt indulgences was very pardonable, conſidering that they were one of the moſt ſhocking inſults upon common ſenſe and Chriſtianity, that ever appeared in the world. Indulgences have been granted, ſays Eraſmus, ſo largely, that poor purgaTom v. p. 359. tory is in no ſmall danger of being ſtripped of all its inhabitants. Both Eraſmus and Luther were accuſed of Arianiſm: but it appears from their writings, that they were no more Arians, or Unitarians than any of their accuſers.

Luther was violently prejudiced againſt Eraſmus, after their controverſy about free-will: and Eraſmus was offended with Luther, for aſſerting that Jerom was a heretic. But Eraſmus hated diſſentions; and often complained, afterwards, that his endeavours to pacify and reconcile the two contending parties only drew upon him the reſentment and indignation of both.

Eraſmus wrote to cardinal Wolſey, and complained of the calumnies of malicious men, haters of literature, who croſſed his deſigns of employing human learning to ſacred purpoſes, and of tranſlating and illuſtrating the holy Scriptures. "Theſe wretches, ſays he, "aſcribe to Eraſmus every thing that is odious: like true calumniators, they confound "the cauſe of literature with that of Reuchlin and Luther, though they have no con"nection. As to Luther, he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of "his, except two or three pages; not becauſe I deſpiſe him, but becauſe my own ſtudies "and occupations did not give me leiſure; and yet, as I hear, there are perſons, who affirm "that I have helped him. If he hath written well, the praiſe belongs not to me; and "if he hath written ill, I ought not to bear the blame, ſince in all his works there is "not a line that came from me. I was once againſt Luther, purely for fear leſt he "ſhould bring an odium upon literature, which is too much ſuſpected of evil already: "and I know full well, how invidious it is to oppoſe thoſe received opinions, which pro"duce ſo plentiful an harveſt to prieſts and monks." He alſo tells Wolſey, that "Ger"many hath produced ſome promiſing youths, who have eloquence and learning, and of "whom ſhe will one day, in my opinion, have reaſon to boaſt, no leſs than England "can now boaſt of her ſons. I know none of them even by ſight, except Helius Eoba"nus, Ulricus Huttenus, and Beotus Rhenanus. Theſe men fight their enemies with all "the weapons, which their natural and acquired abilities have put into their hands. I "myſelf ſhould confeſs that they take too much liberty, if I did not know how cruelly "they have been treated, and how much provoked, both publicly and privately." He adds, that "the monks take upon them to rail moſt violently, and even ſeditiouſly, in "their ſermons, in their ſchools, at entertainments, before the illiterate multitude, and "to throw out any thing that their ſpleen ſuggeſts; and then imagine that it is an un"pardonable crime, if the inſulted perſons ſay a word in their own defence. Yet even a "bee hath a ſting to wound her enemy, and a mouſe will bite when hard preſſed. "Whence come this new race of deities? They call every one a heretic whom they "diſlike, and ſtir heaven and earth when they are called calumniators. A lunatic would "be aſhamed to act like them; and yet, forſooth, they expect to be treated with com"plaiſance and veneration! Such is the confidence which they repoſe in the ſtupidity "of the multitude, not to ſay of rulers and princes."

Jortin, p. 132. Thus Eraſmus defended himſelf, with a reſerved caution not to condemn Luther, whilſt he condemned openly enough the conduct and ſentiments of Luther's enemies.

Eraſmus dedicated an edition of Suetonius to Frederic elector of Saxony, and to George a prince of the ſame houſe. He told thoſe princes what uſe was to be made of ſuch hiſtories; which gave no offence to the monks: but the whole cry of them was raiſed againſt him, when he publiſhed his preface to the Chriſtian Soldier's Manual, wherein he cenſured the ſcholaſtic divinity, and the life and converſation of the monks. He obſerves, they were making preparations for a war againſt the Turks; and ſuppoſes, if they were con-

quered, that attempts would be made to bring them over to Chriſtianity. “ Shall we Dupin, p.
“ then put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, or an Alvarus? 311.
“ What will they think, when they hear of our intricate ſubtilties, concerning inſtants,
“ formalities, quiddities, and relations? What, when they behold the Jacobins fighting
“ for their Thomas, and the Minorites for the moſt refined and ſeraphic doctors; and
“ the nominaliſts and the realiſts each defending their own jargon, and attacking that of
“ their adverſaries? The moſt efficacious way of gaining them would be to approve ourſelves the
“ ſervants and imitators of Jeſus Chriſt; and to convince them that we covet neither their
“ lands, nor their money; their wives, nor their daughters: but only deſire their ſalvation,
“ and the glory of our Lord and Maſter. This is the true and powerful theology,
“ which formerly ſubjected to Jeſus Chriſt the pride of philoſophers, and the ſceptres of
“ princes; and he himſelf will aid us, when we begin to act thus. If the fortune of war
“ ſhould favour us, the pope and cardinals will have a more widely extended empire; but
“ the kingdom of Chriſt will not be enlarged; nor can it flouriſh, except where piety,
“ charity, chaſtity, peace, and good order flouriſh likewiſe.” Eraſmus ſet forth all this
with vehemence; and the monks were as much offended with him, as they were at Luther;
becauſe they attacked thoſe abuſes which were the ſource of their beſt revenues, Jortin, p.
and made them love a monaſtic life. 137.

Albertus, cardinal and archbiſhop of Mentz, wrote a very friendly commendatory letter to Eraſmus concerning his New Teſtament, deſired to ſee him, and made him a preſent of a ſilver cup. The pope granted him a brief for the ſecond edition of that book: but the divines of Louvain exclaimed more than ever againſt it; though the correſpondences which he held with many prelates, might have ſerved to humble and repreſs thoſe who ſtigmatized him with hereſy. “ Of all the vile ways of defaming a man, ſays Eraſmus, “ none is more villainous than to accuſe him of hereſy; and yet the monks “ have recourſe to this upon the ſlighteſt provocation.” Some of them wrote againſt him like Barbarians, and reaſoned like ideots.

Gulielmus Croius, cardinal and archbiſhop of Toledo, was a young man, of a very different ſtamp. He declared himſelf to Eraſmus, for the opinion of the ſtoics concerning the “ chief good,” that, it conſiſted in virtue, which is always its own reward. Eraſmus told him, he preferred the doctrine of the Peripatetics, who add to virtue the gifts of nature and of fortune, as neceſſary ingredients in human happineſs.

Livy was publiſhed at Mentz, in 1518, with a preface by Eraſmus; in which he ſeems
to aſcribe the invention of printing to John Fauſt, of Mentz. But, in 1519, the monks
attacked his verſion of the New Teſtament, as if he had corrupted the *Pater Noſter*, the
Magnificat, and other parts of Scripture. Theſe men had ſome reaſon to act thus: they Jortin, p.
ſaw plainly, their authority would ſoon come to nothing, if the originals were conſulted 159.
and examined; and they received ſo much advantage from the ignorance of the world, that they could not avoid ſuſpecting and hating ſuch learned innovations. All the rhetoric and addreſs of Eraſmus could not ſoften and pacify them, eſpecially when the reformation appeared, which was the offspring of theſe enquiries, and of this new light: for, if that age had continued under the ſame darkneſs which had overſpread the earth in the foregoing centuries, the deciſions of the ſcholaſtic doctors would ſtill have been adored as heavenly truths.

Eraſmus, in a treatiſe “ Of true Theology,” had ſaid, that a great part of it conſiſted
in a pious diſpoſition of heart. Latomus attacked this propoſition, and aſſerted, that to be a
good divine, and a good man, was not the ſame thing. But Eraſmus writes to the biſhop
of Rocheſter, “ I fancy they will ſoon come to ſay, that to be a good divine, and to Ep. 403.
“ have common ſenſe, are very different things.”

Eraſmus wrote to cardinal Campegius, who was then at London, and ſent him his ſecond edition of the New Teſtament. The cardinal returned him a polite anſwer, full of commendations, and ſent him a diamond ring, with an exhortation to deſpiſe the malice of thoſe divines, who traduced him in ſo odious a manner. Sir Thomas More wrote three poems in praiſe of the New Teſtament of Eraſmus, who, at the ſame time, complained to the pope of the calumniators of that book.

Eraſmus publiſhed an edition of Cyprian, and another of Cicero's Offices. The ſame
year, Joannes Slechta, a Bohemian, ſent Eraſmus a particular account of three religious
ſects in Bohemia. Eraſmus wanted to heal theſe ſchiſms, and replied, that there ſhould Dupin, p.
be ſome relaxation of ceremonies, and of modern deciſions He ſaid, that as bonds, deeds, 286.
and covenants, expreſſed in a multitude of words, afford matter for law-ſuits; ſo, in religion, a profuſion of determinations, decrees, and deciſions, begets endleſs controverſies. But, for theſe words, Eraſmus hath been called Free-thinker, Latitudinarian, Arian, Infidel, and Heretic, by the diſciples of St. Ignatius, and other Romiſh prieſts.

Eraſmus wrote an elegant letter to the elector of Mentz, wherein he had the courage to apologize for Luther, and juſtify the beginnings of the reformation. But the monks of Louvain, in all their ſermons to the people, repreſented Eraſmus as the aſſociate of

Ep. 479. Luther. Joannes Turzo, biſhop of Breſlau, ſent him a moſt obliging letter, and ſom preſents; for which Eraſmus returned him thanks, and was deſirous of cultivating a friendſhip with this illuſtrious prelate, who favoured Lutheraniſm, and was highly eſteemed by Luther and Melancthon.

In the year 1520, Eraſmus dedicated his paraphraſe of St. Paul to cardinal Campegius; wherein he drew up a compendious account of the hiſtory of the Chriſtian theology, and of the variations it had undergone. He obſerved, that the divines at firſt applied themſelves only to the ſtudy of rhetoric, that afterwards they mixed the doctrines of Plato, with thoſe of Chriſt, and then the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; which changed divinity into a ſcience full of controverſial ſubtilties, and cauſed the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures to be entirely neglected. Eraſmus exhorted both Campegius, Wolſey, and the king of England, to procure and promote the peace of Chriſtendom. To accompliſh this deſign, Eraſmus was of opinion, that pope Leo ſhould order the parties to deliver their confeſſion of faith, without inſulting, attacking, and reviling that of others. If the difference was upon capital points, they were to ſelect able and diſintereſted men to diſcuſs thoſe points in a decent Jortin, p. 216. manner, with great moderation, and without ſeditious clamours. But the preſervation of the monks was a much more important affair, in the eſtimation of the court of Rome, than the re-eſtabliſhment of literature and ſciences, upon which Eraſmus laid ſo much ſtreſs, and from the proſperity of which that court had more to fear than to hope. Ib. p. 219. He frequently complains, that religious conteſts had deprived him of ſome learned friends of the Lutheran party, who once admired and extolled him, more than he deſired or deſerved, as he ſays, and afterwards depreciated him as much. The world, ſays Eraſmus, is burthened with human conſtitutions, with the opinions and tenets of the ſchools: it is oppreſſed with the tyranny of mendicant friars, who are become the ſoldiers of the ſee of Rome, and are ſo powerful and numerous, that they are formidable to popes and kings.

Eraſmus was excuſable for his fears, that literature would be depreſſed and expelled; and therefore he often obſerves, that literature and Lutheraniſm had no kind of connection. The tyranny of the monks was become intolerable, and retarded the progreſs of Jortin, p. 224. polite and uſeful learning: but, in the religious diviſions which enſued, ſocieties were formed, where letters flouriſhed in an eminent manner; and, in ſubſequent times, ſome monks applied themſelves to ſtudy, through ſhame and emulation.

The monks had cauſed the pope to publiſh a bull, from which Eraſmus was afraid that ſome terrible tumult would enſue. “I make not myſelf a party, ſays he, and will be “no actor in the tragedy; elſe a biſhopric would be at my ſervice, if I would but write Ep. 528. “againſt Luther. I am grieved to ſee the evangelical doctrine thus oppreſſed; to ſee that “we are compelled, and not taught; or elſe taught things contrary to the holy Scriptures, “and to common ſenſe.”

Eraſmus wiſhed that Luther had been ſolidly confuted before they burnt his books. He ſaid, he declined the taſk of refuting Luther, becauſe it was a work above his abilities, and he was not inclined to draw upon himſelf the reſentment of his ſuperiors. Though Ep. 541. he told Reuchlin, he would not refuſe to run ſome danger for an affair that concerned Chriſtianity, but becauſe it was above his weakneſs. In vain honeſt Eraſmus acted the pacifier, by exhorting the court of Rome to proceed with more mildneſs, and the Lutherans Jortin, p. 235. to behave with more ſubmiſſion. He was afraid that the reformation of Luther would have ill-ſucceſs: but if he had lived long enough to ſee a reformation eſtabliſhed in Germany, France, England, Scotland, and the United Provinces, he would not have talked in that deſponding way. “Let others affect martyrdom; for my part, ſays Eraſmus, “I hold myſelf unworthy of that honour.”

The monks called Eraſmus, “poet and orator,” by way of contempt and deriſion. He replied, he was not worthy of that honour: but they who knew the true merit of a poet and orator, looked upon the monks as ſwine rather than men, for raving at ſuch a ſtupid rate. Hieronymus Aleander, the pope's nuncio, ſolicited the emperor Charles V. and Frederic elector of Saxony, to puniſh Luther. Frederic was at Cologne, where Eraſmus came, and was conſulted by the elector on this occaſion. Eraſmus ludicrouſly told Seckendorf's Hiſtory of Luther. Spalatinus. Frederic, that Luther had committed two unpardonable crimes; for he had touched the pope upon the crown, and the monks upon the belly. The elector ſmiled; and Eraſmus then ſeriouſly added, that the doctrine of Luther was unexceptionable: he cenſured the pope's bull as cruel and tyrannical: and he ſolicited the imperial miniſters to favour the cauſe of Luther, by perſuading the emperor not to begin his reign with inauſpicious acts of violence Melancthon. and ſeverity. The elector converſed very affably and familiarly with Eraſmus, to whom he ſaid, “I had rather that the earth ſhould open and ſwallow me up, than be found to be the “favourer and the patron of hereſies: but if Luther hath pointed out to us groſs and “dangerous errors, which ought to be corrected, and hath ſhewed us the true doctrine of “Jeſus Chriſt, I will not be an oppoſer of the truth, whatſoever miſchief my conduct may “draw upon me or mine. I am not willing to truſt entirely to my own judgment in "points of ſuch importance, but deſirous to hear the opinion of the ſkilful and the learned: therefore I intreat and adjure you, that you would freely and impartially communicate to me your ſentiments upon the whole affair." Eraſmus anſwered, that Luther had juſtly cenſured many abuſes and errors, of which the welfare of the church required a reformation: that the doctrine of Luther was right in the main, but that it had not been delivered by him with a proper temper, and with due moderation. Laurentius, biſhop of Wurtzburg, wrote a letter to the elector containing the ſame ſentiments with thoſe of Eraſmus; and the biſhop added, that ſuch was the opinion of many learned men, whom he had conſulted upon this occaſion.

When the pope's agents found Eraſmus determined to defend Luther, they endeavoured to win him over by the offer of abbeys, or biſhoprics. Eraſmus himſelf ſays, he might have obtained a biſhopric, if he would have encountered Luther. Spalatinus ſays, that the pope's agents made an offer to Eraſmus of one of the beſt biſhoprics, if he would write againſt Luther; and that he replied, "Luther is ſo profound a divine, that I do not "pretend even to comprehend him thoroughly; and ſo great a man, that I learn more "from one page in his books, than from all Thomas Aquinas." Melch. Adam. Vit. Luth.

Eraſmus obſerved, that the ſee of Rome was held in execration in many countries; and that no good was to be expected, if the Lutheran diſpute was put into the hands of men, who had nothing leſs in view, and at heart, than the glory of our Saviour. Then he breaks out into words, which look like a prophecy, and declares, that the councel of God ſhould ſtand faſt for ever; that the goſpel of Chriſt ſhould proſper, and prevail over all human devices, and all the efforts of its worldly-wiſe enemies. Seckendorf. lib. 1. 125.

The zealous Romaniſts never forgave Eraſmus for his behaviour at Cologne: and the Lutherans are charged with want of gratitude to him, for the conſiderable ſervices he had done them at this critical juncture. However, we are told, the Lutherans acknowledged their obligations to Eraſmus for theſe favours, by a picture, in which Luther and Hutten were repreſented carrying the ark of God; and Eraſmus, like another David, dancing before them with all his might. The nuncio was hung up by the heels, and the pope and the cardinals were ſpectators of the ſhew. Jortin, p. 255. Crit. de l' Apol. d'Eraſme.

Eraſmus was fearful that the event would not be favourable to Luther, in 1521: and ſays, "If things come to extremities, and the church totters on both ſides, I will "fix myſelf upon the ſolid rock, until a calm ſucceeds, and it is apparent which is the "church: where evangelical peace ſhall be found, there ſhall Eraſmus be found." He tells his friend Jodocus Jonas, a Lutheran, "If the behaviour of thoſe who govern human affairs, ſhocks us and grieves us, I believe we muſt leave them to the Lord." But, if the Lutherans had complied with his propoſal, we ſhould have been, at this day, involved in all the darkneſs which had overſpread the Chriſtian world in the fifteenth century, and for many ages before. If all Germany had yielded and ſubmitted to the pope and the emperor, in compliance with the timorous councils of Eraſmus, he himſelf would have been one of the firſt ſufferers; and the court of Rome would have offered him up a ſacrifice of a ſweet ſmelling ſavour to the monks. But if Eraſmus had lived to the year 1552, he would have ſeen an amazing change in the affairs of the emperor, and in the religious ſtate of Germany. That great monarch was unfortunate in the latter part of his life, and became ſo much changed in his opinion of the Proteſtant religion, that he, who had been a moſt violent oppoſer of it, was ſuſpected of being turned to it before he died. He gave himſelf much to mechanical curioſities; but could never bring his clocks to ſtrike in the ſame minute; and he uſed upon that to ſay, he ſaw the folly of endeavouring to bring all men to be of the ſame mind in religion, ſince he could not bring machines to agree exactly. Jortin, p. 260. Ep. 572. Burnet, 2. p. 339.

Eraſmus expreſſed his fears to archbiſhop Warham, by wiſhing that Luther had held his peace upon ſome points, or had diſcuſſed them with a different ſpirit. "If the men, "ſays he, who ſacrifice all things to their belly and to their inſolence, ſhould prevail, "what remains but to write the epitaph of Jeſus Chriſt, who is dead and buried to riſe "no more? There is an end of all that is good and true, according to the evangelical "light, whilſt theſe wretches baſely flatter the great and the powerful, at the expence of "Chriſtianity."

Stunica, a bigotted Spaniard, wrote a ſcurrilous book againſt the firſt edition of the New Teſtament publiſhed by Eraſmus: and he afterwards drew up another work, which he called "The Blaſphemies and Impieties of Eraſmus." Leo X. and cardinal Ximenes ſuppreſſed his books, which were ſecretly publiſhed after their deaths, and openly anſwered by Eraſmus, who ſays, all the world accounts Stunica to be a lunatic; and Alciat, ſuſpects him to be a Jew. Ep. 582. Dupin, p. 333.

Eraſmus, in 1522, publiſhed the works of St. Hilary, and dedicated them to Joannes Carondeletus, biſhop of Palermo; wherein he ſays, "Shall a Chriſtian be excluded from "communion with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he cannot metaphyſically "explain what diſtinguiſhes the Father from the Son, and what the Holy Ghoſt from "them both; what difference there is between the generation of the Son, and the proceſſion of the Spirit? If I believe what is taught me, that there are three of one nature, "what occaſion have I for further diſputes? And if I believe it not, I ſhall never be "perſuaded of it by human authority. We talk, at preſent, of referring many points of "doubtful diſputation to the next general council: would it not be better to refer them "to the bleſſed time, when we ſhall ſee God face to face?"

Jortin, p. 295. Eraſmus publiſhed his celebrated colloquies at Baſil; which he compoſed, partly, that young perſons might have a book to teach them the Latin language, and religious and moral ſentiments at the ſame time; and partly to cure the bigotted world of that ſuperſtitious devotion which the monks inculcated more ſedulouſly than true Chriſtian piety. In theſe colloquies, Eraſmus hath ſhewn the whole extent of a genius the moſt beautiful and amiable that ever filled the head of a grammarian: but the faculty of theology at Dupin. Paris, in 1526, paſſed a general cenſure upon theſe colloquies, as upon a work, in which the faſts and abſtinencies of the church are ſlighted; the ſuffrages of the holy virgin, and of the ſaints, are derided; virginity is ſet below matrimony, Chriſtians are diſcouraged from monkery, and grammatical is preferred to theological erudition: therefore, it was decreed, that the peruſal of this book be forbidden to all, eſpecially to young people; and Knight. that it be entirely ſuppreſſed, if poſſible. It was very artful in a bookſeller at Paris, who upon giving out that theſe colloquies were prohibited, ſold above twenty-four thouſand of one impreſſion.

Eraſmus paſſed the remainder of his life ſometimes at Friburg, and ſometimes at Baſil. He dearly loved the latter place, where his beſt friends dwelt, and where he was made rector of the univerſity. Adrian VI. the old ſchool-fellow and friend of Eraſmus, was now in the papal chair, and invited him to Rome, with the offer of a good deanery; which Eraſmus refuſed; becauſe he would not lie under ſuch obligations to the ſee of Rome, or be connected with eccleſiaſtics.

The cardinal archbiſhop of Mentz deſired Eraſmus to draw up the lives of the ſaints: but Eraſmus ſaid, they were ſo full of fables, that he begged to be excuſed from ſuch an undertaking. He ſhunned thoſe meetings to which he was invited to treat about matters of religion; becauſe he thought the differences could not be adjuſted by ſuch conferences. However, he propoſed one upon theſe conditions: "That one hundred and Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 267. "fifty pious, learned, and judicious men, ſhould be choſe out of all the Chriſtian nations; whoſe opinions ſhould be collected by a leſſer number of deputies: that ſome "eccleſiaſtical laws ſhould be abrogated, and others altered: that the diſcipline of the "church ſhould be obſerved; and religion be brought to flouriſh in its purity."

Jortin, p. 326. Hochſtrat and Egmond were then inquiſitors in Brabant, where they had burned ſome perſons for Lutheraniſm, and longed to do Eraſmus the ſame good office. He was invited to France, in 1524, with aſſurances of a penſion of five hundred crowns: and Francis I. informed Eraſmus, by a meſſenger, of the reaſons for which he ſo often invited him. That monarch had a deſign to found a college at Paris, like that at Louvain, for the three learned languages, and he thought Eraſmus a proper perſon to conduct the affair: yet he excuſed himſelf from the undertaking, becauſe he knew how much hatred and trouble he had incurred from the divines, on account of the college of Buſleiden.

Ib. p. 334, 351. Eraſmus was prevailed on by the pope, the emperor, the kings of England and France, the cardinals, and others, to write againſt Luther: but he apologized for it, by ſaying, that the calumnies of eccleſiaſtics, and the importunity of princes, had conſtrained him to it. Luther wrote a letter to Eraſmus, which concludes in this manner: "Our friends "have ſome reaſon of anxiety at being laſhed by you; becauſe human infirmity thinks "of the authority and reputation of Eraſmus, and fears it: indeed, there is much difference between him and other papiſts, for he is a more formidable adverſary than all of "them joined together."

Aſtrologers had foretold that the world ſhould periſh by a deluge, in 1524, and terrified many people all over Europe: but Eraſmus laughed at their productions and folly; nor could his conteſts with the Proteſtants make him a better friend to monkery.

John a Laſco, one of the Poliſh nobility, lived and boarded with Eraſmus, in 1525, when he addreſſed a letter of conſolation to Margaret, ſiſter to Francis I. and queen of Navarre, who was gone to Spain to viſit her captive brother. Laſco afterwards embraced the reformation, and ſuch was the fate of many friends of Eraſmus, whom, without intending it, he led by his converſation and his writings, into the Lutheran or reformed ſyſtems; though he himſelf did not go ſo far. Eraſmus publiſhed a Greek edition of Chryſoſtom, and dedicated it to Pirckheimerus. He pretended to have been calumniated, and ſays many ſevere things of the reformed. He was of opinion, that all the efforts for reformation would come to nothing, and be ſuppreſſed; and this apprehenſion was the principal Jortin, p. 400. regulator of his conduct. This made him fond of conſidering the reformers in the worſt point of view, and of exaggerating their diviſions among themſelves, as if they alone were divided, and as if Eraſmus himſelf had not fallen out with moſt of the monks and Romiſh divines!

Eraſmus, in 1526, publiſhed the firſt edition of Irenæus; at which time, perſons of the higheſt rank paid their honours to him. He wrote to Polydore Virgil, in 1527, that "he "had drawers full of letters, from kings, princes, cardinals, dukes, nobles, and biſhops, written with the utmoſt civility." The ſame year, he publiſhed the works of St. Ambroſe. It happened, at this time, that the faculty of theology, of the univerſity of Paris, paſſed a very rough cenſure upon a multitude of propoſitions extracted from his works: but Francis I. was not well pleaſed with this behaviour of the Sorbonne: and their cenſure was ſo ill received, that the miniſtry would not permit the printing of it for four years. This decree was made at the inſtance of Bedda: and Eraſmus, in his vindication, ſays, he found more difficulty in that apology, not to diſparage the authority of the Sorbonne, than he had to juſtify his own innocence. They condemned many of his propoſitions as heretical: but he complains, that the faculty judged his doctrine and intention by collections unfaithfully extracted from his works: and aſſerts, that he had beſtowed all his labour and pains for the intereſts of the church. One of his propoſitions that they condemned was conceived in theſe words, "I wiſh the holy Scriptures were tranſlated into all lan-"guages." This was cenſured, becauſe it was not thought convenient to put the Scriptures into the hands of all men, which might propagate errors, as was ſeen in the Waldenſes and Albigenſes: but Eraſmus anſwered, that Wickliffe and Huſs were ſchool divines, who drew the people after them by their learning and authority.

Bibl. Cho. 25, 239.
Jortin, p. 432.
Dupin.
Burigni.
Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 335.

In 1528, Eraſmus received a very courteous letter, and a preſent, from Sigiſmond, king of Poland, who kindly invited him to that kingdom. The ſame year, he received an invitation to England from Henry VIII. and Ferdinand offered him a penſion of four hundred florins to live at Vienna.

Jortin, p. 440, 462.

He publiſhed the works of St. Auguſtin, in 1529; and the dominicans cenſured the undertaking: but he called them ſots and gluttons, born only for the plough-tail. Some of the evangelics, in their writings, had produced paſſages from thoſe of Eraſmus, which ſeemed to favour them and their cauſe; as for example, that it is unlawful to put heretics to death. Eraſmus was afraid leſt Francis, Charles, Ferdinand, George, Henry VIII. and other perſecuting princes, ſhould ſuſpect that he condemned their cruel conduct; and therefore he began to maintain, that there were certain heretics, who might be put to death, as blaſphemers and rioters. The good man did not conſider, that if he had been ſeized himſelf as a heretic, and the monks had ſat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of thoſe heretics, who deſerved death. This year the reformed in Germany got the name of PROTESTANTS; and the book wrote by Henry VIII. againſt Luther, was gueſſed to be wrote by Eraſmus, who merrily owns the king might have hit upon his ſtyle.

Ib. 481.

In 1530, he dedicated his "Chriſtian Widow" to Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, who wrote him a letter of thanks with her own hand. The diet of Augsburgh was held this year, when the Lutherans preſented their confeſſion of faith: but Eraſmus was not there; for he could not have gone without running the riſque of his life. He ſays, "I am, by "nature, void of diſſimulation, and ſomewhat free of ſpeech: if I had ſuited myſelf to the "paſſions of certain people, I muſt have ſaid many things againſt my own conſcience!" He wiſhed the rulers of the church would begin a reformation at home, and correct their own ſcandalous miſdemeanors, which daily increaſed. But we are told, that Eraſmus was alienated from Proteſtantiſm, on account of the indiſcreet writings of ſome Proteſtant divines, the breaking of the images, and the rebellion of the peaſants.

Bayle.
Melchior Adam.

In 1531, he publiſhed his collection of apophthegms, and dedicated them to the duke of Cleve. He had, this year, a ſight of the firſt oration of Julius Scaliger againſt his Ciceronianus. The friends of Scaliger were much diſpleaſed at the ſcandalous manner in which he had treated Eraſmus; he was ſorry at laſt for his rudeneſs, and wrote a copy of verſes in praiſe of Eraſmus, when he was dead.

Eraſmus, in 1532, publiſhed St. Baſil in Greek, and highly extols the eloquence of this father. The next year, he publiſhed an expoſition of the apoſtles Creed, of the decalogue, and of the Lord's Prayer, in form of a Catechiſm, to be a kind of confeſſion of faith. The States of Holland made him a preſent of two hundred franks: and he alſo received a preſent from the ſenate of Beſançon. Eraſmus was pleaſed with this friendly civility from his own country, which paid him more honour an hundred years after his deceaſe, than during his life.

Jortin, p. 536.

In 1534, Eraſmus tells his friend Grapheus, that he is quite worn down with age, pain, and ſickneſs. The next year cardinal Bembus congratulates Eraſmus upon the high regard which pope Paul III. had for him; and hopes it would end in great preferment. Bembus certainly meant a cardinal's hat: but the enemies of Eraſmus have aſſerted, that the court of Rome never deſigned him ſuch a favour. Eraſmus has affirmed the contrary, and ſays, "that having written to Paul III. the pope, before he had unſealed his

Rhenanus.
Jortin, p. 558.
Dupin, p. 269.

“ letter, had ſpoken of him in a moſt honourable manner: that he had reſolved to add “ to the college of cardinals ſome learned men, of whom he might make uſe in the “ general council that was to be called: and I, ſays Eraſmus, was propoſed to be one: “ but to my promotion it was objected, that my bad ſtate of health would make me “ unfit for that function; and that my income was not ſufficient; for it is ſaid, that, “ by a decree of the ſacred college, none can be admitted whoſe annual penſions are “ leſs than three thouſand ducats. So, at preſent, they think of loading me with pre- “ ferments, that I may be qualified for the red hat.” (Knight, p. 3 4. Sleidan, l. 11. p. 298.) He declares, that his health would not permit him to accept ſuch favours; and he refuſed every thing that was offered to him. (Bayle 2. p. 808. Boiſſard, p 109.) Thoſe who have denied, that they had a deſign at Rome to make him a cardinal, have been in the wrong: for he refuſed the cardinalſhip, which the other eccleſiaſtics looked upon as a miracle.

(Ep. 1217.) Eraſmus, at this time, was very uneaſy on account of the news which had reached him concerning the impriſonment and death of biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More, and other troubles in England. (Ep. 1295.) He complains, that while he was reviſing his letters, he found, that, within the ſpace of ten years, many of his beſt friends and old correſpondents were dead; which made him meditate on the ſhortneſs and uncertainty of human life. (Warner's Life of Sir T. More, p. 39.) Doctor Warner tells a pleaſant incident that happened between Sir Thomas More and Eraſmus, at their firſt meeting, which is too long to be inſerted here. (Addiſon.) Eraſmus told Sir Thomas More, that he acted in all parts of life like a ſecond Democritus. He alſo wrote an epiſtle to Mrs. Margaret Roper, the eldeſt and favourite child to Sir Thomas More; as to a woman famous not only for her manners and virtue, but for true and ſolid learning. (Warner, p. 155.)

(Ep. 1299. Burigni.) Eraſmus had lived ſeveral years at Baſil, where he publiſhed many books. He went from thence when the maſs was aboliſhed there, and retired to Friburg in Briſgau, which he left for his health-ſake, and returned to Baſil, where he was reviſing the works of Origen, in 1536, which proved the laſt year of his life. He tells his old friend Goclenius, that his diſeaſe grew worſe, and obliged him to paſs the winter at Baſil: “ for although “ I am here with my beſt friends, and ſuch as I could not have at Friburg; yet, be- “ cauſe of the difference of religious ſentiments, I could have been glad to end my days “ elſewhere.” When he firſt went to Friburg, the magiſtrates, the nobility, and the univerſity of that city went forth to meet him, paying him high compliments, and calling him the ſupporter and protector of literature. The magiſtrates preſented him with a cup elegantly wrought, the college gave him a girdle embroidered with gold, and the gentlemen accompanied him to the gates of Baſil.

He made his will in February, in which he left handſome legacies to ſeveral friends, and the reſidue he ordered to be diſtributed by his executors, to relieve the ſick and the poor, to marry young women, and to aſſiſt young men of good character, and ſuch as they ſhould judge to be neceſſitous and deſerving. From his teſtament it appears, that he was not in low circumſtances; nor ſo bad an œconomiſt as he ſometimes ſeemed to repreſent himſelf. (Jortin, p. 578.) “ His generoſity to his old friends, and his charities to the poor, were “ infinitely more laudable than the pretended piety of thoſe ſuperſtitious perſons, who leave “ their effects to monks, to pray for them after they are deceaſed; as if the Almighty could “ be ſuppoſed to ſhew any regard to prayers bought and ſold, and ſung or ſaid after a “ man is in his grave.” It was reported, as Fellerus relates, that he left ſeven thouſand ducats, which were equal to ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling, of our preſent money. In his will, mention is made of his ſelling his library to John à Laſco. He choſe for his executors Amerbachius, Froben, and Epiſcopius, men of honour, probity, and generoſity, who fulfilled his orders exactly, and to their own detriment, in diſtributing his charitable donations. They all three paid him a viſit two days before his death; when he ſaid, “ that in them “ he beheld Job's three friends; and aſked them ſmiling, why they had not rent their “ cloaths, and put aſhes upon their heads?” He had foreſeen for ſeveral months that he could not hold out long: he was for almoſt a month ill of a dyſentery, and he ſaw it muſt prove mortal. (Ib. p. 576.) The reſt of his time he conſtantly implored the mercy of Almighty God, and of Jeſus Chriſt, without ſpeaking of thoſe minute devotions that he had ſo much derided and blamed in the monks, and he preſerved his reaſon to the end of his life. (Bayle.) He died calmly on the twelfth of July, and was honourably interred in the cathedral church of Baſil, where his tomb is to be ſeen, with a Latin inſcription on the marble, of which a copy is inſerted in the firſt tome of his works. (Jortin, p 577.)

Eraſmus died, aged ſixty-eight years, and eight months, in the arms of his deareſt friends, who yet were then in the religious ſentiments of Oecolampadius and Zuinglius. Happy for him, that he died in a Proteſtant country; otherwiſe, the prieſts might have tarniſhed his memory, by teizing him, in his laſt moments, to make ſome act of minute ſuperſtition, before he was permitted to ſleep in holy ground.

(Rhenanus. Dupin, p. 269.) Eraſmus is deſcribed to be of low ſtature; but not remarkably ſhort: well ſhaped; of a fair complexion; with hair, in his youth, of a pale yellow: he had grey eyes; a chearful countenance; a low voice; but an agreeable elocution. He had a vaſt memory;

with a tender and infirm conſtitution. He was neat and decent in his apparel; agreeable in company, invariable in friendſhip, generous in his heart, and charitable in his diſpoſition.

All the learned men of Baſil, ſays Moreri, carried Eraſmus upon their ſhoulders to the cathedral church. Bayle ridicules Moreri on this account: but ſays of Eraſmus, “It would be unneceſſary to remark that he was one of the greateſt men that ever was in the commonwealth of learning.” He had many enemies; and, among others, Julius Cæſar Scaliger, who publiſhed the moſt abuſive reproaches againſt him. The occaſion of this quarrel is not faithfully related in the Scaligerana; which is ſomewhat ſurprizing; for who could be better acquainted with the truth of this paſſage, than the ſon of the aggreſſor?

Dupin, p. 804.

In Eraſmus, we behold a man, who, in the days of his youth, lying under no ſmall advantages of birth and education, depreſſed by poverty, friendleſs and unſupported, or very ſlenderly ſupported, made his way through all theſe obſtacles; and, by the help of bright parts and conſtant application, became one of the moſt conſiderable ſcholars of the age, and acquired the favour and protection of princes, nobles, and prelates, of the greateſt names in church and ſtate.

Jortin, p. 606.
Dupin, p. 270.

Upon the deceaſe of this illuſtrious man, ſome vile wretches, who had intereſt in the imperial court, repreſented him as one who died a Lutheran and an heretic; and ſaid, that his will ought to be ſet aſide, his effects confiſcated, and his works prohibited. They would have carried this point, if Mudæus, once a diſciple of Eraſmus, an eminent lawyer, and much in favour at court, had not put a ſtop to their attempt.

Melchior Adam.

Of all his works, thoſe that have been printed ofteneſt are his colloquies, and his Praiſe of Folly: but the bookſellers played him tricks; for they publiſhed with his name ſome books, of which he was not the author, and it was preſumed his name alone would ſell off a bad book.

Bayle, p. 809.

What eſteem ſoever Eraſmus has for his own works, he deſerves much more for thoſe of the fathers which he publiſhed. We can never ſufficiently praiſe his care and application in reviſing and printing the principal fathers of the church. He has given us new editions of Jerom, Cyprian, Hilary, Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtin, Arnobius, Algerus, and Origen. He alſo tranſlated into Latin many of the works of the Greek fathers. How much then is the learned part of mankind indebted to that man, who has given us ſuch precious treaſures?

Dupin, l. 3 p. 350.

Some writers, ſpeaking of the Triumviri of the republic of letters in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, aſcribe judgment to Vives, genius to Budæus, and eloquence to Eraſmus. Eraſmus had a firmer wit, more univerſal learning, and more ſolid judgment, than his friend Vives, who excelled in grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Budæus had the moſt ſkill in languages and prophane learning. But Eraſmus wrote more books of divinity than Vives; and all his writings are infinitely more uſeful than thoſe of Budæus.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 363.

It ought never to be forgot that Eraſmus, by ſhewing the abſurdity and uſeleſſneſs of ſchool divinity, by recommending the ſtudy of the Bible and fathers, by diſcovering the errors and abuſes which had crept into the church, and by ridiculing the barbarous ignorance of monks and prieſts, had a great hand in paving the way for the reformation. As the quarrel betwixt the lovers and perſecutors of learning, was carried on with great warmth, when Luther appeared, moſt of the former ſided with him; and Eraſmus, univerſally looked upon to be the greateſt divine of his age, eſpouſed his cauſe.

Puffendorff's Introduct. v. 2, p. 96.

But the works of Eraſmus were condemned by theological cabals, and mangled by inquiſitions, which ſtruck out the moſt valuable part of his writings, and would have ſtigmatized and proſcribed his memory, through all ages, if a party had not riſen up in Europe, and almoſt among his own countrymen, which forgives him his weakneſſes and irreſolution, for the ſake of his uſeful labours philoſophical and theological. That party hath reſtored to him a ſecond life, and recommended him to the Chriſtian world, by an elegant and a faithful edition of all his works. His ſtyle is that of a man who had a ſtrong memory, a lively fancy, and a ready invention; who compoſed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of reviſing and correcting. He had ſpent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin: his ſtyle, therefore, is always unaffected, eaſy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure, and ſtrictly claſſical. The works of Eraſmus were publiſhed at Baſil in 1540, in nine volumes in folio, dedicated to the emperor Charles V. by Beatus Rhenanus: and Mr. Le Clerc publiſhed another edition at Leyden, in 1703, in eleven volumes in folio.

Jortin, p. 307.
Ibid. p. 601.
Bayle, p. 815.

“I have been aſked, ſays doctor Jortin, whether I would decide the queſtion, what was the religion of Eraſmus? I ſhall only obſerve, that Eraſmus, if he had had an abſolute power to eſtabliſh a form of religion in any country, would have been a moderate man, and a Latitudinarian, as to the Credenda. He would have propoſed few articles of faith, and thoſe with a primitive ſimplicity.”

Jortin, p. 609.

Bayle. Jortin, p. 276.

Eraſmus ſaid, that Arianiſm was rather a faction and a ſchiſm than an hereſy; and that Arius was ill-uſed by the Conſubſtantialiſts. He alſo defended the doctrine of ſubordination; and therefore hath been falſely accuſed of Arianiſm by many eccleſiaſtics. But a man may act like Eraſmus, without being a perfidious perſon, and an apoſtate; without ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and without doing violence to conſcience. This worthy man ſpent a long and laborious life in an uniform purſuit of two points; in oppoſing barbarous ignorance, and blind ſuperſtition; and in promoting uſeful literature, and true piety. Thoſe glorious projects he endeavoured to accompliſh in a mild and gentle manner, never attacking the perſons of men, but only the faults of the age, till hard neceſſity conſtrained him to reply to thoſe, who aſſaulted him with the utmoſt malice and diſingenuity.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 811.

It cannot be denied, that, taking all things together, Eraſmus was what they call a catholic; but he did not ſee without joy the firſt ſteps of Luther, and was greatly concerned when he thought Lutheraniſm near its ruin.

Jortin, p. 275. Bayle, p. 810. Jortin. Ep. 5. l. 23.

There is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe that Eraſmus acted againſt his conſcience in adhering to the church of Rome. He declares his hatred of diſcord to be ſuch, that he diſliked even truth itſelf, if it was ſeditious. He acknowledges, he had no inclination to die for the ſake of truth: "Every man hath not the courage requiſite to make a martyr; and "I am afraid, if I was put to the trial, I ſhould imitate St. Peter." He knew his own temper and talents; which he was conſcious were not fitted for the rough and bold work of reformation; therefore, he would not attempt what was beyond his ſtrength. His judgment might be influenced by his friendſhip: and it may be fairly ſuppoſed, that he was afraid of diſobliging ſeveral of his oldeſt and beſt friends, who were againſt the Lutheran reformation; of offending not only Henry VIII. Charles V. the popes, George of Saxony, and Wolſey; but even his patron Warham, Montjoy, More, Tonſtal, Fiſher, Campegius, Bembus, Sadolet, and many others, whom he entirely loved, and to ſome of whom he was much obliged. He might think it not lawful to depart from the church of Rome, corrupted as ſhe was; but, in one ſenſe, he was a reformer, and the moſt eminent of all the reformers. "In my youth, ſays Eraſmus, I always took meat and drink as phyſic, and "often lamented that man might not be ſupported without the uſe of them. I was never "a ſlave to love; nor, indeed, in ſuch multiplicity of buſineſs, had I leiſure for it."

Burigni. Jortin, p. 617.

The writings of Eraſmus contain the beſt memoirs of his life, from whence it has been drawn by others, as Rhenanus, Merula, Malincrot, Mercier, Bizardiere, Knight, and Joli. Bayle and Dupin might have been added to theſe perſons, and Le Clerc ſtill more; "whoſe account of Eraſmus, ſays doctor Jortin, ſurpaſſeth by far, in my opinion, all that "hath been hitherto publiſhed upon that ſubject." The learned doctor pays his grateful acknowledgments to Le Clerc: and the author of this work reſpectfully pays the ſame to doctor Jortin, though he has conſulted many other authors on the ſame ſubject.

Eraſmus had the god Terminus for his ſeal, with the inſcription, *concedo nulli*. The ſeal was given him by his pupil the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; and Eraſmus added the legend.

Bayle, v. 4. p. 925.

The city of Rotterdam was early ſenſible of the glory that accrued to it from being the birth-place of Eraſmus; and the inhabitants took care to honour the memory of that great man, from whom this city received ſo great a luſtre. The magiſtrates ordered, that the houſe wherein Eraſmus was born ſhould be adorned with an inſcription, implying ſuch a glorious prerogative: and that the college, wherein Greek, Latin, and Rhetoric are taught, ſhould bear his name, and be conſecrated to him by an inſcription upon the frontiſpiece. In 1549, they erected a ſtatue of wood to his memory; and another ſtatue of ſtone was put in its place in 1557. The Spaniards overthrew the laſt in 1572; and one of braſs was erected in 1622, which is admired by all good judges. It was a maſter-piece of wonderful art, upon which the famous architect and ſtatuary, Henry de Keiſer, had beſtowed his utmoſt ſkill and pains. It is rather bigger than the life, nobly habited in a gown, and is repreſented turning over the leaves of a book. It ſtands in the great place of the city, near a canal, upon a pedeſtal, adorned with inſcriptions, and ſurrounded with iron rails. Thus, thoſe ſeveral ſtatues were made by degrees of a more valuable matter; wherein Eraſmus was dealt with as the deities of ancient Rome. Rotterdam was anciently poſſeſſed by the Batavi: but is now better known to the learned world for being the birth-place of Eraſmus, than for the military proweſs of its old inhabitants.

Dupin, p. 270.

Eraſmus was, beyond all controverſy, the fineſt wit, and the greateſt ſcholar of his age: it is to him we chiefly owe the re-eſtabliſhment of the Belles Lettres, the editions of the Fathers, Critical Learning, and a taſte for antiquity. In his youth he was much afraid of death: but he overcame thoſe fears in his old age. He lived ſomewhat like a Papiſt; but died more like a Proteſtant.

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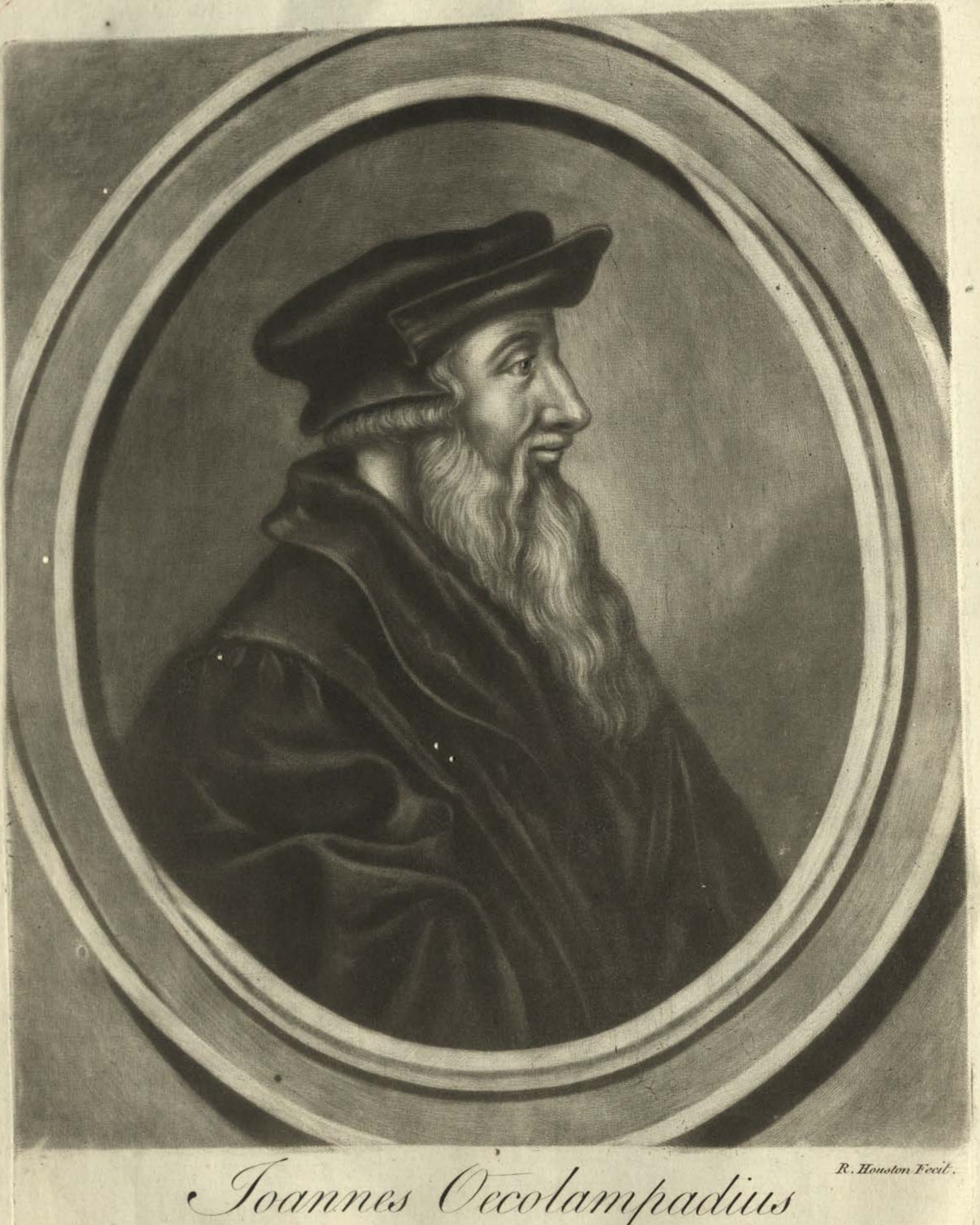


R. Houston Fecit.

Joannes Oecolampadius

Natus A^o. D^o. 1482. Obijt A^o. 1531.

Printed for H. Parker & E. Bakewell, in Cornhill, London.

The LIFE of JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

THIS German reformer of the church was born at Winſperg in Franconia, in the year 1482, according to Bayle: Dupin ſays he was born at Auſchein in Switzerland; but it is certain he was of Franconia. His father intended him for a merchant; but his mother was deſirous of making him a ſcholar, and prevailed on her huſband to ſend him to the college of Heilbrun. He was ſoon removed to the univerſity of Heidelburg, where he received the degree of batchelor at fourteen years of age. From Heidelburg, he was ſent to Boulogne, where he ſtudied the civil law ſix months; and then returned to Heidelburg, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity. He aſſiduouſly read the works of Thomas Aquinas, Richard, and Gerſon; but he deſpiſed the ſubtilties of Scotus, and ſcorned to follow the humour which prevailed in the univerſities. He diſregarded the honorary diſtinctions in the public exerciſes; and only endeavoured to obtain the character of a learned man. He furniſhed his mind with uſeful knowledge, and abſtained from the diſputations of the ſchoolmen. His virtue, prudence, and learning, induced the elector palatine to appoint him preceptor to his children, which office he honourably diſcharged till he grew weary of the court, and reſumed his ſtudies in divinity.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 400. Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 105. Jortin.

Bayle.

Oecolampadius, in 1517, wrote a letter to Eraſmus, full of friendſhip and reſpect. He had ſeen Eraſmus at Baſil, and informs him, of his own occupations at this time; for he was collating the Vulgate with the Hebrew; and of his connections with Melancthon. In 1518, Eraſmus wrote a friendly letter to Oecolampadius, in which he highly commends Melancthon; though, at that time, he was diſpleaſed with him, for having ſpoken ſlightingly of his New Teſtament.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 95.

Ep. 354.

Oecolampadius had acquired a great reputation for his ſkill in the learned languages, and was held in great eſteem for his preaching: He was ſo far from admitting any change in religion, that he wrote a book againſt Luther to prove that the maſs might be called a ſacrifice. But, in 1520, when he was thirty-eight years old, he withdrew himſelf from the world, and became a monk of the order of St. Bridget, in the monaſtery of St. Laurence, near Augſburg. “ I hear, ſays Eraſmus, that Oecolampadius is turned “ monk: I wiſh he had thought better upon it.” Eraſmus approved this ſtep of Oecolampadius as little as his friend Bilibaldus; and obſerves, that a man's diſcontented and reſtleſs temper will purſue him even into the retirement of a monaſtery. Oecolampadius informed Eraſmus of his change of life; to which the latter replied, and wiſhed, that this learned man might find his new ſituation anſwerable to his hopes. “ If I thought, ſays “ Eraſmus, it would prove ſo, I could be content to bear you company: but I fear you “ will find your expectations diſappointed.” Oecolampadius ſuſpected, that Eraſmus diſapproved of his entering into a monaſtic life. Eraſmus tells him, it was not ſo; and that, when he treated the monks as Phariſees, he only meant his own perſecutors; and thoſe, who, under a pretence of religion, were real foes to it. He was willing to ſuppoſe, that Oecolampadius had choſen a ſociety leſs infected than ſome others.

Dupin, p. 105.

Sculteti Annales. Jortin, p. 217.

Ep. 504. Jortin, p. 219.

Ep. 509.

Jortin, p. 231.

Ep. 544.

Eraſmus was not deceived in his conjecture; for, in 1521, Oecolampadius began to go over to the reformers. He had corrected the firſt edition of the New Teſtament publiſhed by Eraſmus, who deſcribes him as a perſon that approved the ſtate of life into which he had entered, and performed his duty: however, Oecolampadius ſoon altered his judgment, and left his monaſtery in 1522. He retired to Baſil, in Switzerland, where he was made curate, and preacher of the church of St. Martin; and he ſoon introduced the doctrine of Luther. He began to adminiſter baptiſm, to celebrate divine ſervice in the vulgar tongue, and give the people the communion under both kinds. He now taught, that the maſs *was not* a ſacrifice; and he aboliſhed the greateſt part of the ceremonies.

Jortin, p. 267. Von der Hardt.

Jortin, p. 269. Dupin, p. 105.

Luther was now introducing the reformation in Germany; and Zuinglius began to introduce it in Switzerland, by publickly preaching againſt the corruptions of the Roman church. Oecolampadius aſſiſted Zuinglius; which made Eraſmus ſpeak ill of them both, in 1524, and inveigh violently againſt the morals both of the reformed, who then began to make a party, and of the Lutherans. “ Shall we, ſays Eraſmus, ſhake off the domi-

Puffend. of Switz. p. 404.

Jortin, p. 342.

" nation of popes and prelates, to ſubmit to worſe tyrants than they, to ſcabby madmen, " to the ſcum of the earth?" He had in view Otho Brunfield, and Farellus, whom he could not bear, becauſe they had decried him as a political time-ſerver, who durſt not act according to his true ſentiments. They had their faults: but they applied themſelves cloſely to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures; and, as far as they underſtood the goſpel, they preached it with great fervor, and with no leſs danger. If there was ſomething in their behaviour which Eraſmus could juſtly cenſure, there was alſo ſomething which he might have commended.

Jortin, p. 351. Oecolampadius and Zuinglius had declared openly enough, that they followed not the ſentiments of Luther in all things: yet they ſpoke of Luther with reſpect, and theſe differences were not concerning things eſſential and fundamental. Eraſmus, who was ſo well verſed in eccleſiaſtical antiquities, knew that the ancient fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the ſame favour to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the ſame defects, and equally worthy of the ſame regard and reſpect.

Ep. 728. Eraſmus, in 1525, appeared angry with Oecolampadius; becauſe, in the preface to his commentary on Iſaiah, he had ſaid of Eraſmus, " *Magnus* Eraſmus *noſter*," which might give occaſion to the enemies of the latter to ſay, that he and Oecolampadius were of a mind. The beginning of this epiſtle is not worthy of Eraſmus. " I judge you not, ſays he, I " leave that to the Lord, who will abſolve, or condemn you: but I conſider what ſeve- " ral great men think of you, the emperor, the pope, Ferdinand, the king of England, " the biſhop of Rocheſter, cardinal Wolſey, and many others, whoſe authority it is not " ſafe for me to deſpiſe, and whoſe favour it is not prudent for me to throw away." Jortin, p. 369. What reply this learned and worthy reformer made to this ſtrange complaint, we know not: but he might very juſtly have told Eraſmus, that he had done him more honour than he deſerved; and that, for the future, he would throw away no more civilities upon him.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 57. Whilſt Lutheraniſm was ſettling in Germany, the doctrine of the new ſect founded in Switzerland, by Zuinglius, was called, " Evangelical Truth;" and Zuinglius boldly oppoſed the errors of the church of Rome. Upon this foundation he continued preaching from the beginning of the year 1519, not only againſt indulgences, but alſo againſt the interceſſion and invocation of ſaints, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the eccleſiaſtical vows, the celebacy of prieſts, and the abſtinence from meats. However, he attempted no alteration in the outward and public worſhip of God till 1523, when he found the magiſtrates and citizens of Zurick diſpoſed to caſt off the Romiſh doctrine, and receive his own.

Ibid. p. 96. About this time, the ſect of Anabaptiſts ſprung up in Germany, under Nicholas Stork and Thomas Muncer, who had been followers of Luther. They taught, that the goods of all men ought to be common: that all men ſhould be free, and independent: that God would no longer permit the oppreſſions of kings, and the injuſtice of magiſtrates: that the time was come for them to be depoſed, and men of honeſty and religion ſet up in their places. This ſeditious doctrine was diſperſed in Germany, and cauſed a rebellion among the peaſants in all places. The firſt commotions began in Suabia, which ſoon ſpread throughout all the ten circles of the empire, where vaſt multitudes of peaſants plundered the country; robbed and burnt the churches, monaſteries, and caſtles; ſlew the prieſts, monks, and nobility; and made a ſtrange deſolation, in all the ſtates. The princes of the empire ſent a confederate army againſt the rebels, who were defeated in three battles by George Truchſes, count of Walburg, and the elector Palatine. Muncer ſtill kept ſome bands of peaſants in Thuringia, and made Mulhauſen the chief reſidence of his Utopian kingdom. But John elector of Saxony, Frederic prince of Heſſe, and the duke of Brunſwick, attacked Muncer at Franckhuſen, where he was defeated, taken priſoner, and executed.

While the German princes were cruſhing this rebellion of the peaſants, there happened great diſputes in Germany and Switzerland between the Romiſh prieſts and the reformers; as alſo between the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Anabaptiſts. Luther declared himſelf againſt the doctrine of Zuinglius concerning the Lord's Supper: but Oecolampadius concurred with Zuinglius, and taught the ſame doctrine at Baſil. It was agreed, that diſputes between the two parties ſhould be publickly held at Baden. In this the two champions, Eckius for the catholics, and Oecolampadius for the reformers, exerted all their abilities: but, as it commonly happens in controverſies, neither would allow himſelf to be confuted. Puffend. Introd. v. 1, 404.

Ep. 781. Ep. 747. Jortin, p. 379. Eraſmus reſided at this time at Baſil, and ſpeaks of the ſlaughter of the peaſants in Germany: but commends the comparative moderation of the reformers of Baſil. He wrote to Bedda, to juſtify a letter which he had formerly ſent to the biſhop of Baſil. In it we find ſome remarkable things concerning the ſentiments of the reformed, as to the Eucharist. Ep. 767. " Carloſtad, ſays he, hath brought a moſt formidable tragedy upon the ſtage. He " hath perſuaded the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except bread and " wine. Zuinglius hath written books, to ſupport this opinion: and Oecolampadius hath de-

“ fended it with ſuch ſkill, and hath employed ſo many arguments, and ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, that, if God ſhould not interpoſe, even the elect may be ſeduced. This city of Baſil wavers; but it may ſtill be confirmed in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, to enter into this war, although I have not abilities equal to ſo difficult a taſk.” It appears not, that Eraſmus even undertook to confute Oecolampadius; and this Jortin, p. 380. was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out to pleaſe the Romaniſts. He acted very prudently in leaving Oecolampadius and Zuinglius at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and diſgraced. He was ever ſuſpected of favouring this very ſentiment; and, Lydius. in another letter, he beſtows the ſame praiſes upon this work of Oecolampadius.

Oecolampadius agreed with Zuinglius in the nature of the doctrine; but he gave a different ſenſe of our Lord's words. Zuinglius placed the figure of theſe words, “This is Dupin, p. 106. my body,” in the verb, “*is*;” which he held to be taken for *ſignifies*. Oecolampadius laid it upon the noun, *body*; and affirmed that the bread is called, *the body*, by a metonymy, which allows the name of the thing ſignified to be given to the ſign.

The Lutherans, in Suabia and Bavaria, decried the doctrine of Oecolampadius in their ſer- Ibid. mons, which obliged him to dedicate a treatiſe upon the words of the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper to them, printed at Straſburg in 1525, and afterwards in the German tongue at Baſil, where it was at firſt forbidden. As ſoon as this formidable book appeared, the ma- Jortin, p. 181. giſtrates of Baſil conſulted two divines and two lawyers, to know whether the public ſale of it might be permitted. The divines were Eraſmus and Berus; the lawyers were Bonifacius Amerbachius and Claudius Canzonetta. Eraſmus ſays, that, in giving his anſwer upon this point, he made no invectives againſt Oecolampadius; and ſo the book was allowed to be ſold. He adds, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Pellicanus, were alarmed Ep. 846, 798. at this procedure; and that Capito wrote from Straſburg, deſiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgment of theſe four arbitrators.

Brentius anſwered Oecolampadius, in the name of all the Lutheran miniſters of Suabia, Dupin. in a book intitled, *Syngramma Suevicum ſuper verbis cœnæ*, in which he aſſerted, “that Je- Collier. ſus Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, and in the action of the Supper: that his body and blood are received, although in an inviſible manner, by faith, as remiſſion of ſins is received by baptiſm.” Yet he intimated, that the body and blood of Chriſt are preſent only by faith, and are received only ſpiritually. The *Syngramma* was tranſlated by John Agricola into the German language; and it was approved by Luther, who wrote a preface to it, wherein he ſays, “the ſacramentarians had already five or ſix leaders; the firſt, Dupin, p. 106. Carloſtadius, who applies the pronoun *this*, to the viſible body of Jeſus Chriſt; the ſecond Zuinglius, who expounds the word *is*, by *ſignifies*; the third Oecolampadius, who places the figure upon the word, *body*; a fourth perverts the order of the words; a fifth alters their places; the ſixth is not yet produced, who will chicane about the words; and, perhaps, we may ſoon ſee a ſeventh, who will overthrow all.”

Oecolampadius and Zuinglius were obliged to defend themſelves againſt Luther, who anſwered them, and wrote a book on purpoſe upon the Euchariſt in the German tongue, in which he attempted to prove the ubiquity of the body of Jeſus Chriſt by this argu- Dupin, p. 108. ment: “That in all places where the divinity of our Saviour is, there his humanity ought alſo to be preſent.” Oecolampadius and Zuinglius immediately replied: and Oecolampadius and Bucer confuted the large confeſſion of Luther. Brentius oppoſed their opinions in his expoſition upon the goſpel of St. John; and the other Lutherans perſiſted reſolutely in the condemnation of it.

Eraſmus, in 1526, paſſed a remarkable judgment upon the ſentiments of Oecolampadius Jortin, p. 408. touching the Euchariſt, in a letter to Pirckheimerus, who had written a book on the Fueſſlinus, p. 35. ſubject againſt Oecolampadius. “The opinion of Oecolampadius, ſays Eraſmus, would not Ep. 823. diſpleaſe me, if the conſent of the church did not hinder me from adopting it: for I diſcern not what good an inviſible ſubſtance can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were diſcernable.” Here the good ſenſe of Eraſmus ſuggeſted to him plain Jortin. and ſtrong arguments againſt either tranſubſtantiation, or the real and bodily preſence: he thought miracles ſhould be ſo wrought as to be ſeen, and that they ſhould never be wrought in vain. Pirckheimerus rallied Eraſmus for having ſaid, that he preferred the ſentiment of Oecolampadius upon the Euchariſt to that of others. He replied, “I never Jortin, p. 428. ſaid that his ſentiment was the beſt: I only ſaid to ſome friends that I could adopt it, Ep. 905. if the authority of the church had approved it; but that I could not quit the ſentiments of the church. I call the church, the conſent of the body of Chriſtian people.”

The conſequence of theſe diſputes was a diviſion among the reformers into two con- Dupin, p. 108. ſiderable ſects: the Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, or Sacramentarians. The Saxons continued firm to the doctrine of Luther; and that of Zuinglius was received by the Switzers, and ſome cities of the Upper Germany.

A conference between the Zuinglians, Lutherans, and Papiſts, was held at Bern, on the ſeventh of January, 1528. The diſputation was particularly upon the propoſition of the ſacrament; and Oecolampadius, together with Zuinglius, Bucer, Capito, Blauretus, and ſeveral other Sacramentarians, maintained it againſt the Papiſts and Lutherans. It ended in the abolition of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Romiſh church, throughout the canton of Bern. The cities of Conſtance and Geneva immediately followed the example: but it was not effected in the cities of Baſil and Straſburgh till 1529. Oecolampadius was married this year to the widow of Cellarius. It is remarkable, that after the death of Oeco- Ep. 951. lampadius, ſhe was married to Wolfgangus Capito: and laſtly, to Martin Bucer: Eraſmus laughed at Oecolampadius for his marriage; and ſaid, "He hath taken to himſelf a wife, "a pretty girl; probably he deſigns to mortify the fleſh. Some call Lutheraniſm a tragedy: "I call it a comedy, where the diſtreſs ends in matrimony." Yet he afterwards commended him as a divine.

The troubles of Germany increaſed, and the emperor Charles V. was obliged to call a diet at Spires, in March 1529; in the firſt place, to require the aſſiſtance of the princes of the empire againſt Solyman, who had taken Buda, and threatened to conquer all Hungary: and in the next place, to find out ſome way to allay the diſputes about religion. The Anabaptiſts were not permitted to come to this diet: it was alſo intended to exclude the deputies of Straſburgh, and the other cities, who had, contrary to the edicts of the Dupin, p. 112. preceding diets, aboliſhed the maſs, and other ceremonies, by their own authority. The Catholics laboured all they could to divide the Lutherans, and Sacramentarians; and had accompliſhed their deſign, if the landgrave of Heſſe had not prevented their diviſions from Puffendorff, v. 1, p. 357. breaking out. The Lutheran princes *proteſted* againſt the edict publiſhed at the diet of Spires; and, for that reaſon, were called PROTESTANTS. In the following year they preſented to the emperor, at the diet of Augſburg, their confeſſion of faith; and entered into a defenſive league, at Smalkald, for their common ſecurity.

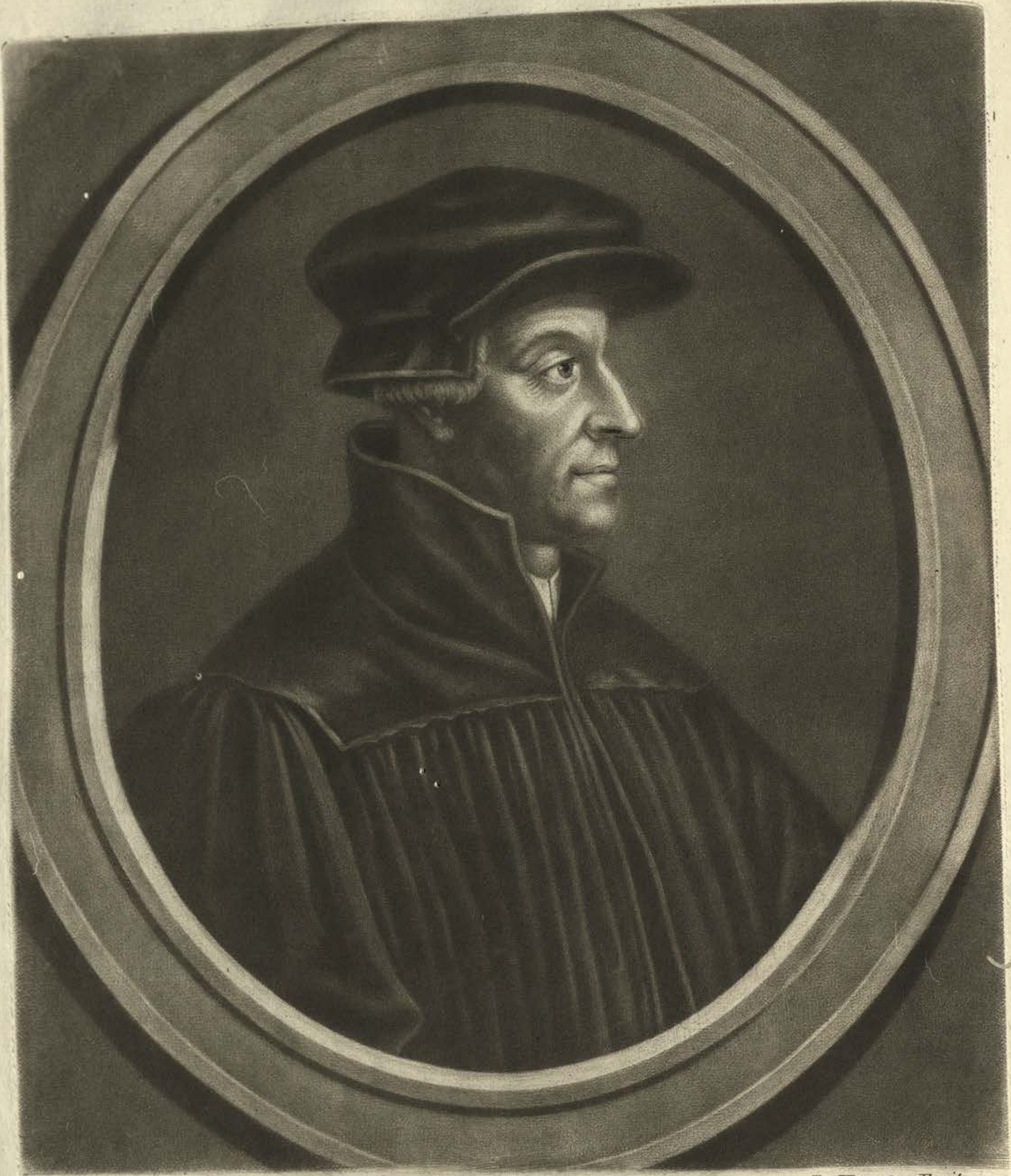
The article of the *proteſtation* which concerned the doctrine of the Sacramentarians, was particularly worded, that the princes might take away the difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, without approving the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. Oecolampadius complained, in a letter wrote to Melancthon, that Faber, biſhop of Vienna, attempted to procure the condemnation of their opinions: and he deſired Melancthon to declare on his ſide. Melancthon anſwered him, that he could not approve their opinion, as he found Dupin. no ſufficient reaſon to depart from the literal ſenſe of the words. He deſired Oecolampadius to conſider the importance of the queſtion in debate: and adds, it would be convenient that ſome good men ſhould confer together upon that head. Oecolampadius replied to this letter of Melancthon, and yielded to the neceſſity of ſome conferences: but obſerved, that the perſons to be appointed ſhould be men free from paſſion, and not of contentious ſpirits; otherwiſe they would be unable to diſcover the truth, and only increaſe their enmity.

The landgrave of Heſſe, in purſuance of theſe propoſitions, invited Zuinglius and Luther to a friendly conference at Marpurg, in October following. Both parties were unwilling to accept the propoſal: but Oecolampadius prevailed on Zuinglius, Bucer, and Hedio, to embrace it, and repair to Marpurg, where they were followed by Luther, Melancthon, Juſtus Jonas, Andreas Oſeander, Brentius, and Agricola. Before they held their public conference, there was a private meeting between Oecolampadius and Zuinglius, Luther and Melancthon. They diſagreed upon the article of the Lord's Supper, and debated it before the landgrave himſelf. This conference held three days; wherein Luther kept cloſe to the words of the inſtitution, which he affirmed to be full and poſitive for the corporal manducation. Oecolampadius aſſerted, that they ought to be underſtood metaphorically, and of a ſpiritual preſence; but affirmed, that it did not exclude the corporal. Many authorities and arguments were produced on both ſides: though neither was convinced.

Bucer endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians at the diet of Augſburg: but Oecolampadius diſapproved of his articles, and his labours to procure an union were ineffectual. In 1531, a civil war broke out between the Popiſh and Proteſtant cantons in Switzerland, in which Zuinglius was killed. The ſame year the book publiſhed by Ser- History of Servetus, p. 35. Epiſtolæ, lib. 4. p. 801. vetus about the errors concerning the Trinity was brought into Switzerland, where it diſguſted ſeveral of the Proteſtant divines, as it appears from a letter of Oecolampadius to Bucer, dated the fifth of Auguſt, 1531, wherein he ſays, "I have ſeen our friends of "Bern, who are very much offended with the book intitled De Trinitatis Erroribus. I "deſire you will acquaint Luther, that this book was printed out of this country, and "without our knowledge. The author impudently affirms, that the Lutherans do not underſtand the doctrine of juſtification; and our church will be ill ſpoken of, unleſs our "divines make it their buſineſs to explode him. I beſeech you to make an apology for "our church, at leaſt in your confutation inſcribed to the emperor. He wreſts all the "paſſages of the Scripture, to prove that the Son is not co-eternal and conſubſtantial with "the Father; and that the Man Chriſt is the Son of God."

Ep. p 83. The magiſtrates of Baſil deſired that Oecolampadius would give them his opinion concerning the book of Servetus; and that reformer made a ſhort diſcourſe in their preſence,

wherein



R. Houston Fecit.

Hulricus Zuinglius Helvet,

Natus A^{o}. 1487 in Prœlio periit A^{o}. 1531.

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wherein he ſhewed that it was a pernicious book; but he expreſſed himſelf with great moderation. Oecolampadius alſo wrote two letters to Servetus about his book, wherein he confuted him in a very civil manner, and intreated him to renounce his errors. He blamed Servetus for expreſſing a greater eſteem for Tertullian, than for all the other fathers of the church. Servetus continued an Anti-trinitarian; and ſome are of opinion, that the reformation would have made a further progreſs, if it had not been for that ſect: but Calvin cauſed Servetus to be afterwards burnt alive at Geneva for hereſy. Melanchthon's Ep. 140.

Eraſmus, in 1531, obſerved how ſtrangely Oecolampadius was changed from a ſuperſtitious monk, to a free-thinking reformer. Zuinglius was ſlain in the field in the month of October, this year; and Oecolampadius died at Baſil on the fifth of November following, in the fiftieth year of his age. Henry Bullinger ſucceeded Zuinglius; and Oecolampadius was ſucceeded by Oſwaldus Myconius. Eraſmus ſpoke in a very unfriendly manner of their death. The impetuous Luther did the ſame: but Sadolet ſhewed more moderation and candour on this melancholy occaſion. Ep. 1163. Dupin, p. 128. Jortin, p. 522.

Falſe and ſcandalous were the calumnies which were promulgated by the enemies of Oecolampadius, who died in the moſt pious manner; "Save me, Lord Jeſus", being his laſt words. Upon the whole, his learning and doctrine were ſuch, that even cardinal Sadolet, on hearing the news of his death, wiſhed that he could lawfully grieve for the loſs of him. His corpſe was buried at Baſil, over which a monument was laid with this inſcription: *D. Joan. Oecolampadius; Profeſſione Theologus, Trium linguarum peritiſſimus; Autor Evangelicæ doctrinæ in hoc Urbe Primus, & Templi hujus verus Epiſcopus,* &c. Collier.

The LIFE of ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS,

The REFORMER of SWITZERLAND.

THE Swiſs are placed in a country which is of great conſequence from its ſituation. They were formerly dependent on the German empire: but, in 1308, the three cantons of Switz, Uri, and Underwald, entered into a confederacy for delivering their country from the tyrannical proceedings of the Auſtrian government, which they bravely effected. From the oath made uſe of at entering into this confederacy, they uſed to call themſelves Eidgenotten, which, in the German tongue, ſignifies allies by oath: but, as Switz was the name of the principal canton, they have been commonly called by foreigners Switzers. They renewed their league in 1320: but they were not abſolutely independent of Germany till 1648, when it was declared, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, that the Swiſs cantons ſhould for ever be excluded from the circles of the empire. Puffendorff, v. 1, p. 399.

The inhabitants of Switzerland may be divided into three parts. Firſt, The Swiſs properly ſo called, or the thirteen cantons of Zurick, Bern, Lucern, Wic, Switz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, Baſil, Friburg, Soluthurn, Schaffhauſen, and Appenzel: of which the Proteſtant cantons are Zurick, Bern, Baſil, and Schaffhauſen; with above two thirds of the canton of Glaris, and more than half of Appenzel: the people in the reſt are all Roman Catholics; and the Proteſtants are all Calviniſts. Secondly, The ſubjects of the Switzers, conſiſting of ſeveral towns and balliages, conquered from the dukes of Milan and Savoy. Thirdly, The Griſons, who are allies of the Switzers: they are partly Proteſtants, partly Papiſts; and they have a conſiderable country that belongs to them. The town and county of Neufchatel, of which the king of Pruſſia is ſovereign; the abbot and city of St. Gall; the little republic of Wallais; the city and republic of Geneva; the town of Biel, allied to Bern; and the town of Mulhauſen, allied to Baſil. Preſent State of Europe, p. 460.

There is hardly one of theſe cantons, ſtates, or cities, that agrees with another in point of government; and, indeed, every kind of government that ever was invented, is to be found among them; yet they are all maintained under their reſpective forms, and in their reſpective rights, from that common love of freedom and juſtice, which prevails generally among the whole nation, Collier.

Ulricus Zuinglius, the famous reformer of this country, was of good parentage, and born at Wildhaus, in 1484, according to Collier. But this is a miſtake, for Zuinglius was Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 57.

born on the firſt of January 1487, at Wildehauſen in the county of Tockenburg, which is, a diſtinct republic, in alliance with the Switzers, or Helvetic body. He was ſent to Baſil, when he was ten years of age, to receive the firſt rudiments of his learning; and from thence he went to Bern, where he was taught Greek and Hebrew under Henry Lupulus. He ſtudied philoſophy at Vienna, and divinity at Baſil, where he was made doctor in 1505: and the next year he began to preach with ſuch good ſucceſs, that he was elected paſtor of Glaris, the chief town in the canton of that name. He continued there till 1516, when the reputation which he had acquired by his ſermons occaſioned him to be called to the Hermitage, a place famous for pilgrimages to the virgin Mary.

Fox's Acts and Mon. b. 7, p. 71. It is reported, that Zuinglius, about this time, had a remarkable conference with cardinal Matthew, biſhop of Syon, in the allied country of Valais, concerning the abuſes which had crept into the church, and the way to work a reformation.

Dupin. He was ſoon after invited to Zurick, the capital of that canton, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the inhabitants. The method which he followed in his ſermons, was to explain a text of holy Scripture; and he began with the goſpel of St. Matthew.

Puffend. v. 1, p. 357. About the year 1517, Martin Luther, profeſſor of Wittenburg in Saxony, had entered into a diſpute againſt the cuſtom of ſelling indulgences by the pope, who condemned Luther: but he appealed to a council, and went on writing againſt the errors of the church of Rome. He was ſo ſucceſsful, that ſome princes, and the Hanſe towns, began to expel the monks, and ſeize their eſtates. The emperor Charles, in 1521, cauſed Luther to be outlawed at the diet of Worms; and endeavoured, by edicts, to ſtop the progreſs of his innovations: however, the party of Luther increaſed; and the more ſo, becauſe the emperor was engaged in a war with France.

Dupin, p. 57. Zuinglius ſhewed himſelf at firſt very favourable to Luther, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himſelf. Samſon, a Franciſcan of Milan, was ſent by the pope, as general viſitor of his order, to publiſh indulgences at Zurick. He preached, according to the uſual manner, that the pope had granted an Collier. abſolute pardon of ſins to ſuch as purchaſed thoſe indulgences, and that they might thereby infallibly deliver ſouls out of purgatory. Zuinglius followed the example of Luther, by declaiming powerfully againſt this Franciſcan, and againſt the indulgences. Hugh biſhop of Conſtance believed that Zuinglius was diſpleaſed only with the abuſe, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage: but Zuinglius went farther, and ſolicited that prelate, as alſo the papal legate in Switzerland, to favour the doctrine that he intended Dupin. to ſettle, which he called *evangelical Truth.* They refuſed his propoſals; and he oppoſed the Popiſh ceremonies from the year 1519, to 1523, when he found an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his own doctrine, and of aboliſhing the ſuperſtition of Rome.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 275. Eraſmus was diſpleaſed at the violent quarrels which aroſe about the Lord's Supper among the reformers, the Zuinglians, and the Lutherans; for, in thoſe days, Zuinglius and his adherents were the only men who talked reaſonably upon that ſubject. He informed the preſident of the court at Mechlin, in 1522, that the ſpirit of reformation increaſed in Switzerland, where there were two hundred thouſand who abhorred the ſee of Rome. Ep 644. Eraſmus was not miſtaken in this, as the reformation in Switzerland ſoon afterwards Jortin, p. 295. ſhewed.

Puffend. v. 1, p. 404. The Switzers had rendered themſelves a very formidable nation, and their bravery was admired in all the European ſtates. Francis I. king of France purchaſed their friendſhip with a great ſum of money in 1515: and, in 1521, concluded a treaty with the Switzers, by which he was at liberty to levy any number of Swiſs troops, from ſix to ſixteen thouſand, without aſking the conſent of the magiſtrates. The canton of Zurick refuſed to enter into this treaty; becauſe Zuinglius, who was in great eſteem there, repreſented that the ſuffering a foreign prince to raiſe troops in this manner, was, in effect, ſelling the blood of their allies and children.

Dupin, p. 84. Zuinglius conducted the reformation in Switzerland with as much progreſs as Luther conducted that in Saxony; though he carried himſelf with more moderation and prudence. He propounded his doctrine in his ſermons, which he preached four years ſucceſſively in Zurick, and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: but he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worſhip without the concurrence of the magiſtrates, and he cauſed an aſſembly to be called for that purpoſe by the ſenate of Zurick, on the twenty-ninth of January 1523, that the differences among preachers in matters of religion might be compoſed.

Fox, b. 7, p. 72. The aſſembly met upon the day appointed, when a great number of the clergy appeared, and the biſhop of Conſtance ſent three deputies, among whom was John Faber, his chief vicar. The conſul opened the conference by declaring, that the ſermons of Zuinglius had raiſed ſo many diſputes in their city, that the ſenate thought it the beſt way to allay theſe differences by appointing a conference before the council of two hundred, to which all the clergy both of the city and country had been ſummoned. Zuinglius replied,

plied, “ that the light of the goſpel had been obſcured, and almoſt extinguiſhed, by human traditions: but that ſeveral eminent men had lately endeavoured to reſtore it, by preaching the word of God to the people in its purity. That he was one of that number; and, like them, had been treated as an heretic and ſeducer; though he had, for five years paſt, taught only what was contained in the holy Scripture. That it was for this reaſon he had deſired to give an account of his doctrine before the ſenate of Zurick, and the biſhop of Conſtance. That he thanked the ſenate for granting him this favour; and that he had drawn his doctrines into ſixty-ſeven propoſitions, which he was fully perſuaded were agreeable to the goſpel: and he was ready to anſwer for himſelf, if any perſon would accuſe him of error or hereſy.”

The doctrines contained in thoſe ſixty-ſeven propoſitions, may be reduced to theſe fol- Dupin. lowing articles. That the goſpel is the only rule of faith. The church is the communion of ſaints. We ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but Jeſus Chriſt. All traditions ſhould be rejected. There is no other ſacrifice but that of Jeſus Chriſt upon the croſs: and the maſs is no ſacrifice, but a commemoration of the ſacrifice of Chriſt. We have need of no other interceſſor with God than Jeſus Chriſt. All ſorts of meat may be eaten at all times The habits of monks ſmell of hypocriſy. Marriage is allowed to all men, and no man is obliged to make a vow of chaſtity, nor are prieſts at all obliged to live unmarried. Excommunication ought not to be inflicted by the biſhop alone, but by the whole church; and notorious offenders only ought to be excommunicated. The power which the pope and biſhops aſſume to themſelves, is a piece of pride that has no foundation in the Scripture. God alone can forgive ſins: for confeſſion of ſin to a prieſt, is only to beg his ghoſtly advice; and works of ſatisfaction proceed from human tradition. The Scripture does not teach us, that there is ſuch a place as purgatory. The character which the ſacraments are ſaid to impreſs is of a modern invention. The Scripture acknowledges none for prieſts, or biſhops, but ſuch as preach the word of God. Laſtly, he promiſed to deliver his judgment about tythes, the revenues of the church, the condition of infants not baptized, and about confirmation, if any perſon deſired to diſpute with him upon theſe points.

Zuinglius exhorted the magiſtrates of Zurick to leave their citizens no longer in doubt of what concerned their ſalvation. The council then declared, that if any perſon preſent Dupin. had any thing to alledge againſt Zuinglius, he had free liberty to ſpeak. Zuinglius made a public challenge three times: but he met with no opponent, except Faber, who inadvertently mentioned the interceſſion of ſaints, which gave Zuinglius an opportunity of oppoſing that doctrine, and drawing his adverſary into a diſpute.

Faber made a very general diſcourſe about the authority of the church and councils, which had condemned the ancient heretics, and lately Wickliffe, Huſs, and Jerom of Prague, Fox, p. whoſe doctrines were now revived. He ſaid, that the interceſſion of ſaints was a doctrine 72. which had been long ſettled in the church, and authorized by the practice of all nations: but concluded, that ſuch queſtions ought to be debated only among divines, as in the univerſities of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain.

Zuinglius replied, that he deſired of him only to reſolve, whether the Scripture made any mention of the interceſſion of ſaints? If councils were infallible? Whether traditions and Dupin. cuſtoms ought not to be rejected, when they are not grounded upon the authority of holy Scripture? And whether it is not clearly expreſſed, that Jeſus Chriſt is our only mediator?

From this queſtion, they paſſed to another concerning the celibacy of prieſts; and theſe two queſtions were the ſubject of a long conteſt, between the deputies of the biſhop of Conſtance on the one part, and Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, and ſome other miniſters on the other. The former ſupported their opinions by tradition, the authority of the church, and the canons of the councils: but the latter would abide only by the holy Scripture.

The debates ended at noon, and the ſenate publiſhed an edict, whereby it was ordained, “ that Zuinglius ſhould continue to teach and preach the doctrine of the goſpel, and the word of God, in his uſual manner; and all paſtors and teachers, both in the city and country, were forbid to teach any thing that could not be proved by the goſpel, and holy Sleid, lib. Scripture; and they were enjoined to forbear all accuſations of hereſy, or other crimes.” 3.

Faber entered a proteſtation againſt this edict, and ſaid, he would demonſtrate, that the doctrine of Zuinglius was contrary to that of St. Paul. Zuinglius challenged him to do it; and promiſed him a cheeſe of *hare's milk*, if he could prove any of his doctrines erroneous, by the goſpel, or holy Scripture.

It is eaſy to imagine, after the publication of this edict, that the doctrine of Zuinglius became general throughout all the canton of Zurick, under the name of “ *evangelical Truth*.” The external worſhip was contrary to the new doctrine; for images remained, and maſs was celebrated, in the churches, which could not be aboliſhed without authority. Zuinglius was determined to perfect his deſign, and engaged the ſenate to call a new aſſembly, to which they invited the biſhops of Conſtance, Coire, and Baſil, the univerſity of Baſil, and the other twelve cantons of Switzerland, to ſend their deputies, and make the aſſembly of greater authority.

Dupin.

The ſenate aſſembled again, on the twenty-ſixth of October, 1523, when Joachim Vadianus, Sebaſtian Hoffman, and Chriſtopher Chapplerus, were choſen arbitrators of the diſpute: Zuinglius and Leo Judæ were reſpondents: and all perſons preſent were allowed to object what they pleaſed. The firſt queſtion propounded was, "What the church is, and where it is?" Zuinglius diſtinguiſhed, and ſaid, "That the church was taken in two ſenſes: Firſt, For the congregation of all true Chriſtians, of whom Jeſus Chriſt is the head: Secondly, For the particular congregation of Chriſtians in one place:" and he maintained, that the congregations of cardinals and biſhops were not the church. He declared, his diſregard of the councils, his contempt of the pope's decree, and his neglect of the emperor's edict. Leo Judæ oppoſed the uſe of images by texts of the Old Teſtament, whereby it was forbidden the Jews to make or worſhip any graven image; and by ſuch places of the New Teſtament, wherein the adoration of idols was prohibited. Zuinglius maintained, that images were not to be tolerated, and that the law of God forbad them abſolutely. The reſolution of this firſt conference was, that no images were to be allowed among Chriſtians.

Acts and Mon. p. 72.

Dupin.

In the ſecond conference, they diſcourſed about the maſs, which Zuinglius maintained was no ſacrifice. The three arbitrators, appointed by the ſenate, gave ſentence, that "The abuſes of images and maſſes were ſufficiently proved by the word of God; therefore, they left it to the ſenate to enquire how they might be aboliſhed without offence." This was the reſult of the conference, which was followed with an edict, whereby it was forbidden to the prieſts and monks to make any public proceſſions, to carry the holy ſacrament, or elevate it in the church to be worſhipped. Relics were taken out of churches: it was ordered, that organs ſhould not be played, or bells be rung; that palm-branches, ſalt, or tapers ſhould not be bleſſed; and that ſupreme unction ſhould not be adminiſtered to the ſick. Thus, part of the outward worſhip and ceremonies of the church of Rome were aboliſhed in the canton of Zurick.

Puffendorff.

The other twelve cantons were diſſatisfied with this edict, which was maintained by the canton of Zurick, whoſe ſenators ordered all the images to be pulled down.

In the mean time, Zuinglius wrote ſeveral books in defence of his doctrine. The firſt was a large explication of the propoſitions which he had delivered in the firſt conference. The ſecond, was a diſcourſe dedicated to all the cantons of Switzerland; exhorting them not to impede the progreſs of his doctrine, nor to be diſſatisfied with the marriages of prieſts. The third was an anſwer to the advice which the biſhop of Conſtance had given to the ſenate of Zurick to oppoſe innovations. He alſo wrote a book about the certainty and evidence of the word of God: two treatiſes againſt the canon of the maſs: a letter concerning the grace of Jeſus Chriſt: and an anſwer to a book written by Jerom Emſer.

Fox, p. 74.

The biſhop of Conſtance, in 1524, publiſhed a book in vindication of images and the maſs. This was preſented to the ſenate of Zurick; and Zuinglius anſwered it in their name.

Ibid.
Dupin.

Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, Engelhardus, Megander, and Myconius, on the eleventh of April, 1525, petitioned the ſenate of Zurick to aboliſh the maſs, and the adoration of the elements in the ſacraments; in conſequence of which, the ſenate made a decree, whereby the maſs was aboliſhed for ever, and the ſacrament was ordered to be received after another manner.

Dupin.

Dupin, p. 90.

The form of celebrating the Lord's Supper preſcribed by Zuinglius, differed more from the church of Rome, than the form preſcribed by Luther. He ordered, "that the table ſhould be covered with a white cloth; on which were to be ſet the patine full of leavened bread, and veſſels filled with wine: that the miniſter and deacons ſhould ſtand by the table, where they were to exhort the people to approach with reverence; after which, one of the deacons ſhould read the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the epiſtle to the Corinthians; and another ſhould repeat a part of the ſixth chapter of St. John: that the miniſter ſhould then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants to examine their own conſciences, that they might not be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord by receiving them unworthily: that the miniſter and people ſhould then kneel, and ſay the Lord's Prayer; after which, the miniſter ſhould take the bread in his hands, and deliver the words of the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper with an audible voice; then give the bread and wine to the deacons, who ſhould diſtribute them to the people, while the miniſter ſhould read the diſcourſe which our Saviour had with his diſciples before his paſſion, as related in the goſpel of St. John." This was the form of adminiſtering the ſacrament, which Zuinglius appointed to be uſed. He maintained, in his doctrine concerning the ſacrament, that theſe words of Jeſus Chriſt, "*This is my body, this is my blood,* are to be underſtood thus: *This ſignifies my body and blood; this bread and this wine are a figure of my body and blood; this is a teſti-*

“ *mony and pledge, that my body ſhall be delivered up, and broken for you upon the croſs, and my blood ſhall be ſhed for you.*” From whence it follows, that not only the bread and wine exiſt after conſecration; but alſo, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are not preſent in the Euchariſt; and that the bread and wine are only a figure of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, communicated in a ſpiritual manner by faith.

In 1525, he publiſhed his book *de vera et falſa Religione*, which was dedicated, and preſented, to Francis I. of France. This book was ſaid to be full of errors: but this cenſure was paſſed by a Roman Catholic.

Collier.
Moreri.

Luther declared againſt the doctrine of Zuinglius, which Oecolampadius embraced. Zuinglius was leſs concerned at the writings of the Catholics than of Luther, who publiſhed a ſermon at Wittemberg about the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, which he made againſt the giddy-headed *contra ſpiritus vertiginoſos*, as he called the Zuinglians. A confutation of this ſermon was wrote by Zuinglius, who ſent letters to Nuremberg to win them to his opinion. He alſo anſwered the letters which Billicanus, and Urbanus Regius, wrote againſt him: and he compoſed a work intitled, The Lord's Supper. In 1527, he drew up an apology againſt a book written by Jacobus Strauſſius, wherein he explained the Lord's Supper at large, dedicated to Luther, and anſwered his ſermon at Wittemberg againſt the Sacramentarians.

Dupin.

Bucer wrote ſeveral tracts in defence of the Zuinglians, and aſſiſted Oecolampadius in confuting the large confeſſion of Luther. The Papiſts found that the Zuinglians were more to be feared than the Lutherans, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the ſpreading of that ſect in the Popiſh cantons of Switzerland.

The reformation gained ground, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the emperor; the biſhops of Conſtance, Baſil, Lauſanne, and Sion; and eight of the cantons. Another general aſſembly was convened at Bern by Zuinglius, on the ſeventh of January 1528, when the doctrines of the church of Rome were condemned. The opinions of Zuinglius were then introduced all over Bern, which example was imitated by the cantons of Baſil and Schaffhauſen, This occaſioned ill blood: but the imprudence of the inhabitants of Underwald, who protected the revolters from Bern, conduced moſt to the embroiling the cantons. The Zurickeſe armed themſelves, and were on the point of attacking the five cantons of Lucern, Uri, Switz, Zug, and Underwald: but, by an agreement made at Caſſel, it was determined, “ that there ſhould be liberty of conſcience throughout Switzerland: and that the five cantons ſhould renounce their alliance with the emperor Ferdinand.” Henry VIII. of England employed Grineus to try what Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and Bucer, thought of his marriage with his queen Catherine. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were of opinion, that the iſſue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received miſtake, ought not to be illegitimated.

Puffend. Intr. v. 1. p. 404.
Dupin, p. 108.
Puffend. p. 405.
Burnet's Abridgment, v. 1, p. 60.

There was great altercation between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, before the citizens of Bern aboliſhed Popery. Conſtance, Geneva, Baſil, and Straſburg, alſo threw off the yoke, and pulled down the altars and images in all places. But Bucer was embarraſſed between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and endeavoured to procure a good underſtanding between them in vain.

Spon's Hiſt. of Geneva.
Dupin, p. 109.

The diet of Augſburg was held in 1530, to conſult about matters of religion, and the war againſt the Turks. The Proteſtant princes publickly read their confeſſion of faith; and the Catholic divines drew up a confutation of it. The Proteſtants preſented an “ apology for their confeſſion to the emperor, who would not receive it, though it was drawn up by Melancthon, with his uſual moderation.”

Acts & Mon. p. 77.
Bayle, v. 2, p. 177.
Dupin, p. 115.
Ibid 117.

The Zuinglians alſo preſented their confeſſion of faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of Straſburg, Conſtance, Memmingen, and Landau. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito; but contained nothing about the Trinity, or Incarnation, that was contrary to the doctrine of the Romiſh church. They held, “ that men are juſtified only by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and faith: that good works are neceſſary; and ſo is obedience to magiſtrates: they commended faſting and prayer; but condemned the worſhip and interceſſion of ſaints, vows, and the monaſtic ſtate: they allowed of ſuch traditions as are not contrary to the word of God; and defined the church to be a congregation of true believers. They allowed of only two ſacraments; Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; and that God unites Chriſtians in an outward communion by thoſe ſacred ſymbols; not only becauſe they are viſible ſigns of inviſible grace, but alſo becauſe they are teſtimonies of our faith. They diſapproved of private maſſes, and confeſſion: and concluded with a long invective againſt the court of Rome.”

Ibid. 119.

This confeſſion of faith was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans; and the emperor ordered Faber and Eckius to draw up an anſwer to it, which was read in a full diet; and the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their doctrine. Zuinglius ſoon after wrote a letter to the Proteſtant princes in defence of his opinions againſt Eckius, and particularly concerning the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, wherein he expreſly denied the real preſence, concerning which the Lutherans had not been ſo explicit; for Bucer drew up this article of the Supper in ſuch ambiguous terms, that the Lutherans might not be condemned. Melancthon and Brentius publiſhed a treatiſe, to ſhew that the doctrine of the Zuinglians was entirely different from the Lutherans, whatever ambiguity there was in their words.

Zuinglius alſo ſent to the diet a particular confeſſion of faith, comprized in twelve articles, relating to the Trinity and Incarnation; the fall of man, and neceſſity of grace; original ſin; baptiſm of infants; the church; the ſacraments; ceremonies; the miniſtry of the goſpel; the authority of magiſtrates; and purgatory.

Puffend. 405. Dupin, p. 126.

The emperor publiſhed the decree of the diet againſt the Proteſtants and Sacramentarians, which neither obeyed: but the Proteſtant princes, and the reformed cantons of Switzerland, entered into a confederacy to defend themſelves and their religion, againſt the emperor and the Roman Catholic powers. This was the league of Smalkald, concluded in 1531, upon the ſucceſs of which the Proteſtant religion depended.

Puffend. p 405. Thuanus. Sleidan, lib. 8. Acts & Mon. p. 78.

The ſame year a civil war began in Switzerland, between the five Catholic cantons, and thoſe of Zurick and Bern. The Zurickeſe were defeated in their own territories, with the loſs of four hundred men. Zuinglius, who had a mind to let the world ſee he could uſe the ſword as well as the pen, was killed in this action, at the head of a battalion, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His followers gave out, that ſome perſons attempted to burn his body, but that the fire would not lay hold of it. Great cruelty was ſhewn to his corpſe, and it was attempted to be burnt.

Sleid. Acts & Mon. p. 79.

He was called the bleſſed ſervant, and ſaint of God, who thought it a diſgrace not to defend the doctrine of his church by his courage in the field. After this battle, matters were accommodated: and it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, ſhould not moleſt each other on a religious account; and that the Papiſts ſhould renounce their league with the emperor, and the Zuinglians the ſame with the landgrave of Heſſe. Their contentions were renewed in 1577, which ended in acknowledging Geneva a free ſtate by the duke of Savoy: and, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, in 1648, the emperors of Germany loſt all authority in Switzerland. The abbot of St. Gall renewed the diſpute in 1712, which was ended, after the battle of Wilmerguen, by the treaty of Roſchau in 1714.

Peace was ſettled in Germany by the treaty of Nuremberg, in 1532: but theſe religious diſputes broke out again in 1612. The Proteſtants were aſſiſted by Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, who loſt his life at Lutzen in 1632: and the Proteſtant intereſt was very much ſtrengthened by the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oſnabrug in 1648.

Dupin.

Zuinglius was ſucceeded by Henry Bullinger; and his doctrine was vindicated againſt Luther by Bucer, which will be ſet forth in their lives. The long diſputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded in 1538, by a pretended treaty of accord: but this was a work of diſguiſe and diſſimulation, and as little durable as it was ſincere. The Switzers continued in the opinion of Zuinglius: but the cities of Straſburg, Augſburg, Memmingen, and Landau, became Lutherans, by keeping literally to the expreſſions of the articles of agreement.

The works of Zuinglius, and an apology for his doctrine, were publiſhed by Rodolphus Gualterus. The Switzers paid the utmoſt gratitude to his memory; and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a Grecian funeral, for a man who had devoted his life to the ſervice of his country.

Bibliote-que Angloiſe. Collier.

Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were more eſteemed by the learned men of their time, than any other of the reformers; becauſe they had more moderation. Zuinglius was ſucceſsful againſt the enthuſiaſts, called Anabaptiſts: and ſome have confidently affirmed, that he was for putting them to death; and ſaid, "let him who dippeth again, be dipped; that "is, drowned:" but it is a very improbable ſtory, ſince Minius Celſus himſelf, namely, Sebaſtian Caſtellio, whoſe teſtimony in points of this kind ought to be credited, having publickly defended his poſition; "that heretics ought not to be put to death;" appeals to the authority of Zuinglius, and affirms, that the Anabaptiſts at that time never ſuffered on account of their opinions, as heretics, but of their evil actions, as perjured and ſeditious rebels.

Perizonius.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 357.

The firſt Anabaptiſts ſhewed a ſurprizing mixture of folly, ſtupidity, wickedneſs, and religious frenzy. An immoral fanatic is of all animals the moſt dangerous to the church and ſtate; and the hiſtory of theſe Anabaptiſts is an everlaſting monument of the miſchief which ſuch people can perpetrate.

Ibid. 400.

Pellicanus threatened Eraſmus with an attack from Zuinglius; and Eraſmus declared that he feared not ten Zuinglius's. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the Euchariſt; and, from the manner in which he had ſpoken of the performance of Oecolampadius, it appears, that he thought it not ſo eaſy a matter to refute theſe divines. Very true it is, that the ſtruggles of the reformers cauſed many diſorders, and drew a terrible perſecution upon them and their ſucceſſors: but it was through the fault of that church, to which Eraſmus wanted to remain united; and, which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that Eraſmus could eaſily have embraced the ſentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his mother the church would have given him leave.

Ibid. 491.

Melchior Adam.

Zuinglius had ſkill in muſic, and a love for it. He always ſtudied ſtanding, and was always a great ſtudent. He received a moſt courteous letter from pope Adrian VI. and might have had any favours, if he had declared himſelf a friend to the ſee of Rome.

THE

THE

LIVES

OF THE

REFORMERS.

PART II.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of MARTIN LUTHER, MARTIN BUCER, PHILIP MELANCHTHON, PETER MARTYR, JOHN CALVIN, HENRY BULLINGER, and THEODORE BEZA.

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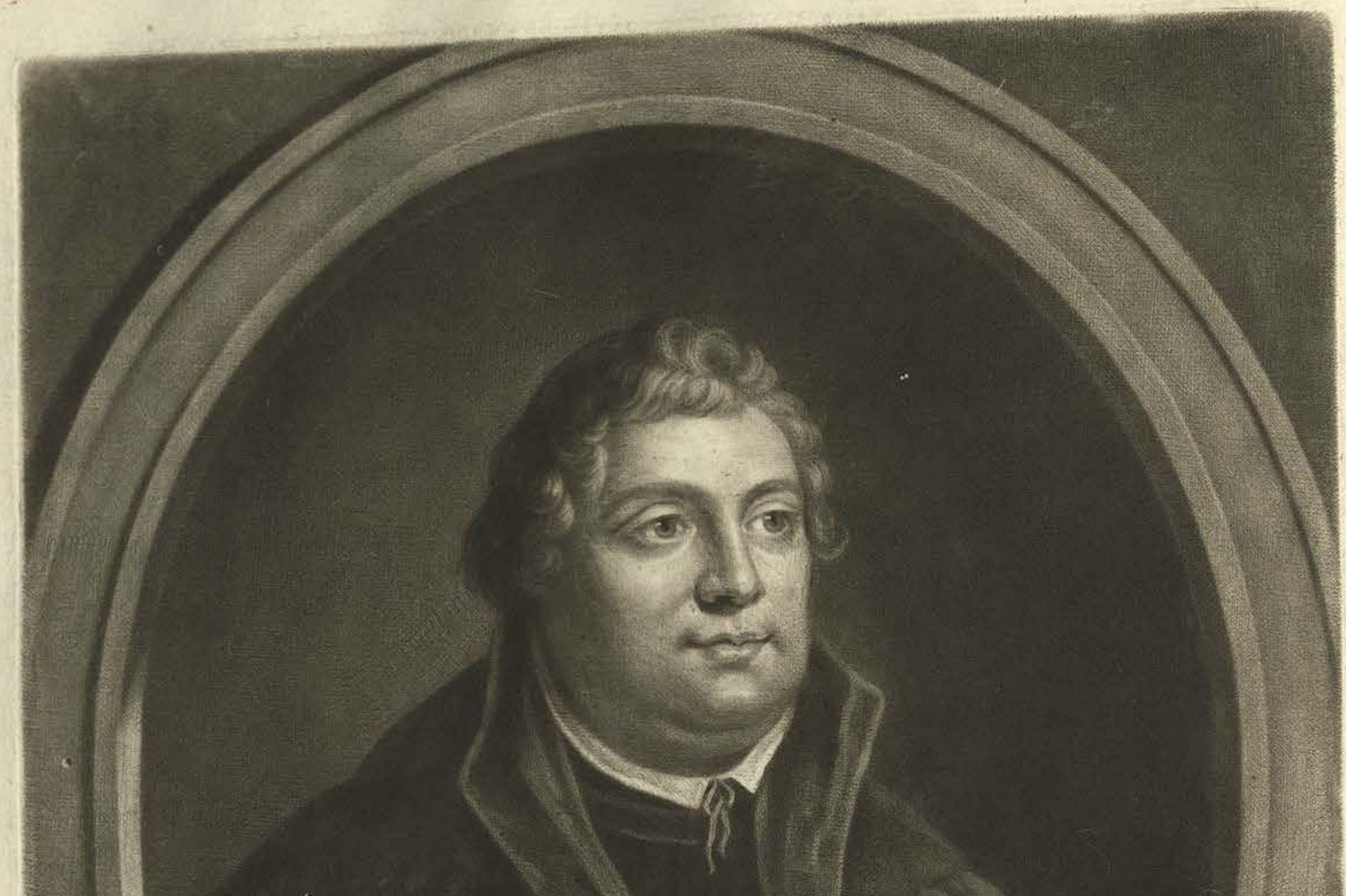

R Houston Fecit.

D. Martinus Lutherus

Natus Islebiæ die X. Novemb. 1483 Denatus Ibidem die XVIII Febr. 1546.

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THE LIVES OF THE REFORMERS,

PART II.

The LIFE of MARTIN LUTHER,

The REFORMER of GERMANY.

THE conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all Europe, had long given infinite Biſhop Burnet's Abridg. v. 1, p. 28.
ſcandal to the world. The biſhops were groſsly ignorant: they ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes, except to riot at high feſtivals: and all the effect their reſidence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill example. They followed the courts of princes, and aſpired to the greateſt offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleneſs; and it appeared by the unmarried ſtate, both of the ſeculars and regulars, that the reſtraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude they had a right to all other mens. The inferior clergy were no better; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In ſum; all ranks of churchmen were ſo univerſally deſpiſed and hated, that the world Ibid. p. 29.
was very apt to be poſſeſſed with prejudice againſt their doctrines, for the ſake of the men whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them: and the worſhip of God was ſo defiled with much groſs ſuperſtition, that, without great enquiries, all men were eaſily convinced, that the church ſtood in great need of a reformation. This was much increaſed when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church very evidently appeared. They found, that a blind ſuperſtition came firſt in the room of true piety; and when, by its means, the wealth and intereſt of the clergy was highly advanced, the popes had upon that eſtabliſhed their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All theſe things concurred to ~~make way~~ for the advancement of the reformation.

Wickliffe, Huſs, Jerom of Prague, and Colet, had laid the ſeeds of the reformation, Burnet, p. 25.
which Luther nouriſhed with ſo much warmth, that they ſhot up with amazing vigour. The ſcandalous extolling of indulgences gave the firſt occaſion to all the contradiction that followed between Luther and his followers, and the church of Rome; in which, if the corruptions and cruelty of the clergy had not been ſo viſible and ſcandalous, ſo ſmall a

matter could not have produced ſuch a revolution: but any criſis will put ill humours in fermentation.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 274. Bayle, v. 3, p. 947.

As Proteſtants, we are certainly much obliged to Eraſmus; yet we are more obliged to the authors of the reformation, to Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melanchthon, Cranmer, and others. The greateſt enemies of Luther cannot deny, but that he had eminent qualities, and hiſtory affords nothing more ſurprizing than what he had done: for a ſimple monk to be able to give popery ſo rude a ſhock, that there needed but ſuch another entirely to overthrow the Romiſh church, is what we cannot ſufficiently admire. Wickliffe, Huſs, and others, had attempted the ſame thing, without ſucceſs, becauſe they were not favoured with a concurrence of circumſtances. They had no leſs merit or abilities than Luther: but they undertook the cure of the diſeaſe before the criſis; whereas, he attacked it at a critical time, when it was arrived to the higheſt pitch; when it was impoſſible it ſhould grow worſe; and therefore, according to the courſe of nature, muſt either ceaſe or diminiſh: for when things are arrived to the higheſt point of their aſcenſion, they commonly begin to decline. Luther ſowed in the full moon, when the wane was juſt drawing on. He had the ſame good fortune as thoſe remedies have which are employed laſt, and carry away the glory of the cure, becauſe applied when the malignity of the diſtemper is diſcharged. It was ſaid, with reaſon, that Eraſmus, by his railleries, prepared the way for Luther; and Simon Fontaine complained, that Eraſmus occaſionally had done more miſchief than Luther; becauſe Luther only opened the door wider, after Eraſmus had picked the lock, and half opened it. Notwithſtanding all this, ſays Bayle, there muſt have been eminent gifts in Luther to produce ſuch a revolution as he has done.

Hiſt. Cathol. p. 91. Vol. 3, p 948.

Maimbourg's Hiſt. de Lutheran, p. 23. Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 33.

Martin Luther was born at Iſleben, a town in the county of Mansfield, in the circle of Upper Saxony, on the tenth of November 1483, being St. Martin's-eve, which made his parents name him Martin. His father was called John Luther, or Luder, becauſe he was a refiner of metals; for Luder, in the German language, has that ſignification: it is agreed, that his buſineſs was about the mines; and that he was the chief magiſtrate of the city of Mansfield. His mother's name was Margaret Lindeman, who was adorned with peculiar virtues, and remarkable for her piety.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 934.

Among the falſhoods which have been publiſhed concerning Martin Luther, no regard has been had to probability, or to the rules of the art of ſlandering. The authors of them have aſſumed all the confidence of thoſe who fully believe that the public will blindly adopt all their ſtories, however abſurd. They have dared to publiſh, that an Incubus begat him; and have even falſified the day of his birth, to frame a ſcheme of nativity to his diſadvantage. Father Maimbourg has been ſo equitable as to reject this ridiculous ſtory: but Gauricus has made himſelf contemptible for his aſtrology.

Dupin, p. 33. Fox.

When Martin Luther was fourteen years of age, he was ſent to the public ſchool of Magdeburg, where he continued one year, and was then removed to that of Eiſenach, where he ſtudied four years. When he had finiſhed his Grammar ſtudies, he was ſent to the univerſity of Erfurt in Thuringia, where he went through a courſe of philoſophy, and was admitted maſter of arts in 1503, being then twenty years old. He was ſoon after made profeſſor of phyſic, and ethics: but he chiefly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law, and intended to advance himſelf to the bar, from which he was diverted by this uncommon accident. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was ſtruck by a thunderbolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: whereupon Luther reſolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the hermits of St. Auguſtine. He made his profeſſion in the monaſtery of Erfurt, where he took prieſt's orders, and celebrated his firſt maſs in 1507.

Fox's Acts & Mor. b. 7, 46.

It is reported, that there was an old man in this monaſtery, with whom Luther had ſeveral conferences upon many theological ſubjects, particularly concerning the article of remiſſion of ſins. This article was explained by the old monk to Luther, "that "it was the expreſs commandment of God, that every man ſhould believe his ſins "to be forgiven him in Chriſt." Luther found this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimony of St. Bernard, who ſays, "that man is freely juſtified by faith." He then perceived the meaning of St. Paul, when he repeats, "we are juſtified by faith." He conſulted the expoſitions of many writers upon that apoſtle, and ſaw through the vanity of thoſe interpretations, which he had read before of the ſchoolmen. He compared the ſayings and examples of the prophets, and apoſtles: he alſo ſtudied the works of St. Auguſtine: but ſtill conſulted the ſententiaries, as Gabriel and Camarencis. He likewiſe read the books of Occam, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred before Thomas Aquinas and Scotus.

Fox, p. 46.

In 1508, the univerſity of Wittenberg, in the duchy of Saxony, was eſtabliſhed under the direction of Staupitius, whoſe good opinion of Luther occaſioned him to ſend for him from Erfurt to Wittenberg, where he taught philoſophy, and his lectures were attended by Mellarſtad, and many other wiſe and learned men. He expounded the logic and philoſophy of Ariſtotle, in the ſchools; and began to examine the old theology, in the churches.

Mellarſtad uſually ſaid, that Luther was of ſuch a wonderful ſpirit, and of ſuch ingenious parts, as to give apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſy, and familiar manner of teaching; as alſo alter and aboliſh the order that was then uſed. Collier.

It is ſaid, "he was ſent to Rome, to take up ſome controverſies which happened "among his order; and he conducted himſelf ſo well as to obtain the character of a "prudent man." This is repreſented to have happened before he came to Wittenberg; which is a miſtake: for it was three years after he was at that univerſity. The occaſion was this: ſeven convents of the Auguſtines quarrelled with their vicar-general, and Luther was choſen by the monks to maintain their cauſe at Rome. He was of an active ſpirit; a bold declaimer, and ſucceeded in his buſineſs; for which he was made doctor and profeſſor of divinity on his return to Wittenberg. Fox, p. 46. Dupin, p. 33.

This degree was forced upon him, againſt his will, by Staupitius, who ſaid to him, "that God had many things to bring to paſs in his church by him." Theſe words were merrily ſpoken; yet they proved true, like many other predictions before a great change. Luther was graduated doctor at the expence of Frederic elector of Saxony, who "had "heard him preach, well underſtood the quietneſs of his ſpirit, diligently conſidered the "vehemency of his words, and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters which "in his ſermons he ripely and exactly explained." Fox.

After this, he began to expound the epiſtle to the Romans, and the Pſalms; where he ſhewed the difference between the law and the goſpel. He refuted the error that was then predominant in ſchools and ſermons; for he taught, that men may merit remiſſion of ſins by their proper works. As John Baptiſt demonſtrated the lamb of God which took away the ſins of the world: ſo Luther, ſhining in the church as a bright ſtar after a long and obſcure ſky, expreſsly ſhewed, that ſins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift. Fox.

His life was correſpondent to his profeſſion; and theſe happy beginnings of ſuch important matters procured him great authority. However, he attempted no alteration in the ceremonies of religion, and interfered in no doubtful opinions: but contented himſelf with opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remiſſion of ſins, of faith, and of true comfort in times of adverſity. His doctrine was generally approved by the learned, who conceived high pleaſure to behold Jeſus Chriſt, the prophets, and apoſtles, to emerge into light out of darkneſs, whereby they began to underſtand the difference between the law and the goſpel, between ſpiritual juſtice and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Aquinus, Scotus, and other ſchoolmen. Eraſmus revived learning while Luther was teaching at Wittenberg. The former brought the monks barbarous and ſophiſtical doctrine into contempt by his elegant works: which induced Luther to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountains, he might paſs his judgment with more authority.

We come now to turbulent and tempeſtuous times between the Reformed and the Romaniſts. The monks loudly complained of Eraſmus, whoſe bold and free cenſures of their pious grimaces and ſuperſtitious devotions, had opened the way for Luther. *Eraſmus*, as they uſed to ſay, "laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." The ridiculous Maimbourg tells us, that the Catholic church enjoyed a ſweet peace in the ſixteenth century, and held the popes in profound veneration, till Luther raiſed commotions: a ſtory which was only fit to be told to boys and girls at Paris. It is hard to name two perſons, who were more generally, and more deſervedly abhorred, than Alexander VI. and Julius II. and as to Leo X. all the world knows, that he ſat very looſe to religion and morality. Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 113.

The year 1517, was the 356th from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenſes: the 146th from the firſt confutation of Popiſh errors in England by John Wickliffe: the 116th from the miniſtry of John Huſs, who oppoſed the errors of Popery in Bohemia: and the 36th year from the condemnation of doctor Weſſalia, who taught at Worms. Scultetus.

The papal power was re-eſtabliſhed, and carried farther than ever: all the Weſtern world, except the Waldenſes [a] in France, and a few Huſſites in Bohemia, having embraced Puffend. v. 2, p. 94.

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[a] The author of this ſect was Valdo, who began to ſpread his doctrine at Lyons in France, from whence he was baniſhed, and retired with his followers to the mountains of Savoy. They were joined by ſome men of learning, who hated the clergy, and maintained, that the biſhop of Rome, and the prieſts, had corrupted the holy Scriptures by their tenets and gloſſes. They paid no tithes, made no offerings, obſerved no feſtivals, and celebrated no faſts: ~~they believed~~, that prayers *for the dead were uſeleſs and ſuperſtitious;* they denied the authority of prieſts, and deſpiſed confeſſion. *They led pure and holy lives, and aſſerted, that they only were the true church; and that the church of Rome was a proſtitute, which taught an infinite number of errors. The Romiſh prieſts* called the Waldenſes, Heretics; and their prieſts, who were called *Barbes, were perſecuted: but their poſterity now* inhabit the vallies of Piedmont, called the Vaudois. Peter Gilles, miniſter of the reformed church of La Tour in the vale of Lucerne, compoſed, by order of his ſuperiors, an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the churches of the Vaudois, and publiſhed it at Geneva in 1644: and Claudius Seyſſelius, archbiſhop of Turin, wrote a treatiſe againſt the Vaudois, with the hopes of converting them to Popery. Seyſſelius, Diſputationes contra Errores & Sectam Waldenſam. Bayle, v. 3, 161. Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 363.

braced the communion, and ſubmitted to the authority of Rome: when all of a ſudden, and from a moſt inconſiderable accident, a ſtrange diſcontent aroſe, which ended in the revolt of great part of Europe; and the pope, who might, juſt before, have been conſidered in all the meridian of his glory, was in danger of loſing all.

Dupin, p. 32. Puffendorf.
Dupin, p. 32.
Puffenddorf. Dupin.

Leo X. ſucceeded Julius II. in 1513. He was of a rich and powerful family, naturally proud and lofty. But it is alſo ſaid, that he was of a courteous diſpoſition, very generous to men of learning and integrity: and would, if he had been tolerably well ſkilled in divinity, or ſhewn any regard to piety, although but feigned, have paſſed for a very good pope. The magnificent church of St. Peter was begun by Julius II. and required very large ſums to finiſh: but Leo was deſirous of having it completed, notwithſtanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treaſure of the apoſtolic chamber was exhauſted. To bear the great expence of finiſhing that ſuperb edifice, Leo found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to ſome extraordinary means for raiſing money; which he was adviſed, by cardinal Pucci, to do by ſelling indulgences; as the court of Rome, upon ſeveral occaſions, had formerly experienced to her advantage in raiſing troops and money againſt the Turks. Leo, therefore, in 1517, publiſhed general indulgences throughout all Europe, in favour of thoſe who would contribute any ſum to the building of St. Peter's.

Seckendorf, l. 3. p. 11.
Fox's Acts b. 7, p. 47.

Some ſay, that theſe indulgences were publiſhed under the pretence of making war upon the Turks; and that the pope ſent a Jubilee, with his pardons, through all Chriſtian realms, whereby he collected an immenſe treaſure.

Dupin, p. 32.
Fox, p. 47.
Maſſæo, l. 20.
Jortin, p. 112.
Puffendorf, p. 95.
Dupin, p. 32.
Seckendorf, p. 16.

Several perſons were ſent into different countries, to preach up theſe indulgences, and to receive money for them. The collectors perſuaded the people, that thoſe who gave to the value of about ten ſhillings ſterling, ſhould at their pleaſure deliver one ſoul from the pains of purgatory: but, if it was leſs, they preached, that it would profit them nothing. The pope employed the Dominicans in this dirty work in Germany, at which the Auguſtinians were irritated, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. As all the money, raiſed this way in Saxony and thereabouts, was granted to Magdalen, ſiſter to the pope, ſhe, to make the moſt of it, appointed Archimbald, a biſhop, by habit and title, but as well verſed in the tricking part of trade as a Genoeſe, to manage for her. But we are told, that Albert of Brandenburg, archbiſhop of Mentz and Magdeburg, who was ſoon after made a cardinal, had a commiſſion for Germany: that, inſtead of employing the Auguſtine friars, who had laboured above all the religious orders to make them paſs, he gave this commiſſion to John Tetzelius a Dominican, and to other friars of the ſame order; becauſe he had lately collected great ſums for the knights of the Teutonic order, who were at war againſt the Muſcovites, by preaching up the like indulgences, which the pope had granted to theſe knights.

Puffendorf.

The Auguſtines were diſguſted at loſing what had been very profitable to their order; and all conſiderate people were ſcandalized at this kind of traffic [b].

Dupin, p. 33.
Sleidan.
Seckendorf.
Dupin, p. 33.
Jortin, p. 113.
Bayle's Leo, p. 766
Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 40.

John Staupitius was the vicar-general of the Auguſtines in Saxony, and he was greatly eſteemed by the elector, who was one of the moſt opulent and potent princes in Germany. Staupitius informed the elector of the pernicious conſequences of theſe indulgences. On this occaſion, Luther, who was of the Auguſtine order, and profeſſor of divinity at Wittenberg, began to examine the doctrine of indulgences, which the Dominicans ſold in the moſt open, and the moſt infamous manner; and having found it full of errors, he refuted it publickly in 1517. It is ſaid, he was naturally paſſionate, and zealous for the intereſt of his order, which made him declaim againſt the abuſes of indulgences, and maintain doctrinal theſes about them contrary to the common notions of divines. But it ſeems not to have been any ſpleen againſt the Dominicans that ſet Luther to work: it was only his diſlike to ſuch practices. Some ſay, that Leo X. whoſe ſordid traffic to which he reduced the diſtribution of indulgences gave birth to Luther's reformation, ſpoke honourably of this reformer in the beginning. Silveſter Prierio, maſter of the ſacred palace, ſhewed Leo the doctrine which Luther had vented in his book concerning indulgences: but pope Leo anſwered, that friar Martin had a fine genius, and that theſe ſurmiſes were monkiſh jealouſies.

Colomie's Recueil, p. 111.
Acts and Mon. b. 7, p. 47.

Tetzelius, or Tecellius, impudently ſold the pope's indulgences about the country. Luther was greatly exaſperated at the blaſphemous ſermons of this ſhameleſs Dominican; "and "having his heart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintain true religion, publiſhed "certain propoſitions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the firſt tome of his "works,

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Guicciardin, lib. 13, p. 395.
Puffendorf. p. 94.

[b] Indulgences were let out to farm, and diſperſed all over the world, without any regard to time or place; not only for this life, but to deliver the ſouls of the dead from the pains of purgatory; which occaſioned great indignation and ſcandal in ſeveral places in Germany, where the commiſſioners ſold the indulgences for a trifle, and the power of delivering a ſoul from purgatory was played for at hazard in taverns.

By theſe indulgences, both the living and dead were abſolved: people were allowed to eat fleſh on days of abſtinence, and indulged in many other things.

" works, and ſet them openly on the temple that joineth to the caſtle of Wittenberg, the " morrow after the feaſt of All-ſaints, in 1517."

John Hilten, a German Franciſcan, of Eiſenach, pretended to ground ſome predictions upon the Book of Daniel in 1485. Melanchthon, who had ſeen the original of that work, ſays, the author foretold, that, in 1516, the power of the pope ſhould begin to decay. We are informed, that Hilten was put into priſon, for having reproved ſome monaſtical abuſes; and that being very ſick, he ſent for the Guardian, and told him, " I " have ſpoke no great matter againſt the monkery; but there ſhall come one, in 1516, " who ſhall over turn it." Du Pleſſis adds, that Luther began to preach that year; in which he was miſtaken, for the æra of Lutheraniſm began not till 1517.

Melchior Adam. Bayle, v. 3. p. 455. Melanch. to Matheſius. Du Pleſſis Mornai, p. 573.

The firſt theſis publiſhed by Luther contained ninety-five propoſitions, in which he plainly declared his opinion about indulgences. He maintained, " that the pope could re- " leaſe no puniſhments, but what he inflicted; and ſo indulgences could be only a re- " laxation of eccleſiaſtical penalties: that Chriſtians are to be inſtructed, that the purchaſe " of a pardon is not to be compared to works of mercy; and that it is better to give to " the poor, than to buy pardons: that no confidence ſhould be placed in indulgences, which " cannot remit the leaſt venial ſin in reſpect of the guilt." He alſo condemned ſeveral propoſitions which he attributed to his adverſaries; and reproved ſeveral abuſes, of which he declared them guilty. He pronounced an anathema upon thoſe who ſpoke againſt the truth of apoſtolic indulgences; but hoped for all bleſſing upon thoſe who ſhould be vigilant in ſtopping the licence and zeal of the preachers up of papal indulgences.

Dupin, p. 33.

Luther vindicated his theſis in a letter to the archbiſhop of Mentz, and told him, " he " could not keep ſilence, when he ſaw the ſouls entruſted to the care of ſuch an illuſtri- " ous perſon ſo ill inſtructed, and for which he muſt one day give an account."

Collier.

The doctrine of remiſſion of ſins, annexed in the goſpel to repentance, is chearful, and comfortable; and happy had it been for mankind that prieſts had never puzzled it. In the Romiſh church, ſins are diſtinguiſhed into venial and mortal; and there are many reſerved caſes to make the determination of churchmen neceſſary. Books of caſuiſtry, enough to freight large fleets, have been wrote; and it would be well for the cauſe of morality, if they were all at the bottom of the ocean: for, by entering ſo minutely into the circumſtances of ſome crimes, which ought not to be mentioned, improper things are put into the heads of young people.

Puffendorf, v. 2, p. 107.

Tezelius aſſembled the monks and ſophiſtical divines of his convent, whom he commanded to write ſomething againſt Luther; while he cried out from the pulpit, that Luther was a heretic, and worthy to be perſecuted with fire. In a public diſpute at Francfort upon the Oder, he laid down a theſis, in which he oppoſed that of Luther; and he alſo publiſhed a piece in German againſt a ſermon which Luther had preached on indulgences. This preaching friar, who was an inquiſitor in Germany, maintained, " that " the miniſters of the church may impoſe a puniſhment to be ſuffered after death; and " that it is better to ſend a penitent, with a ſmall penance into purgatory, than to ſend " him into hell by refuſing him abſolution: that heretics, ſchiſmatics, and wicked men " are excommunicated after death; and the dead are ſubject to the laws of the church: " that the pope, by granting plenary indulgences, intends to remit all puniſhments in ge- " neral: and that indulgences remit puniſhment more readily than works of charity."

Fox, b. 7, p. 47. Seckendorf's Hiſtory of Luther, l. 1, p. 25. Dupin, p. 35.

Tezelius alſo compoſed fifty other propoſitions about the authority of the pope, which he ſaid was ſupreme, and above the univerſal church, and a council: that there are many Catholic truths, which are not in the holy Scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are Catholic; and that his judgment in matters of faith is infallible.

Ibid. 36.

Theſe famous poſitions of Luther and Tezelius were like the challenge and defence of the diſpute ſet on foot by poth parties. Luther wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important diſpute: but Tezelius treated him as an hereſiarch. The former truſted to his parts and knowledge: the latter was ſo ignorant, that he could not write his own anſwer, which was drawn up for him by Conradus Wimpina, the divinity profeſſor at Francfort. Luther was protected by the elector of Saxony: but Tezelius had more authority by his offices of commiſſioner and inquiſitor; though he was a man of ſuch very profligate morals, that he had been condemned to die for adultery at Inſpruck, and was pardoned at the interceſſion of the elector of Saxony.

Maimbourg. Dupin. Seckendorf. Ibid. lib. 1, p. 12.

The emperor Maximilian, being at Inſpruck, was ſo offended at the wickedneſs and impudence of Tezelius, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him ſeized upon, put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the ſolicitations of Frederic elector of Saxony. Tetzel, or Tezelius, was a perſon too mean and worthleſs, to be compared on any account with Luther: and Seckendorf tells a pleaſant tale of a gentleman of Leipſic, who bought an indulgence of Tezelius, only by way of abſolution for robbing and cudgelling him afterwards.

Sleidan, lib. 13, p. 347. Huber's Hiſt Civ. l. 1, p. 26. Jortin, p. 117.

Tezelius cauſed the propoſitions of Luther to be burnt; which inforced Luther to treat more amply of the cauſe, and to maintain his matter. Thus aroſe this

Fox, p. 46.

Fox.

controverſy, "wherein Luther, neither ſuſpecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and, therefore, they falſely accuſe him, which blaze that he began with plauſible matter, whereby he might get praiſe, to the end, that he might change the ſtate of the commonweal, and purchaſe authority either for himſelf or others."

Puffend. v. 2, p. 95.

As it was not expected, and perhaps Luther did not think at firſt of falling off from the pope, many divines, ſome cardinals, and George duke of Saxony, pleaſed with the juſtice of his cauſe, and his manner of defending it, ſided with him; and the emperor Maximilian ſaid, that he ought to be protected. Nor had Luther any enemies, while he confined himſelf to writing againſt the abuſe of indulgences, except the monks and agents, whoſe intereſt was at ſtake. Theſe, indeed, raiſed a great clamour againſt him: but their malice, without argument, increaſed, inſtead of leſſening, his party.

Dupin, p. 37. Bayle, v. 4, p 772. Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Coun. of Trent, book 1. Palavicini. Bayle. Seckend. Eraſm. Ep. 71. l. 19. Dupin, p. 39.

John Eckius, profeſſor, and vice-chancellor, of the univerſity of Ingoldſtadt, alſo oppoſed Luther; in which he was joined by Silveſter Prierias, profeſſor in the univerſity of Padua, vicar-general of the Dominicans, and maſter of the ſacred palace under pope Leo X. Luther oppoſed the indulgences by reaſons: but Eckius and Prierias, not finding themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to anſwer him, had recourſe to common places, and laid down for a foundation, the authority of the pope, and conſent of the ſchoolmen; concluding that indulgences ought to be received as an article of faith, ſince they proceeded from the pope, who had approved the doctrine of the ſchoolmen, and was infallible in matters of faith. Eckius wrote his obeliſks againſt Luther's theſis, without intending to publiſh it; and Luther publiſhed it together with his own refutation. As for Prierias, nothing can make us better underſtand the ſucceſs of his writings, than to know, that he was commanded by the pope to write no more on matters of controverſy. Luther anſwered Eckius in another theſis, about repentance; and aſſerted, "that the juſt man lives not by the work of the law, but by faith." He alſo anſwered Prierias, who had treated him with threats, and imperious reflections. He had a fourth adverſary in Jacobus Hogoſtratus, a friar-preacher, who wrote againſt ſome of his propoſitions, and adviſed the pope to condemn Luther, and burn him, if he would not retract. Luther made a kind of manifeſto againſt this author, in which he reproached him with cruelty and ignorance.

Puffend. p 96.

The Chriſtian world, at that time, was overwhelmed with ceremonies. Divinity was mere chicanery, or ſophiſtry: new and abſurd notions were every day advanced in the ſchools: and the clergy of all orders, by lording it over mens conſciences, rendered themſelves hated and deſpiſed. The turbulent humour, infidelity, and ambition of the two laſt popes were not forgot: biſhops, in general, were without integrity, or capacity; and the inferior clergy, beſides being groſsly ignorant, and notoriouſly immoral, were become intolerable, on account of their inſatiable avarice. The clergy, for a long time, had been vicious and illiterate: but theſe things were taken notice of, now learning began to revive in Europe. Prieſts and monks, whoſe actions would not bear the light, were highly incenſed againſt the reſtorers of literature; and ſcrupled not to accuſe them of hereſy, when they found they had no ſhare with them in argument. On this account, they commenced a diſpute with John Reuchlin; which ended in their confuſion, and gave the learned Ulric Van Hutten a fine handle to expoſe them, in a book called, *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum Virorum*. and Eraſmus alſo eſpouſed the cauſe of Luther; though he afterwards, in a treatiſe *de libero Arbitrio*, ſtarted ſome objections to his opinions. It was obvious, that this was done rather at the ſolicitation of others, than of his own inclination: but the main point was not affected by them, and they were ſufficiently refuted by Luther.

Burnet, v. 3, Introd. p. 20.

As Luther oppoſed the ſcandalous ſale of pardons and indulgences; ſo in the countries where the reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that ſuch an infamous traffic was no more practiſed.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 115.

Seckendorf, in his hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, hath confuted the falſhoods and calumnies of Varillas, Maimbourg, Palavicini, Boſſuet, and others of the ſame ſtamp. But we will now ſelect a few things, from various authors, which characteriſe Luther.

Perizonius, p. 107. Seckendorf, l. 1. p. 178. Luther's Colloq. menſal. p. 88. Jortin, p. 117.

It is ſaid, he was rough in controverſy; and that his reply to Henry VIII. was diſreſpectful: but he had a very unfavourable opinion of ſovereign princes; which is evident from the ſmart remark that he made on Charles V. ſnatching up ſpiritual livings, as a dog did meat from the ſhambles. He uſed to ſay, that the pope and his partizans were ſuch incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the ſevereſt manner; and that Eraſmus ſpoiled all, by ſhewing them too much courteſy and reſpect. As he thus laſhed the papiſts, ſo he did not greatly ſpare his own brethren of the reformation, if they departed from any of his ſentiments. He aſcribed to the devil an amazing power and activity: he imputed to him the wickedneſs that was in the world, ~~and the~~ reſiſtance that was made to the reformation. He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that ſtate.

Bellarmin, and the abbè Richard, have accuſed Luther of Arianiſm. Their accuſation hath no better foundation than this, that Luther declared his diſlike of the word *conſubſtantial*; and ſaid, that the Arians, though otherwiſe in the wrong, were in the right to reject unſcriptural terms, introduced by men, who thought they could ſpeak better upon the ſubject, than the Spirit of God: but it appears, from Luther's works, that he was not at all in the ſentiments of the Arians.

Jortin, p. 118.

Seckend. lib. 1, p. 165, lib. 3. p. 246.

Luther was an enemy to the allegorical and myſtical way of expounding the ſcriptures, as being precarious, dangerous, tending to fanaticiſm, and expoſing religion to the ſcoffs of infidels. He alſo blamed thoſe, who pretended to interpret the Apocalipſe to the people. He abhorred the ſchoolmen, and called them ſophiſtical locuſts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice. He hated Ariſtotle; but highly eſteemed Cicero, as a wiſe and good man: "I hope, "ſaid he, that God will be merciful to him, and to ſuch as he was: howſoever, it is "not our duty to ſpeak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the word re-"vealed unto us; namely, *whoſo believeth*, and is baptized, the ſame ſhall be ſaved: "yet God can give to every one according to his pleaſure." He had no opinion of Aſtrology, and blamed Melanchthon for regarding it too much. He declared himſelf againſt perſecution, compulſion, and violence, in matters of religion.

Jortin, p. 119.

Seckendorf. Colloq. Menſal. p. 509.

Seckendorf, lib. 2, p. 25.

Luther ſaid, "When my firſt poſitions concerning indulgences were brought before the "pope, he ſaid, *a drunken German wrote them*; when he hath ſlept out his ſleep, and is "ſober again, he will be of another mind." But Luther often apologized for his roughneſs and bluntneſs. "I am accuſed, ſays he, of rudeneſs and immodeſty, particularly by "adverſaries, who have not a grain of candour or good manners. If, as they ſay, I am "ſaucy and impudent, I am however ſimple, open, and ſincere; without any of their "guile, diſſimulation, or treachery."

Colloq. Menſal. p. 309. Seckendorf, l. 1. p. 121. lib. 2, p. 87.

The pope, and the emperor, were equally concerned, that Luther was allowed to propagate his opinions in Saxony, where the great number of his followers, and the reſolution with which he defended his opinions, made it evident, that it would become troubleſome both to the church and empire, if a ſtop was not put to his proceedings. Luther defended his propoſitions by reaſon and ſcripture againſt Tezelius, who had recourſe to the authority of the pope and church. This made it neceſſary for Luther to examine upon what foundation one was founded, and in what ſtate the other remained. In the courſe of this enquiry, monſtrous errors and abuſes were diſcovered; the cheats and ſcandalous lives of monks and prieſts were brought to light; and Luther, for ſecuring to himſelf the aſſiſtance of temporal princes, took care to explain the nature and extenſiveneſs of civil power.

Dupin, p. 39.

Puffendorf, v. 2, p. 95.

Temporal government is founded on the higheſt reaſon, as well as on divine inſtitution; for without it, men would be conſtantly expoſed to rapine and confuſion: but it has never yet been proved, that a ſpiritual monarchy is either neceſſary or ſerviceable to Chriſtianity. It is an artificial fabric, which muſt be ſupported by arts; and the views of popes will be always different from thoſe of temporal princes. If the pope's partiſans, ſay his authority is founded upon the poſitive command of God: that ſhould be proved clearly from ſcripture. If they ſay, it is derived from St. Peter, it ought to be proved, not only that ſuch an authority was inveſted in him, but that he was biſhop of Rome, exerciſed it there, conveyed it down to his ſucceſſors, and that ſucceſſion has not been interrupted. Inſtead of proving theſe things, the popiſh doctors declined meddling with them, and filled the heads of their people with things foreign to the main point. They talked of a long ſucceſſion of popes; of the great antiquity and univerſality of the church; and laid great ſtreſs upon the promiſe, that "the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it." Fathers, councils, and miracles, were alſo appealed to: and if any one was ſtill diſſatisfied, he was branded with the name of heretic, without ſo much as hearing his reaſons; and had good luck, if he eſcaped burning.

The papal conſtitution was admirably contrived upon the foundation of a ſingular kind of monarchy. Princes have formerly ſtrengthened their authority, by giving out that they were deſcended from the gods, or that their government was founded by their expreſs command; and if ſucceſs attended them, which was looked upon as a mark of divine favour, they were after death reckoned among the deities. But the pope calls himſelf the lieutenant of Jeſus Chriſt; arrogates to himſelf, while living, all power in heaven and earth; and would have it believed, that ſuch as refuſe to acknowledge his authority cannot be ſaved. If theſe points are well ſettled, the whole buſineſs is done: for what is more proper to draw the veneration of men, than the notion that the Majeſty of God reſides in him? Or, what ſtronger motive can there be, to the moſt abſolute ſubmiſſion, than the fear of damnation?

Puffendorf, p. 102.

The pope does not, like other ſovereigns, bind himſelf to any terms, on his entering upon the government: and, indeed, it would be abſurd for him, who is ſaid to be guided by the Holy Ghoſt, to be laid under any reſtrictions. The ſubjects of this monarchy may be divided into clergy and laity. The firſt, which comprehends all eccleſiaſtics, may be

Puffendorf, p. 106.

conſidered as his ſtanding army. The ſecond, which takes in all elſe of the Roman communion, are no better than ſlaves, on whom large contributions are raiſed for the ſupport of the others. The clergy are not allowed to marry, under a pretence, that worldly cares would prevent a faithful diſcharge of their duty: but the true reaſon is, that they may be free from the ties of paternal or conjugal affection; and be ready on all occaſions to promote the intereſt of the church.

Pope Paul IV. boaſted of having 288,000 pariſhes, and 44,000 monaſteries, under his juriſdiction. What a prodigious number of eccleſiaſtics were then under the papal power? As a blind ſubmiſſion of the laity to the clergy was abſolutely neceſſary for ſupporting this ſpiritual tyranny, they were forbid to read the Scriptures: for if theſe had been well underſtood, it would have been obvious, that no one was authorized to lord it over the conſcience of another; and, by keeping theſe among the clergy, they had an opportunity of mixing ſomething with every doctrine they taught, that might promote the intereſt or power of the pope and themſelves. In order to make way for tradition, the holy Scripture was repreſented as imperfect; and whatever could ſerve the cauſe of Rome was impoſed upon the poor deluded people under that name.

Fox's Acts & Mon. b. 7, p. 43.

As the firſt decay and ruin of the church began through ignorance, and want of knowledge in teachers: ſo, to reſtore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleaſed God to open to man the art of printing, ſhortly after the burning of John Huſs and Jerom. The ſcience of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which ſtirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment; whereby darkneſs began to be eſpied, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be diſcerned from error, and religion from ſuperſtition. The firſt puſh and aſſault againſt the Romiſh church was given by Picus, Mirandula, Valla, Petrarcha, Weſalianus, Revelinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenamus, and Eraſmus, whoſe learned writings opened a window of light to the world, and made a way more ready for others to come after. "Immediately, according to God's "gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with others after him; by whoſe miniſtry "it pleaſed the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church. The Lord ordained "and appointed Luther to be the principal organ and miniſter under him, to reform "religion, and ſubvert the popiſh ſee."

Collier. Dupin, p. 39.

Tezelius ſtirred up the archbiſhop of Magdeburg and others againſt Luther, who boldly anſwered all their writings. The emperor Maximilian, on the fifth of Auguſt, 1518, wrote to pope Leo X. and required him to ſtop theſe dangerous diſputes by his authority; aſſuring him, that he would execute in the empire, whatever his holineſs ſhould appoint. The pope ordered Hieronymus de Genutiis, biſhop of Aſcoli, and auditor of the apoſtolic chamber, to cite Luther to appear at Rome within ſixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and Prierias maſter of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgment of the cauſe. The pope, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony, deſiring him to give Luther no protection, but to put him into the hands of cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany; aſſuring him, that if Luther was innocent, he would ſend him back abſolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance.

Dupin, p. 40. Sleidan. Fox, p. 48. Dupin.

The elector of Saxony was unwilling that Luther ſhould appear perſonally at Rome; and the univerſity of Wittenberg interceded with the pope, who conſented that the matter ſhould be tried before cardinal Cajetan in Germany. This prelate was a Dominican; yet Luther met him at Augſburg in October. Cajetan aſſerted the authority of the pope, and ſaid he was above a council. Luther denied it, and alledged the authority of the univerſity of Paris. Luther delivered Cajetan a formal proteſtation, in the preſence of four imperial councellors and a notary, wherein he declared, "that he had only ſought after "truth, and would not retract, without being convinced he was wrong: that he was ſa"tisfied, he had advanced nothing contrary to the holy Scripture, the doctrine of the "fathers, decreetals of the popes, and right reaſon: that he had advanced nothing but "what was ſound, true, and catholic; and that he would ſubmit himſelf to the lawful "determination of the church."

Acts & Mon. p. 48. Dupin. Fox.

Acts & Mon. p. 49.

The legate threatened Luther with the cenſures of the church, if he would not retract, and bring his recantation. Luther knew that Cajetan had orders to ſeize him, if he would not ſubmit: and, therefore, on the ſixteenth of October, he made an *act of appeal*, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himſelf, and declared, that he was oppreſſed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the pope; for which purpoſe, he demanded letters of miſſion; and proteſted he would purſue his appeal. Luther told the legate, that as he had not deſerved his cenſures, ſo he diſregarded them; and then returned to Wittenberg, where he was ſafe under the protection of the elector of Saxony; notwithſtanding the legate deſired that prince to ſend Luther to Rome, or baniſh him ~~out of~~ his dominions. Luther was powerfully ſupported by the univerſity of Wittenberg, where he continued to teach the ſame doctrines, and ſent a challenge to all the inquiſitors to diſpute with him there, under the ſanction of a ſafe conduct from his prince, and the moſt reſpectable hoſpitality from the univerſity.

The pope was exaſperated at Luther, and publiſhed a brief about indulgences, wherein he ordained that all the world ſhould hold and preach this doctrine. Luther apprehended they would proceed againſt him at Rome, and that he could not eſcape condemnation after this judgment pronounced by the pope: he therefore made a new act of appeal to a council, wherein he related what had paſſed at Wittenberg and Augſburg; and declared, that a holy council repreſented the univerſal church, and was ſuperior to the pope in all matters concerning the faith; upon which account, he appealed to that ſupreme tribunal; having firſt proteſted, that he had no intention to ſpeak any thing againſt the holy catholic and apoſtolic church, nor againſt the authority of the holy ſee, or the power of the pope; but that the pope being fallible like other men, as was evident by the example of St. Peter, thoſe who conceived themſelves aggrieved by his authority had no other way left to reſcue themſelves from his oppreſſion, than by appealing to a council.

Seckendorf. Dupin. Fox, p. 50.

The pope, in January 1519, wrote to George Spalatinus, and Degenhard Pfeffinger, the one ſecretary, and the other counſellor of ſtate, to the elector of Saxony, to exert their intereſt with their maſter to ſtop the progreſs of Luther. The pope alſo ſent the elector a gold roſe, which he had conſecrated: but Miltitius, who brought it, met with a cold reception; nor could he prevail on Luther to retract, though he treated him with great reſpect.

Seckendorf.

Luther, on the thirteenth of March 1519, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the pope, and ſaid, "that the perſons who had injured the holy ſee, were thoſe prieſts whom he had "oppoſed: that all he could do in reſpect to the particular conteſt about indulgences "was to ſpeak no more concerning it, provided his adverſaries would forbear their provocations: that he would not carry things to extremities; and had no other deſign than "to prevent the church of Rome from being blemiſhed with the reputation of avarice, "that the people might not be ſeduced, and that indulgences might not be preferred "before good works."

Dupin, p. 44.

The pope privately ſought the life of Luther, who publiſhed the declaration of his meaning in the propoſitions againſt the indulgences, which he dedicated to the pope. He alſo publiſhed ſermons concerning the virtue of excommunication, penance, and preparation for the holy Supper, with a meditation on our Saviour's paſſion. His doctrine ſpread, and got new adherents every day; particularly Zuinglius in Switzerland, Melanchthon, Caroloſtadius, and Eraſmus.

Collier. Dupin. Collier.

Melanchthon wrote to Eraſmus in theſe terms: "Martin Luther, who has a very great "eſteem for you, wiſhes for your approbation." The reputation of Eraſmus was ſo great, that if he had declared for Luther, he had carried almoſt all Germany with him: but Eraſmus neither accuſed nor defended Luther, and acknowledged that he recommended very excellent things, which he wiſhed had been done with more moderation.

Dupin, p. 45. Collier.

Luther wrote to Eraſmus, "to acknowledge him as a brother in Jeſus Chriſt:" and Eraſmus wrote to Luther, that his books made a great noiſe at Louvain; and that by excuſing him, he had made himſelf ſuſpected: he calls Luther, "deareſt brother in Chriſt;" and concludes his letter with a prayer to Jeſus Chriſt, to communicate a larger portion of his ſpirit upon Luther, for his glory, and the good of mankind.

All this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony; much leſs ſuch a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as followed. He had offered to be ſilent; but his adverſaries continued to write againſt him; ſo that the diſputes increaſed, inſtead of being ended. The Franciſcans publiſhed two books againſt Luther, wherein they accuſed him of denying the ſupremacy of the pope; and of maintaining, that the Bohemians were better Chriſtians than the Catholics. Luther refuted them, and aſſerted, that St. Peter and the pope were not above the apoſtles and biſhops; ſince, according to St. Jerom, prieſts and biſhops were the ſame thing in their primitive inſtitution.

Fox, p. 47. Dupin, b. 2, chap. 4, p. 45.

Frederic elector of Saxony was the patron and protector of Luther: but George, a prince of the ſame houſe, oppoſed Luther to the utmoſt of his power. The former deſired Eraſmus to give him his opinion concerning Luther; and Eraſmus gave it jocoſely; but gravely told the archbiſhop of Mentz, that the monks condemned many things in the books of Luther as heretical, which were eſteemed as orthodox in Bernard and Auſtin. Eraſmus wrote alſo to cardinal Wolſey, that the life and converſation of Luther were univerſally commended; and it was no ſmall prejudice in his favour, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be faſtened upon him by calumny itſelf. "If "I had really been at leiſure, ſays Eraſmus, to peruſe his writings, I am not ſo conceited "of my own abilities, as to paſs a judgment upon the performance of ſo conſiderable a "divine: though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is "erroneous, and that is heretical."

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 133. Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 277, lib 3, p. 208, 214. Fox, p. 47. Jortin, p. 132. Defence de la Reformation, part 2, chap. 5, p. 331.

Claude has ſpoke judiciouſly of Luther, when he wiſhes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for the truth, with that unſhaken conſtancy he ever manifeſted, he could have ſhewed a greater reſerve and moderation. But theſe faults, which are moſt commonly complectional, prevent not our eſteem of men, when, in other reſpects, we perceive in them a good fund of piety, and virtues perfectly heroic, ſuch as were ſeen to ſhine in Luther: and, perhaps, there was ſome particular neceſſity, at the time of the reformation to employ the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, the better to awaken men from that profound ſlumber in which Eraſm. Ep. 317. they had ſo long lain.

The monks took upon them to rail moſt violently, and even ſeditiouſly, in their ſermons, againſt the reformers. "Whence, ſays Eraſmus, came this new race of deities? "They call every one an heretic whom they diſlike, and ſtir heaven and earth when "they are called calumniators." He owns, that Luther had given them good advice on many points; and that it would be an impiety to leave him undefended, where he had Ep. 325. the truth on his ſide; for then who would ever dare to ſtand up for the truth? Hitherto, adds Eraſmus, Luther has certainly been uſeful to the world: he hath ſet men upon ſtudying the fathers, ſome to ſatisfy their own minds, and others to plague him by Jortin, p. 177. hunting out arguments and objections againſt him.

If Eraſmus had not the ſame impetuous acrimony in his ſtyle, which predominated in the writings of Luther, yet the monks were equally offended at him; becauſe the abuſes Ep. 411. which he attacked were the ſource of their beſt revenues.

Eraſmus, in 1519, wrote to Melanchthon, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; and wiſhed that God might grant him ſucceſs equal to the liberty which he had taken. Melanchthon was always mild and moderate, and had a ſincere affection for Luther; but ſometimes could not refrain from complaining of his haughty Ep. 427. and impetuous temper; ſo that his beſt friends hardly knew how to bear with him at all times. However, Eraſmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great Seckendorf l. 1, p. 122. notice which had been taken of them, might be ſerviceable to true Chriſtianity.

Frederic of Saxony, one of the moſt virtuous and illuſtrious princes of the ſixteenth century, was a friend to Luther, and to the reformation; and the Proteſtants have great Ibid. 96. reaſon to reverence and bleſs his memory. When he might have been choſen emperor he declined it, and gave the crown to Charles V. Eraſmus wrote a letter to him, which was very favourable to Luther. Andrew Bodeſtine, from his native place called Caroloſtadius, defended the writings of Luther. Bucer was preſent when Luther maintained his doctrine before the Auguſtine friars at Heidelberg, and told Rhenanus, "that his "ſweetneſs in anſwering was admirable, and his patience in hearing incomparable: "that the acuteneſs of St. Paul, in reſolving doubts, might have been ſeen in Luther; "ſo that he brought them all into admiration of him, by his conciſe and nervous an"ſwers taken out of the ſtorehouſe of the holy Scriptures."

Luther was honourably entertained at Heidelberg, by Wolfgang the count palatine: and Erich duke of Calemberg eſpouſed his cauſe. Erich ſhared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor Maximilian, and was a great ornament to the houſe of Brunſwick Luneberg. He ſaved the life of that emperor in 1504, who perpetuated the memory of his valour, by adding a bright ſtar to his coat of arms, on the very field of Rimius, p 194. battle, with this explanation: "that as the morning ſtar exceeds all the others in luſtre; "ſo duke Erich was as much ſuperior to all other princes of his time." This ſtar has Ibid. p. 208. ever ſince continued in the coat of arms of the houſe of Brunſwick, and is placed upon the helmet in the middle of the peacock's train. Erneſt duke of Luneberg was educated under the inſpection of his uncle Frederic ſirnamed the *wiſe*, elector of Saxony, who ſent him early to the univerſity of Wittenberg, where he made a great progreſs in learning, and had an opportunity to converſe with Luther, when he began to diſcover his ſen-Ibid. 214. timents about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the ſee of Rome. Erneſt boldly embraced the doctrine of Luther: and his example was followed by his brothers Otho and Francis; as alſo by Philip of the line of Grubenhagen. Theſe princes made the neceſſary preparations to introduce the reformation in the circle of the Lower Saxony; as the elector their uncle was doing in that of the Upper Saxony. Erneſt was determined to purſue the glorious ſcheme he had formed, gradually to aboliſh the errors and abuſes that had crept into the church. His concern was ſo great for extending the knowledge of the pure faith, that he generouſly ſent learned men to the county of Hoya, Eaſt-Frieſeland, and other parts of Germany, to preach the goſpel in its native ſimplicity. Such was his zeal in the cauſe of the reformation; ſo many were the difficulties and oppoſitions he met with on that account, that he juſtly merited the ſirname which was given him of *confeſſor*. Ibid. 203 It ſhould be obſerved, that the emperor Otho IV. one of the moſt ~~illuſtrious~~ anceſtors of the houſe of Brunſwick, ſo early as in the beginning of the thirteenth century, notwithſtanding the ignorance and bigotry of thoſe times, endeavoured with uncommon reſolution to lay open the abuſes of the ſee of Rome, even in defiance of its excommunications. His endeavours were not attended with the ſucceſs they deſerved; yet they have rendered his name ſacred to poſterity, as he was the firſt prince who ventured to oppoſe the encroachments of the papacy, whereby others were afterwards incited thoroughly to examine the title which the popes pretended they had to impoſe arbitrary laws on Chriſtendom.

Eckius had wrote ſome notes upon the firſt theſis of Luther, which were anſwered by Caroloſtadius; and a conference was agreed on at Leipſic, by the conſent of prince George of Saxony, uncle to the elector Frederic. Eckius appeared; and was met by Luther, who was accompanied by Melanchthon and Caroloſtadius. Both parties were well received by the prince, the ſenate, and univerſity, who appointed a great hall in the caſtle for the place of the conference, which was ſolemnly opened on the twenty-ſeventh of June 1519. The firſt diſputation was concerning free-will, which Eckius undertook to prove by a paſſage in Eccleſiaſticus; and was oppoſed by Caroloſtadius, who denied that free-will had a diſtinct operation from grace. This diſpute continued a whole week; in which time, Luther preached a ſermon, in the chapel of the caſtle, upon the feaſt of St. Peter and St. Paul, wherein he declaimed againſt the authority of the pope. The diſpute was then carried on between Luther and Eckius, upon thirteen propoſitions extracted by the latter out of the writings of the former; the laſt, and principal of which, was againſt the ſupremacy of the pope. Luther alledged, againſt it, the canon of the council of Afric, which ordained, that the biſhop of the firſt ſee ſhould not be called the prince of biſhops, or ſupreme biſhop: and he maintained, that Wickliffe and Huſs ought not to have been condemned, as many of their articles were orthodox; and that he could oppoſe the tradition and uſage of the Greek church for 1400 years, to the condemnation of the Bohemians. Eckius attempted to prove the doctrine of indulgences, by the authority of the general councils of Vienna, Lateran, and Conſtance: he ſaid, that St. Gregory had publiſhed them 900 years before; that they were approved by the conſent of the univerſal church; and that all the Chriſtian world had acknowledged them by receiving the jubilees. Luther replied, that he preferred works of charity before indulgences; and ſupported his opinion by the authority of St. Paul and St. Auguſtine, who ſay, we can do no good without charity and grace. Eckius ſeemed to make this queſtion a matter of nothing: but Luther had the advantage of the argument. He knew, “that the Chriſtian princes had been tired of making expeditions to the Holy Land, which were only ſpecious pretences, invented by the popes, to drain them of their blood and treaſure: and that another ſcheme was then ſet on foot to allure them and their ſubjects to part with their money: that frequent jubilees were kept at Rome; though, according to their firſt inſtitution, they were to take place but once in a century: that the popes perceived the advantages which aroſe from bringing people together to their market from all parts of the Chriſtian world, and ſhortened the time, by ordering a jubilee to be kept every fifty years: and afterwards appointed one to be celebrated every thirty years: that immenſe ſums were brought into the pope's coffers by theſe jubilees at Rome, where all that reſorted received abſolution of their ſins for a particular ſum: and that indulgences being found ſo beneficial, they were ſold all over Europe, and no more confined to certain times and jubilees.”

Dupin, p. 46.

Seckendorf's Hiſt. of Lutheran. l. 1, ſect. 56.

Dupin, p. 51.

Fox, p. 51.

The conference at Leipſic continued fourteen days; and the diſpute was left to the deciſion of the univerſities of Paris and Erfurt: but Luther opened the whole to the world, by publiſhing a tract, intitled, “Reſolutions of the propoſitions diſputed at Leipſic,” and addreſſed to Spalatinus; in which he ſaid, that Eckius had no cauſe to boaſt of the diſpute, and had acknowledged that no truſt ought to be put in indulgences. Melanchthon wrote with great moderation upon theſe conferences: and Eckius told Hogoſtratus, that the Lutherans had great advantages over him, becauſe they were many againſt a ſingle man. Jerom Emſer owned, that the diſpute at Leipſic was rather ſharp than edifying: but the two univerſities never gave their judgments about the conteſts in theſe conferences.

Zuinglius began, about this time, to write againſt pardons and indulgences. Luther wrote a book “of Chriſtian liberty;” which he dedicated to the pope. He alſo addreſſed another book to the nobility of Germany, wherein he ſhook the three principal bulwarks of Popery, by oppoſing the doctrine, “that temporal magiſtrates were ſubject to the ſpirituality; that the pope is the only judge of the Scripture; and that he only can call a council.” Luther ſhewed what things ſhould be handled in councils; and aſſerted, that the pope yearly drained Germany of three millions of florins. He pointed out the neceſſity of reforming ſchools and univerſities; declared that heretics ſhould be convinced by Scripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the misfortunes of the emperor Sigiſmund to his breach of faith with Huſs and Jerom; and expoſed the inconveniences reſulting from the council of Conſtance.

Sleidan, l. 1.

Fox, p. 51.

What the divines of Paris and Erfurt neglected, thoſe of Louvain and Cologne attempted. The former conſulted with the cardinal de Tortoſa, afterwards pope Adrian VI. and condemned twenty-two propoſitions extracted from Luther as heretical, or approaching to hereſy, and declared that his writings ought to be burnt. Thoſe of Cologne concurred; and agreed, that Luther ought to be obliged to make a public recantation. Luther declared, he diſregarded the cenſures of theſe two univerſities; and that Occam, Stapulenſis, Huſs, and other eminent men, were unjuſtly condemned after the ſame manner. He accuſed the univerſities of raſhneſs, of want of charity, and contempt of juſtice; after which, he ſharply confuted their cenſures, without any reſpect to their perſons.

Puffendorf, v. 1, p. 356. The emperor Maximilian, duke of Auſtria, married the daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, whereby he annexed the Netherlands to the Auſtrian dominions, and died in 1519. He was ſucceeded in the imperial throne, as well as the Auſtrian inheritance, by his grandſon Charles V. king of Spain, who became more powerful than any prince ſince the time of Charlemagne. His grandfather Ferdinand, king of Spain, was ſirnamed by the pope the *Catholic*; and his ſucceſſors have been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed by that title: but Charles, ſoon after he became emperor, plundered Rome, beſieged the pope in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and took him priſoner in 1527, after he had taken Francis I. king of France, at the battle of Pavia, and carried him priſoner into Spain. Ib. p. 72.

The emperor Maximilian was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded to proceed againſt Luther, that he uſed to ſay, "if the clergy would lead pious lives, Luther would "have no room for a reformation." But his ſucceſſor was of a different diſpoſition; and gave occaſion to the violent meaſures that were taken to nip the reformation in its very bud. Luther wrote a letter to the new emperor, on the fifteenth of January 1520, before his arrival in Germany, to vindicate his conduct, and intreat his protection from the power of his numerous adverſaries, who had perſecuted him for three years, and were reſolved that he ſhould periſh with the goſpel. He told the emperor, he would not deſire his protection, if he was convicted of impiety or hereſy: but deſired, he would not let him be condemned without hearing; and declared, he would either be ſilent, or refer himſelf to the judgment of any impartial univerſities, before which he was ready to appear. Rimius, p. 212. Dupin, p. 53.

Puffenddorf, v. 2, p. 97. It was a great miſtake in Leo X. to decide in favour of the indulgence merchants, by his bull in 1518, ſince thereby all hopes of an accommodation were cut off: for it would have been much more political in him to have enjoined ſilence to both parties, and to have contrived ſome way to ſatisfy Luther, who offered Cajetan to drop the controverſy, if his adverſaries would do the ſame: but they would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than a recantation. The elector of Saxony was again ſolicited to give up Luther, who was compelled to fall upon the pope, to vindicate himſelf, by appealing to a general council; the calling whereof was delayed upon various pretences, whereby the cauſe of Rome became more and more ſuſpected. About the ſame time, the pope's quarrel with Henry VIII. made way for the introduction of the reformation in England: and the houſe of Navarre, in revenge for his ſiding with Ferdinand the Catholic, encouraged the Proteſtant religion to the utmoſt of their power in France. Beſides all this, many ſenſible honeſt men, even among the Roman-catholics, were quite unconcerned at the rough treatment which Luther ſhewed the papal ſee, becauſe they knew it deſerved his reſentment.

Luther alſo wrote to the elector of Mentz, who anſwered him, and commended his diſpoſition: but deſired him to treat of religious matters with moderation and reſpect; for he obſerved with grief, that the profeſſors diſputed upon frivolous opinions, and queſtions of little conſequence, with intolerable pride.

Dupin, p. 54. While Luther was vindicating himſelf to the emperor, and the biſhops of Germany, judgment was paſſed upon his writings at Rome, where Eckius and Ubricus went on purpoſe to ſolicit his condemnation, which was reſolved upon, notwithſtanding he had obediently reverenced the perſon of the pope. Luther, at the requeſt of the Auguſtines, wrote a long epiſtle to his holineſs, full of ſubmiſſion and reſpect, wherein he told him, "that "the court of Rome was viſibly more corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom; but that "his holineſs was a lamb in the midſt of wolves, a Daniel among lions, and an Ezekiel "among ſcorpions: that there were not above three or four cardinals who had any learning "or piety; and that it was againſt theſe diſorders of the court of Rome that he was "obliged to appear." Fox, p. 51.

The writings of Luther were examined in a congregation of cardinals, who diſtinguiſhed his doctrine, writings, and perſon. They condemned forty-one propoſitions taken out of his works; ordered him to appear in perſon; and agreed that his writings ſhould be burnt. In conſequence of this reſolution, the bull was drawn up by the cardinal of Ancona, and publiſhed by the pope, who invoked the aid of Jeſus Chriſt, the apoſtles, and all the ſaints, againſt the new errors and hereſies; and to preſerve the faith, peace, and unity of the church. This bull was dated the fifteenth of June 1520, and condemned the forty-one articles extracted from the writings of Luther, as heretical, falſe, and ſcandalous. Indulgences, the papal ſupremacy, free-will, purgatory, and the b~~egging friars~~, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all Chriſtians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propoſitions that were thus condemned: Luther was admoniſhed to revoke his errors by ſome public act, and cauſe his books to be burnt within ſixty days; otherwiſe he, and his adherents, ſhould incur the puniſhments due to heretics.

Luther anſwered this bull, by publiſhing a book called "The Captivity of Babylon;" in which he abſolutely rejected indulgences; and aſſerted, that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon. He denied there were ſeven ſacraments; and ſaid, there was properly only one, in three ſacramental ſigns, the Lord's Supper, Baptiſm, and Penance He affirmed, that the ſacrament of the altar is the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, which he left when he died, to be given to all thoſe who ſhould believe in him: that this Teſtament is a promiſe of forgiveneſs of our ſins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God; that it is only faith in this promiſe which juſtifies, and the maſs is entirely uſeleſs without that faith. He declared, that the effect of baptiſm depended alone upon faith in the promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt, of which the outward baptiſm is only a ſign, ſupplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained, that the remiſſion of ſins, which is the effect of penance, depends upon faith in the promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt; and allowed no effect to the other parts of penance. He wondered that confirmation, and ordination, ſhould be ſacraments, when they are no more than eccleſiaſtical ceremonies: neither would he allow marriage to be a ſacrament, becauſe there is no promiſe annexed to it, and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of Chriſtians: and he rejected the uſage of ſupreme unction, built upon the authority of the epiſtle of St. James, becauſe he thought there was not any promiſe of grace annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully perſuaded of the neceſſity of "juſtification by faith alone:" which he looked upon as the baſis of the whole Chriſtian religion. When he firſt preached againſt indulgences, he intended no ſeparation from the church of Rome: but the violence of his opponents, and the heat of the controverſy, drew him ſo far into the diſpute, that he carried it on with unparalleled ſpirit, and came at laſt to fix upon that ſcheme, which has been ſince adhered to by the Lutheran churches, with little variation.

As the pope had condemned Luther at Rome, he degraded the pope in Germany. He compiled a hiſtory of the wars raiſed by the popes againſt the emperors; and maintained, that the German princes had the ſame power over the clergy as over the laiety. He adviſed the Germans to ſhake off the yoke of popery; and propoſed a reformation, that ſhould ſubject the pope and biſhops to the power of the emperor, and take away from the pope the authority of intrepreting Scripture, or calling a general council. He declaimed againſt the manners and practice of the court of Rome, the pride of the pope, and the avarice of the cardinals: he aſſerted, that annats and papal months, ſhould be aboliſhed, and that the canon-law ought to be entirely deſtroyed.

Eckius carried the bull againſt Luther into Germany, and was entruſted by the pope to Palavici-
carry it into execution; which was a ſmart blow given him by his mortal enemy, who ni.
was his adverſary, accuſer, and executioner.

Charles V. was crowned emperor, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the twenty-firſt of October 1520,
and appointed a diet to be held at Worms, on the ſixth of January 1521. The nuncios
Martinus Caracciolus, and Jerom Aleander, preſented the elector of Saxony the brief which Dupin, p.
the pope had ſent him, to inform him of the decree which he had made againſt Luther, 62.
who was then more than ever protected by the elector, and the univerſity of Wittenberg.
Luther renewed his appeal to a future council; and called the pope a tyrant, and heretic.
Eraſmus, and ſeveral other divines, foreſaw that the fire which was to burn the books
of Luther, would put all Germany in a flame, and were for referring the whole cauſe
to a general council: but the nuncios prevailed, and Luther's books were burnt at Mentz Seckend.
and Cologne. Ulricus Hultenus, a ſatirical poet, ridiculed the papal bull; which Luther Maimbourg.
called the execrable bull of Antichriſt, and cauſed it to be burnt at Wittenberg. Catharinus Dupin.
wrote five books in defence of the papal ſupremacy; which Luther refuted; and Aleander
obtained a new bull from Rome, wherein Luther was declared contumacious, and had
incurred the penalty denounced by the pope. Fox, p.

The diet of Worms aſſembled on the day appointed, when Aleander exerted all his in- 52.
tereſt and eloquence, to perſuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put
the bull againſt Luther into execution; without ſuffering him to appear, or hear his vin- Secken-
dication. The diet reſolved, that Luther ſhould be ſummoned, and have a ſafe conduct; dorf.
which was granted by the emperor, who ſent with it a private letter, directed "To the
"honourable, beloved, devout, doctor Martin Luther, of the order of St. Auguſtine." This
letter was dated the ſixth of March, and Luther was thereby ordered to appear at Worms
within twenty-one days. The tragical end that John Huſs had met with at Conſtance, in Rimius,
1415, was remembered by the friends of Luther on this occaſion: but he anſwered thoſe, p. 213.
who diſſuaded him from appearing, that "he would go, though as many devils ſhould Collier.
"oppoſe him, as there were tiles upon the houſes of Worms." He was accompanied
from Wittenberg by ſome divines, and one hundred horſe: but he took only eight horſemen into Worms, where he arrived on the ſixteenth of April: and, when he ſtept out of the coach, he ſaid, "God ſhall be on my ſide," in the preſence of a great multitude of people, whom curioſity had brought together to ſee the man who had made ſuch a noiſe in the world.

Dupin, p. 65. Fox, p. 52. Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 258. Fox, p. 53. Matt. x.

Luther had his apartments in the houſe belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, near thoſe of the elector of Saxony. He was viſited by many princes, noblemen, and divines; and the next day appeared before the diet. Eckius acted as prolocutor, and told Luther, that the emperor had ſent for him, "to know whether he owned thoſe books "that bore his name; and if he intended to retract, or maintain, what was contained in "them?" Luther is ſaid to have had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæſar put together. He anſwered, he owned the books: but deſired time to conſider the other queſtion: "ſo that he might make a ſatisfactory anſwer, without prejudice of the word "of God, and prejudice of his own ſoul." The emperor granted him a day to conſider the matter: and ſome of his principal friends encouraged him with this ſentence; "When thou art before kings, think not what thou ſhalt ſpeak, for it ſhall be given "to thee in that hour."

Luther appeared again before the diet the following day, when Eckius repeated the ſame queſtion, to which Luther replied with modeſty and conſtancy. He proteſted, that all he had wrote was for the glory of God, and the inſtruction of the faithful: but deſired the aſſembly to obſerve, that his books were of three kinds: "That in ſome, he treated "only of piety and morality, in ſuch a plain and evangelical manner, that his adverſaries "acknowledged, they were innocent, profitable, and worthy to be read by all Chriſtians: "that in others, he had wrote againſt popery: and in a third ſort againſt thoſe private "perſons who oppoſed the truths which he taught." He aſſerted, that the bull itſelf had condemned nothing in particular which was taken out of thoſe books; though all his books in general were condemned. And declared, "that as a man, he might err; and if "any one could convince him, by holy Scripture, of any error, he was ready to revoke "it, and burn his writings." Eckius paſſionately ſaid, he had not anſwered the queſtion; therefore, he inſiſted that Luther would give a plain and direct anſwer, "whether he "he would retract, or not?" Luther replied, "that he was not obliged to believe the "pope, or his councils, becauſe they erred in many things, and contradicted themſelves: "that his belief was ſo far ſettled by the texts of Scripture, and his conſcience engaged "by the word of God, that he neither could, nor would, retract any thing; becauſe it "was neither ſafe, or innocent, for a man to act againſt his conſcience." Eckius then ſaid, that Luther had revived the errors condemned in the council of Conſtance: and the emperor declared he would proceed againſt him as a heretic; which was prejudging the cauſe, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of the diet.

Rimius, p. 213. Acts & Mon. p. 56.

As Luther undauntedly refuſed to recant at Worms, as he had done three years before at Augſburg; the clergy inſinuated to the emperor, "that faith was not to be kept with "heretics." They wanted him to revoke the ſafe-conduct he had granted to Luther: but Charles made this generous anſwer, "that if no faith was to be found in the reſt of "the world, it ought at leaſt to be ſeen in a Roman emperor." The elector Palatine alſo oppoſed the violation of the ſafe-conduct, as had been done at the council of Conſtance. The electors of Brandenburg, and Triers, with Eckius, Cochlæus, and others, had a private conference with Luther, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his enterprize: but he declared, he was reſolved to die, rather than recede from the word of God. The elector of Triers deſired Luther to propoſe ſome means of ending this matter himſelf; to which Luther anſwered, he had no other way than the council of Gamaliel, "If this work be of "men, it will come to nought, and fall of itſelf; but if it be of God, ye cannot hinder "the execution of it."

Collier.

The emperor, on the twenty-ſixth of April, ordered Luther to depart immediately from Worms, under a ſafe-conduct for twenty-one days; and the elector of Saxony imagined, that Charles would iſſue a ſevere edict againſt Luther; but the elector was reſolved to protect him from the proſecution of the emperor and pope. Luther was purpoſely ſeized on the road by a troop of maſked horſemen, and carried, as if by violence, to the caſtle of Wartburg, near Eiſenach, where the elector concealed him ten months. Luther called this retreat his Patmos, and wrote ſeveral uſeful treatiſes there: while his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment.

Seckendorf. Seckendorf, lib 1, p. 158.

The emperor publiſhed an edict againſt Luther, on the twenty-ſixth of May, when the the electors of Saxony and Palatine were abſent from the diet. He declared, "it was his "duty to extinguiſh hereſies; that Luther was a ſchiſmatic and heretic; that the ſentence "of the pope ſhould be put in execution againſt him; and that no perſon ſhould revive, "defend, maintain, or protect him, under the penalty of high treaſon, and being put to the "ban of the empire." This edict was drawn up with all poſſible rancour and malice by Aleander. However, whilſt Luther attended at Worms, and pleaded his cauſe, he was treated with much affability and civility by that illuſtrious aſſembly. He ſhewed a ſufficient preſence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one beſides himſelf; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been ſtill bolder in the cauſe of God.

Puffendorf, b. 2, p. 97.

Some are of opinion, that the emperor connived at the ſpreading of Luther's doctrine in Germany, that he might make himſelf abſolute there by ſuch diviſions: elſe, ſay they, he might eaſily have ſuppreſſed them, by putting Luther to death, when he had him in his power at Worms. However, it is far from being clear, that if he had been murdered, contrary to the ſanction of the ſafe-conduct, his opinions would have died with him: and it would have been very imprudent in Charles to have thereby diſobliged the elector of Saxony, who had placed him on the imperial throne, and whoſe authority in Germany was great, while he had a war upon his hands againſt Turky and France.

The tenets of Luther became now to be received, not only in Upper and Lower Saxony; but alſo in other parts of Germany, and in the North. Eraſmus, and the learned Agrippa, of Cologne, looked upon this reformer as a hero, who would put a ſtop to the tyranny which the mendicant friars, and the reſt of the clergy, exerciſed over the minds and conſciences of men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thouſand paltry ſuperſtitions, and would neither emerge from their barbarity, or ſuffer others to do it: inſomuch, that to be witty, and polite, was ſufficient to expoſe a man to their hate and indignation. Agrippa, Eraſmus, and ſome other great geniuſes, were pleaſed that Luther had broke the ice: they expected the critical hour for the deliverance of honeſt men from oppreſſion: but when they ſaw that things did not take the turn they expected, they were the firſt to caſt a ſtone at Luther. Agrippa wrote to Melanchthon in theſe words; "Pay my compliments to the invincible heretic Martin Luther, who, as St. Paul ſays in "the Acts, worſhips God after the way which they call hereſy." But the divines of Louvain cenſured Agrippa for writing the vanity of ſciences; though that book convinced Eraſmus, its author was of a fiery genius, extenſive reading, and great memory. But Jovius, and Thevet, ridiculouſly charge Agrippa with being a magician: though this did not hinder the famous John Colet from lodging Agrippa in his houſe at London; nor the emperor Maximilian from employing him in Italy.

Rimius, p. 214. Bayle, v. 1, p. 149. Agripp. Oper. tom. 2, p. 508. Naude's Apology for great Men, p. 411.

Jerom Savonarola, a dominican at Florence, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the auſterity of his life, and by the fervent eloquence with which he preached againſt immorality, without ſparing the diſorders of the clergy, nor even the court of Rome. Philip de Comines, the celebrated hiſtorian of France, ſaw Savonarola at Florence, and ſays, "that no "preacher ever had a greater influence over a city." Some authors maintain, that his conduct was the effect of a great zeal for truth, and for the reformation of the church: others pretend that he was an impoſtor, and a hypocrite. It is certain, that this divine had acquired ſuch a great power over the Florentines, by his ſingular ſanctity, and the reputation of his virtue, that, in the opinion of all, he deſerved to be canonized alive: but he loſt his credit, was excommunicated, degraded from his eccleſiaſtical order, hanged and burnt in the year 1498. Friar Jerom had been conſidered as a prophet ſent by God for the reformation of manners; and he had preached, that the ſtate of the church ſhould be reformed by the ſword. He foretold many things before they came to paſs: but the pope excommunicated him, on a charge that his doctrine was not Catholic; and the Franciſcan friars undertook to prove it heretical. The truth is, Savonarola had earneſtly wiſhed to be the inſtrument of calling a general council, in which the corrupt manners of the clergy might be reformed; and the ſtate of the church of God, which had deviated ſo far, might be reduced to as great a reſemblance as poſſible of thoſe days that were neareſt to the times of the apoſtles. The general of the Dominicans, and the biſhop of Romolino, were appointed commiſſaries by the pope to puniſh Savonarola, whom they put to the torture, and delivered him over to the ſecularm to be hanged and burnt. His trial was falſified in the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous manner: but he ſuffered death courageouſly, and many perſons conſidered him as a martyr. His aſhes were thrown into the Arno, that his adherents might not have any relic left of him: but books were written for his juſtification; and the Proteſtants have revered his memory.

Ep. lib. 27, p. 1083. Comines, b. 8, p. 499. Bayle, v. 5, p. 58. Jovius in vita Leonis X. p. 52. Lipſius, l. 1, cap. 3, p. 139. Comines, c. 19, p. 594. Guicciardin, b. 3, p. 127. Spizelius, p, 662. Jo. Fran. Picus in vita Savonarolæ, p. 108.

Beza, Vigner, Cappel, du Pleſſis Mornai, and the reformers of Germany, conſidered Jerom Savonarola as a martyr like Jerom of Prague: they looked on him as one of the forerunners of the evangelical reformation; and called him the Luther of Italy. The popiſh writers alſo defended his character, particularly the learned prince of Mirandola: but pope Clement VIII. forbid the ſermons of Savonarola to be read till they had undergone a purgation.

Naude's Apolog. p. 453. Rivet rem ſur la reſponſe au myſtere d' iniquite, tom. 2, p. 632.

Luther quoted Savonarola, and prefixed a preface to his meditations; becauſe he conſidered him as an author that is very orthodox upon the ſubject of juſtification, and the merit of good works. The tools of Rome were for putting Luther to death, as well as Savonarola: but Eraſmus was greatly diſſatisfied, when Luther was proſcribed; and ſaid, "that they who condemned him, deſerved to be condemned themſelves: that the pope's "unmerciful bull was diſapproved by all honeſt men; and that Luther, being a man void "of ambition, was the leſs to be ſuſpected of hereſy." One of the eccleſiaſtical electors ſaid, "Would to God that Luther had written in Latin, and not in German." Mention being made of Luther at the emperor's table, Ravenſtein ſaid, "here is one Chriſtian ariſen "among us, at laſt, after four hundred years, and the pope wants to kill him."

Seckendorf. Spalatinus.

The emperor had performed the conditions of the ſafe-conduct to Luther; and the pope had tried him before a council: “ but the Lutherans would have been fools and mad, to have truſted themſelves and their cauſe, to ſuch a pontiff, and to ſuch an emperor;” notwithſtanding Eraſmus ſaid, “ we have a pope, who in his temper is much diſpoſed to clemency, and an emperor who is alſo mild and placable.” Honeſt Eraſmus judged very wrong of both theſe perſons. Leo was a vain, voluptuous, and debauched man, who had no religion, and no compaſſion for thoſe who could not ſubmit entirely to his pleaſure; as he ſhewed by the haughty manner in which he treated Luther, without admitting the leaſt relaxation in any of the diſputed points. Charles V. was only twenty years of age, at this time, and made a conſcience of nothing to accompliſh any of his projects. He ſaid ſo himſelf; and we may take his word for it. This emperor, diſcourſing of paſt events with the prior and the monks of St. Juſtus, told them, that he repented of having fulfilled the promiſe of ſafe-conduct which he gave to Luther. This regret is aſcribed to his pious zeal for the cauſe of God: but the examples of Gregory the Great, who kept his faith given to heretics; of Joſhua, who kept it to the idolatrous Gibeonites; and of Saul, whom God puniſhed for doing the contrary, might have quieted his royal conſcience: and if he had any cauſe to repent, it ſhould have been for plighting his faith to a heretic, and not for keeping it. However, Charles in his old age ſeemed inclined to Proteſtant principles: and, if reports may be credited, his ſon Philip intended to have made his father's proceſs, and to have had his bones burnt for hereſy; being only hindered from doing it by this conſideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by conſequence he had no right to reſign them to his ſon. If theſe things are true, the emperor muſt have been the greateſt hypocrite that ever lived; or we have been greatly impoſed upon by hiſtorians.

Jortin, p. 260.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 511. La Mothe le Vayer. Sandoval. Bayle, v. 2, p. 440. Burnet. Perizonius, p. 625. Bayle, v. 2, p. 440. Strada Decad, v 1, p. 14.

At the time the diet of Worms was held, a treatiſe was publiſhed, in which was the following among other particularities. The count of Naſſau, governor of Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, ſaid to the divines at the Hague, “ Go, and preach the goſpel in ſincerity and truth, like Luther.” The academics of Louvain complained to Margaret the emperor's ſiſter, governeſs of the Netherlands, that Luther was ſubverting Chriſtianity by his writings. “ Who, ſaid ſhe, is this Luther?” They replied, he was an illiterate monk. “ Is he ſo, ſaid the princeſs? Then you, who are very learned and numerous, write againſt this illiterate monk: and ſurely the world will pay more regard to many ſcholars than to one blockhead.”

As the pope and emperor had publiſhed ſuch a furious bull, and violent edict, againſt Luther, Eraſmus began to be in pain for the reformer, though the elector of Saxony had taken him under his protection. “ I fear, ſays he, for the unfortunate Luther: ſo violent is the conſpiracy, and ſo ſtrongly have the pope and the prince been inſtigated againſt him. Would to God he had followed my counſel, and had abſtained from vicious and ſeditious proceedings! He would then have done more good, and have incurred leſs hatred.”

Ep. ad Noviomagus.

But if Luther had followed the advice of Eraſmus, and conducted the affair with all moderation and reſerve, he would ſtill have had leſs ſucceſs; becauſe his ſyſtem paſſed, in the opinion of the divines, for a moſt peſtilent hereſy, tending to overſet the authority of the pope and the monks, and to deſtroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immenſe profit. If Luther had recanted after he had been condemned, all the benefit that his doctrine was capable of producing would have been loſt: and if he reſiſted, a ſeparation from thoſe who had excommunicated him muſt enſue.

Jortin, p. 224.

Eraſmus declined the taſk of refuting Luther; “ becauſe it was a work above his abilities; and he would not deprive the univerſities, which had undertaken to confute him, of their honour and glory.” He wiſhed that Luther had been ſolidly confuted before his books were burnt: becauſe it is the duty of divines to perſuade, and the practice of tyrants to compel. But this was not the language of the inquiſition, and of the monks, who breathed nothing beſides revenge, and the deſtruction of heretics. To pleaſe them, he ought to have cried out, that “ Luther deſerved to be hanged, for what he had done, whether he ſubmitted or not: he ought to have inſulted and abuſed him upon all occaſions, if he hoped any favour from men, who accounted moderation and equity to be capital crimes, when they extended to a man accounted by them the leader of the heretical armies.” Luther was ſometimes cenſured by Eraſmus for writing with ſuch ſpirit; but in this Luther acted more like an apoſtle, or primitive Chriſtian, then Eraſmus.

Ep. 539.

Ep. 587. Jortin, p. 278.

William Tyndale of St. Mary Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, “ ſucked in the doctrine of Luther, read it privately to certain ſtudents, and to ſome of the junior fellows of Magdalen-college adjoining.” From Oxford he went to Cambridge, “ where he ſhewed himſelf ſo much a friend to Luther, and foe to the pope, before ſeveral abbots, doctors, and other men of the clergy, that he was forced, merely for the ſecurity of his perſon, to leave that place. He was deſirous, for the good of his country, to tranſlate the New Teſtament into Engliſh; but finding no place to do it in England, he left his native

Wood's Athenæ, v. 1, p. 37.

" Country and went into Germany, where ſetting on the work, he finiſhed it in 1527, " which was the firſt tranſlation of it made into Engliſh." He afterwards tranſlated the Pentateuch; and was put to death for oppoſing popery at Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, in 1536.

Luther alſo made a tranſlation of the New Teſtament into the German language; and wrote ſeveral books, during his retirement, which he called his hermitage. He was immediately accuſed of corrupting the goſpel in ſeveral places; but none of his adverſaries ventured to condemn the tranſlation of the New Teſtament into the vulgar tongue: on the contrary, Jerom Emſer criticized upon this verſion, and made another. The king of England wrote to the princes of Germany upon that ſubject; and ſaid, it was uſeful to have the Scripture in ſeveral languages, that corrupt verſions might be prevented.

Dupin, p. 77.

However, it is acknowledged, that Luther, in tranſlating the Bible, was aſſiſted by the diſciples of Reuchlin, and hath hit off many places very happily: that he was maſter of the German language; and that there is much to be learned from his work. But the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, in 1594, wrote to John Druſius, who was employed by the ſtates-general to make a new tranſlation of the Bible into the Dutch tongue, that, " among all " the verſions he had met with, he had ſeen none that differed ſo widely from the true " Hebrew, as that of Luther."

Longueruana, v. 2, p. 78.

Bayle, v. 2, p. [illegible]

Luther wrote againſt private confeſſion, private maſſes, and monaſtic vows; in conſequence of which, Caroloſtadius, and the Auguſtine friars at Wittenberg, aboliſhed the uſe of the maſs. Vows of celibacy very little promoted continence. The monks left their cloiſters at Wittenberg, and the prieſts married; after Caroloſtadius and Juſtus Jonas had ſet them the example, which was afterwards followed by Luther, who grew weary of his retirement, and returned to Wittenberg, in 1522, after the death of the pope.

Dupin, p. 72.

The adverſaries of Luther affirmed, " that he uttered a thouſand blaſphemies, and particularly againſt Moſes: they went ſo far as to maintain, that he got Amadis de Gaul " tranſlated into French, to put people out of conceit with the Scripture, and all books of " devotion. They obſerved ſo little meaſures in the calumnies they publiſhed againſt him, " as to accuſe him of having ſaid, that he believed nothing of what he preached. Moſt " of theſe calumnies were grounded upon ſome words in a book publiſhed by Luther's " friends; to which his enemies gave a very malicious interpretation, and very remote " from this miniſter's thoughts."

Bayle, v. 3, p. 937.

Ibid. 938.

He was even accuſed of Atheiſm: but this, as well as what was ſaid of Amadis, was an egregious falſhood, and proved ſo by Bayle, from the journal of Leipſic, October 1684, where it is ſaid, that " this ridiculous calumny cannot excite indignation, but laughter; for " the honeſt Catholics themſelves muſt be aſhamed of it: they cannot be ignorant that, " by the indefatigable pains of Luther, the ſacred writings were once more put not only into " the hands of the clergy, but into thoſe of the middle rank, nay, even of thoſe of the " meaneſt ſort; he having, for that purpoſe, with incredible ſtudy and toil, tranſlated the " Holy Bible into the vulgar tongue, and not Amadis." What is not a man capable of, in point of groſs calumnies, and diametrically oppoſite to all probability, when there are thoſe who dare affirm, that Luther deſired to bring the Scriptures into diſcredit: Luther, who had no greater reproach to bear, with all the reformers, than that of too much recommending to laymen the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue?

Garaſſe Doctrine Curieuſe, p. 562.

Ibid. 444.

Bayle's Luther, note I.

The doctrine of Luther was not prevented by the edict of the emperor, which was contemned by the princes and magiſtrates. Henry VIII. king of England ſtopt the new doctrine from ſpreading in his dominions: he did ſomething more, for he cauſed to be made, in his own name, a treatiſe about the ſeven Sacraments, againſt Luther's book of " the Captivity of Babylon." Some have thought that Edward Lee, afterwards archbiſhop of York, was the author of that work: but the king preſented it to the pope, who received it very favourably, and was ſo well pleaſed with Henry, that he rewarded him with the glorious title of " Defender of the Faith." Henry was the ſlave of Rome the firſt eighteen years of his reign. Delighted with the flatteries of the pope and the clergy, he drew his pen in their defence. The papal compliments induced Henry to order all Luther's books to be called in; and forty-two articles, excerpted from his doctrine, were condemned. Luther had made very free with Aquinas, the favourite author of king Henry VIII. who had a great opinion of his learning and talents for diſputation, and ſtepped forth as the champion of the church, to defend her againſt the danger ſhe was in from the ſpreading of Luther's hereſy. But Luther was not to be ſilenced by the power of his adverſary: and conceiving himſelf to be uſed too contemptuouſly by the king, he replied with more acrimony than was thought decent towards the perſon of a ſovereign prince. He anſwered Henry with ſharpneſs; and without any reſpect to his royal dignity; for Luther ſpared no man in the cauſe of God. Many divines thought it an honour to defend the king of England, by confuting the book which Luther wrote againſt him. In Germany, it was anſwered in Latin by Eckius; and in High Dutch by Muncer. In England, John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, wrote a book to maintain the doctrine which

Dupin, p. 73.

Guthrie, v. 3, p. 583.

Dr. Warner's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 24.

Dupin, p. 73.

Seckendorf, lib. 1.

Dupin, p. 77.

the king had vindicated; and Sir Thomas More wrote another, under the name of William Roſs, in which he gave a character of Luther.

Leo X. called John de Medicis, was elected pope the eleventh of March 1513; and it is thought, that nothing contributed more to his elevation to the popedom, than the wounds he had received in the combats of Venus. He made a league with the emperor againſt France, to recover the places which the French held in Italy. He took that affair ſo much to heart, that having received the news of the misfortunes of the French, he died, it is ſaid, of meer joy: not but there are writers who affirm, that he was poiſoned. He died, on the ſecond of December 1521, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He might juſtly be termed the father of revived and reſtored learning, which claims from hiſtory a tribute perhaps not due to his other virtues as a man, or to his piety as a prelate. His encouraging arts and ſciences; his boundleſs liberality to the poor, to wits, poets, artiſts, and men of letters, is what his apologiſts have to oppoſe to abundance of ſcandalous defects, and grievous faults in his character. Even the failings of his character were productive of public bleſſings; for he ſeems to have had a contempt for the underſtanding of other nations, which led him to treſpaſs upon them too far in the matter of indulgences, and other eccleſiaſtical propoſitions, that produced the reformation.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 761. Varillas. Dupin, p. 73. Du Pleſſis, p. 590. Guicciard. Guthrie, v. 2, p. 928. Jortin, p. 286. Guthrie.

After the death of Leo, the ſeveral factions of the conclave terminated in the election of Adrian VI. which highly diſpleaſed the people of Rome. He was born at Utrecht in 1459; and his father got his living by barge-making: but the univerſity of Louvain ſupplied his domeſtic indigence, and educated the ſon, who made a great progreſs in all kinds of ſciences, and was appointed preceptor to the archduke Charles in 1507. The new pope refuſed to change his name: and in every thing expreſſed his averſion to pomp and pleaſures. He was thought fit to be raiſed to the papacy, which hâd need, at that time, of a man learned in divinity, to oppoſe Luther; and alſo of one capable of governing a ſtate, becauſe of the troubles in Italy. But he thought it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to reform the diſcipline of the church, and particularly the abuſes of the court of Rome, which he obſerved, and publickly acknowledged, in a very ſtrong manner. He began with revoking all the privileges granted to the Franciſcans, by the promulgation of indulgences: next, he aboliſhed part of the reſervations, acceſſions, regreſſes, and ſuch inventions, which were called the ſnares of the court of Rome: and afterwards he attempted to reform the diſcipline of the church; as alſo the manners of the clergy and laity: but his laudable views were prevented by the cardinals, and prieſts, who could not endure the thoughts of a reformation, which was ſo contrary to their intereſt. Eraſmus entertained ſome hopes, that his old friend and ſchool-fellow, Adrian VI. would do ſome good. The new pope deplored the ſad life of the clergy, and the corruption of morals which had appeared in ſome popes: but his reign was ſhort, and troubleſome; which made him ſay, he had more ſatisfaction in governing a college of Louvain, than in governing the whole Chriſtian church.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 325. Dupin, p. 73. Valerius Andreas, p 19. Bayle. Dupin, p. 74. Bayle. Dupin, p. 75. Onaphrius. Dupin. Seckendorf. Jortin, p. 308. Bayle, v. 3, p. 329.

Luther was now at open war with the church of Rome, and wrote againſt the excommunication iſſued by the pope: he alſo attacked the biſhops, and eccleſiaſtical princes, in a work, intitled, "Againſt the order, falſely called, the order of biſhops." And he exhorted the ſtates of Bohemia to continue in their ſeparation from the Roman church. He wrote a rough anſwer to Henry VIII. in Latin, and afterwards tranſlated it into German. Emſer wrote the life of Benno, biſhop of Miſnia in the eleventh century, whoſe principal merit was that he had been a rebel and a traytor; yet he was canonized by pope Adrian VI. for his miracles. Luther wrote againſt this canonization, and treated Benno's miracles as human frauds, or diabolical operations. Every thing ſeemed to co-operate, with the decree of heaven, in ſpreading the doctrines of Luther; and the ſpiritual monarchy of Rome was on the brink of ruin.

Dupin, p. 76. Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 106, Jortin, p. 325. Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 286. Puffendorf, v. 2, p. 99.

As the diet of Worms had not ſettled the tranquility of the empire, another diet was appointed by the emperor to be held at Nuremberg in November 1522. The emperor was not preſent, and his brother Ferdinand ſupplied his place. The pope ſent his nuncio, Cheregatus, to this diet; with letters in manner of a brief, to the princes; and inſtructions how to proceed againſt Luther. The pope informed the diet, that Luther continued to diſturb and repleniſh the world with new books; which grieved him the more, becauſe he was his countryman. He exhorted the members to reduce Luther, and his adherents, to a conformity of faith with the church: but, "if this peſtiferous canker cannot be "cured with gentle medicines, ſharper ſalves muſt be proved, and fiery ſearings: the pu"trified members muſt be cut off from the body, leſt the ſound parts ſhould be infected." Yet the nuncio was inſtructed to declare, "that God ſuffered this perſecution to be in"flicted upon his church for the ſins of men, eſpecially of prieſts and prelates of the "clergy." The cardinals ſtrongly reſented theſe reflections caſt upon them in ſuch an aſſembly; and it is imagined that the life of Adrian was ſhortened on that account.

Fox, b. 7, p. 57. Orthuinus Gratius. Bayle, v. 3, p. 329.

The diet anſwered the nuncio by writing, that they had not put the papal ſentence, nor the imperial edict, in execution gainſt Luther, for fear of raiſing civil commotions: but they particularly deſired he would apply a remedy to the abuſes and grievances of which they would give him a memorial; as this would be the only way to re-eſtabliſh peace and concord between the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular orders. They thought it would be neceſſary, as ſoon as poſſible, to call a free council in Germany, to extirpate all errors and abuſes: and that all controverſy ſhould ceaſe till the determination of ſuch a council ſhould be known. The nuncio replied, that the negligence which they had ſhewn concerning Luther, was offenſive to God, to the pope, the emperor, and the empire: that they ſhould obſerve the imperial edict; and alſo put in execution the decree of the council of Lateran, which inhibits the printing of any book about religious matters, without being licenſed by the ordinary,

Dupin, p. 80.

The diet, in the reign of Maximilian, propoſed ten grievances againſt the court of Rome: but this diet of Nuremberg ſent one hundred heads of complaint, or grievances, to the pope; with a proteſtation, that they neither could or would endure ſuch oppreſſions and extortions. The principal of the *centum gravamina* were againſt the great number of human conſtitutions; indulgences; eccleſiaſtical cauſes; collation of benefices; annats; exemption of eccleſiaſtics in criminal cauſes; excommunication; and many others which they reſerved to be propoſed, when juſtice was done them in theſe.

Faſciculus rerum expetendarum
Acts & Mon. b. 7, p. 64.

This reſolution of the diet was publiſhed, on the ſixth of March 1523, in the form of an edict; but both the Papiſts and Lutherans interpreted it in favour of themſelves. Luther continued to publiſh ſeveral new tracts; and undertook to compoſe a new form of celebrating the maſs and communion in the church of Wittenberg. He would have none admitted to the communion, but ſuch as could give an account of their faith; and who knew the nature, uſe, and benefit of the Lord's Supper: he appointed, that both kinds ſhould be given; and that thoſe who would take only in one, ſhould have neither.

Jodocus Clichtovæus, and Joannes Cochlæus, anſwered Luther; againſt whom, and the reformation, the writings of Cochlæus have been the fund of maledicence, for all thoſe who have ſlandered the Proteſtant religion ever ſince: but Luther anſwered, and confuted, both theſe antagoniſts; as alſo two others, John Faber, afterwards biſhop of Vienna, and Conradus Collinus, a Dominican. Luther was deſirous of totally ſuppreſſing the monaſtic orders, and wrote a book called, "The common Treaſury," for blending them with the public; which made his enemies ſay, he ſet himſelf up as a ſupreme Legiſlator, and diſpoſer of the revenues of the church.

Zuinglius, at this time, was eſtabliſhing his doctrine in Switzerland: but differed from Luther in the form of adminiſtering the Sacrament. Pope Adrian VI. died on the twenty-fourth of October 1523, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age; without being able to reform the church. He was ſucceeded by the cardinal Julius de Medicis, who aſſumed the name of Clement VII. The new pope ſent cardinal Campegius to the diet of Nuremberg, in February 1524, when he had audience of the aſſembly, and vainly endeavoured to ſtop their complaints by promiſes. The diet declared for a free council, to allay the diſputes of Luther: but the legate procured a private aſſembly to be held at Ratiſbon in July, where it was agreed, that the edict of Worms ſhould be put into execution; and that thirty-five articles of certain conſtitutions, made for the reformation of the German clergy in purſuance of the late complaints, ſhould be publiſhed. The doctrines of Luther were generally favoured by the imperial cities, whoſe deputies held an aſſembly at Spires, and explained the decrees of Nuremberg in their favour, while the other diet ſate at Ratiſbon.

Puffend.

Luther expoſed the contradictions in the two laſt edicts; and the popiſh princes oppoſed Lutheraniſm, by putting thoſe edicts in execution. Luther was certainly right, in aſſerting, that the edicts of Nuremberg and Spires contradicted each other: for if the edict of Worms, which condemned Luther as a heretic, was to be obeyed; why ſhould the diet of Nuremberg, which ordered that edict to be executed, alſo order his books to be examined at Spires? And if an examination was to be made of his writings, why was he to be condemned as a heretic, before ſuch examination?

Seckendorf.
Maimbourg.

Luther recalled auricular confeſſion, which Caroloſtadius had aboliſhed. He publiſhed a book "Of the Duty and Dignity of the civil Magiſtrate;" and wrote an elegy upon two Auguſtine monks, who were burnt *for Lutheraniſm at Bruſſels. Their names were* Henry Voes, and John Eſch. *The greateſt error they were accuſed of, was, "that men ought* "to truſt only in *God.*" They ſuffered *with heroic conſtancy; and Luther compoſed a* hymn in their praiſe, which was ſung *in the reformed churches. The charitable Catho-*lics rejoiced at their death, and called them "the devil's martyrs:" but *Eraſmus had the* courage to declare his diſlike of ſuch barbarous and unchriſtian proceedings; and obſerved, that the ſufferings of theſe men had brought over multitudes to Lutheraniſm. The diſputes between Luther and Caroloſtadius increaſed, and the latter retired from Wittenberg to Ortamunden, where he was followed by Luther, who accuſed him of making innovations in the public worſhip without the conſent of the magiſtrate; and the elector baniſhed

Collier.
Acts & Mon. b. 7, p. 80.
Seckend. lib. 1, p. 279.
Jortin, p. 325.
Seckendorf.

Caroloſtadius out of his dominions. He ſettled at Straſburgh, where he publiſhed two books upon the Lord's Supper, to maintain that "the body of Jeſus Chriſt is not in the Sa- Dupin. crament." Zuinglius would not abſolutely condemn his opinion; but he cenſured his conduct, and rejected his interpretation.

About this time, the Anabaptiſts ſprang up under Muncer and Stork, who were diſcovered Seckendorf. to be fanatics, and were baniſhed Saxony. A rebellion enſued, which the popiſh writers attribute to the riſe of Lutheraniſm: but it has been fully proved, that theſe tumults Rimius, p. 243. were occaſioned by grievances of a civil nature. The peaſants refuſed to pay obedience to their ſuperiors, and deſolated whole countries in a moſt barbarous manner; but they were reduced, and returned to their duty, after more than one hundred thouſand of their aſſociates had been killed during this commotion, and their leaders had received the puniſhment they deſerved.

Sleidan, l. 10. Luther exerted himſelf againſt theſe fanatical villains, and ſet forth a treatiſe, wherein he admoniſhed the people to lay down their arms, and proved the neceſſity of obeying their magiſtrates. Theſe Anabaptiſts were enemies to popery, and a ſcandal to the reforma- Jortin, p. 356. tion. The exhortations of Luther on this occaſion, both to the rebellious peaſants, and to the tyrannical nobles, were excellent, and gave a high idea of his probity, plain-dealing, and good ſenſe. Lutheraniſm increaſed, and was eſtabliſhed in ſeveral cities, even before theſe ſeditions were ſuppreſſed in Germany. It was publickly profeſſed by the elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Brunſwick. It was received at Straſburgh, Frankfort, Mentz, and Cologne: and it prevailed in almoſt all the ſtates of the empire, except in the hereditary countries ſubject to the emperor.

Eraſmus had been frequently ſolicited by the pope, and the popiſh princes, to write againſt Luther: but he avoided the diſpute, till he was ſuſpected of being a Lutheran, and then he undertook to oppoſe him, in a book intitled, "A Diatriba, or Conference about Free-will," againſt the opinion of Luther concerning liberty. The Lutherans themſelves Jortin, p. 316. have rejected that opinion: but Luther and Eraſmus were in the ſame condition and Ibid. p. 337. ſituation in one reſpect: they had innumerable adverſaries, and for the moſt part extremely contemptible. Le Clerc ſuppoſes that Luther was a Thomiſt: but we find, that he Seckendorf, l. 1. 199. abhorred Ariſtotle, and deſpiſed the ſchoolmen in general; particularly both the Thomiſts and Scotiſts. If he was a favourer of any ſcholaſtic ſect, it was that of Occam, whom he Ibid. 31, 108. eſteemed. Therefore, a judicious divine thinks, that Luther learned his notions of fataliſm Jortin, p. 336. from St. Auguſtin, of whom he was an admirer; and, like the Thomiſts, held a phyſical predetermination, which entirely ſubverts human liberty; and, under the pretence of making Ib. 335. the creature dependent upon the Creator, deprives it of all active powers, ſo that it can do nothing without being neceſſarily determined by the influence of God. If there was any difference between Luther and the Thomiſts of the church of Rome, it was this, that Luther ſpake more ſimply, ſincerely, and openly than they; for he abſolutely denied there was any ſuch thing as free-will; whilſt they admitted it in words. This, perhaps, deceived Eraſmus, who imagined he was only diſputing againſt Luther, whilſt he was really diſputing as much againſt Thomas Aquinas and his followers, as againſt the reformers. To Eraſm. Ep. 715. Jortin. attack Luther upon the ſingle point of liberty and neceſſity, was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him ſuperior to his adverſaries in other reſpects. Eraſmus very dextrouſly and artfully choſe this point of diſputation, that he might appear to the Romaniſts to write againſt Luther; and yet that he might avoid cenſuring his other doctrines oppoſite to the Roman church.

Eraſmus inſiſted, that the human will co-operates with the grace and aſſiſtance of God; and that a man ſhould uſe all his endeavours to attain to perfection. He ſhews that man Dupin, p. 348. was created a free agent; but took a middle way between thoſe who deſtroy free-will entirely, and thoſe who attribute too much to it: he would have ſomething aſcribed to it, but more to grace.

Eraſmus ſent his treatiſe againſt Luther to the king of England, to Wolſey, Warham, and many more. Luther anſwered Eraſmus in his book "*De ſervo Arbitrio*;" to which Eraſmus replied in two books, intitled, Hyperaſpiſtæ.

Jortin, p. 346. Luther had wrote a letter to Eraſmus, full of life, fire, and ſpirit; which vexed him not a little. He begins in the apoſtolical manner; "Grace and peace to you from the Lord Jeſus." After modeſtly reproving him, for keeping fair with the Papiſts, he ſays, "We ſaw that the Lord had not conferred upon you the diſcernment, courage, and reſolution to join with us, and freely and openly to oppoſe thoſe monſters; and therefore we dared not to exact from you, that which greatly ſurpaſſeth your ſtrength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakneſs, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you." Then having beſtowed upon him his due praiſes, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy Scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he tells Eraſmus, that he had with-held ſome perſons from attacking him; and that he had reſtrained himſelf, though provoked. "What, ſays he, can I do now? Things are exaſperated on both ſides; and I could wiſh, if it

" were poſſible, to act the part of a mediator between you, that they might ceaſe to attack " you with ſuch animoſity, and ſuffer your old age to reſt in peace in the Lord. They " would ſhew their moderation towards you ſo much the more, ſince our affairs are advanced to ſuch a point, that our cauſe is in no peril, although even Eraſmus ſhould " attack it with all his might." He deſires of Eraſmus, if he cannot or will not defend their ſentiments, to let them alone; and concludes with a high compliment on his authority and reputation.

Ib. p. 44.

Eraſmus anſwered this letter, and ſpeaks ambiguouſly of the Lutheran doctrine. Luther wrote another againſt the Hyperaſpiſtæ, wherein he accuſes Eraſmus of Arianiſm. The Minorite brethren had ſaid, that " Eraſmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it:" but, ſays Eraſmus, " I laid a hen-egg, and Luther hath hatched a very different bird." It is to be lamented that theſe two eminent men had any miſunderſtanding; as they had both tranſlated the holy Scriptures, and were equally inclined for a reformation in the church. Eraſmus afterwards wrote ſome other treatiſes againſt the reformers: yet he honeſtly diſſuaded the German princes from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans; and declared himſelf againſt the cruel and ſanguinary methods of defending the cauſe of Rome. The Italians thought him a Lutheran; and the Germans called him a Romaniſt: but every man paſſed for an heretic at Rome, who did not join in every article with the pope againſt Luther. About this time, the violent and unhappy controverſy concerning the Euchariſt was excited among the Proteſtants. As many books were written upon the ſubject as would load ſeveral waggons; and were of no ſmall harm to the reformation; which, like the growth of the Roman commonwealth, flouriſhed in the midſt of violent and continual diviſions.

Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 310. Dupin, p. 348. Ep. 710. Ep. 718. Ep. 744. Jortin, p. 368. Bayle, v. 4, p. 271.

Luther was this year occupied in tranſlating the book of Job, which he was inclined to think was wrote by Solomon. He complained of the difficulty of the taſk; and obſerved, ſomewhat jocoſely, that Job choſe to ſit on his dunghill, and to admit of no interpreters.

Colloq. Menſ. p. 359.

Luther laid aſide the friar's habit in 1524; and married Catharine Bore, a lady of noble deſcent, who, with eight other nuns, was taken out of the nunnery at Nimptſchen in 1523, and carried to Wittenberg, by Leonard Coppen of Torgau. Luther vindicated that action, and intended to marry Catharine to Glacius miniſter of Ortamunden, whoſe perſon ſhe diſliked, and Luther married her himſelf, on the 13th of June 1525, without conſulting his friends: but Luther ſays, he took a wife in obedience to his father's command. " It was, indeed, ſays Dupin, an indecent thing in a man, then forty-ſix years " of age, who would be thought the reſtorer of the goſpel, and reformer of mankind, " to involve himſelf in matrimony." But Luther was then only forty-two, and his wife was twenty-ſix. He was ſo far from being aſhamed of entering into the holy ſtate of matrimony, that he exhorted the elector of Mentz, and the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, to follow his example; which was done by the latter, notwithſtanding the cenſure of the Romaniſts. This grand maſter was Albert margrave of Brandenburgh, for whom that part of Pruſſia which belonged to the Teutonic order was formed into a ſecular duchy. He embraced the Lutheran religion, renounced his vow of celibacy, and married Anna Maria of Brunſwick. He afterwards conformed to the Augſburgh confeſſion, and founded an univerſity at Koningſberg, in 1544, that the Proteſtant religion might be introduced and eſtabliſhed in Pruſſia, and all the profeſſors were to be Lutherans. In thoſe times, marriage ſoon became a recommendation among the reformers, and was a certain proof that they had abjured popery; for if a converted clergyman did not marry, he cauſed a ſuſpicion that he had not renounced the doctrine of celibacy.

Seckendorf, lib. 1, p. 204. Collier, Dupin, p. 84. Melchior Adam, v. 3, p. 150. M. de Meaux. Sanders.

Luther was very fond of his wife, and uſed to call her his Catharine. She was handſome, and modeſt: Luther did not pretend ſhe was without faults, but he believed ſhe was leſs faulty than other women; and when ſhe had borne him a ſon a little after, he ſaid he would not change his condition for that of Crœſus. He was heard to ſay, that he would not exchange his wife for the kingdom of France, nor for the riches of the Venetians; becauſe ſhe had been given him by God, at a time when he implored the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in finding a good wife; and had ſtrictly regarded her conjugal fidelity.

Seckendorf, l. 2, p. 17. Bayle, v. 2, p. 75. Ib. n. H.

Eraſmus ſent word to Nicholas Everard, preſident of the court of Holland, that the Lutheran tragedy would end, like the quarrels of princes, in matrimony. He ſays, " If the " common ſtory be true, that Antichriſt ſhall be born of a monk and a nun, as they " pretend, how many thouſands of Antichriſts are there in the world already? I was in " hopes that a wife would have made Luther a little tamer: but he has publiſhed a book " againſt me more virulent than ever." Eraſmus was not well inſtructed in this affair, or he was too prone to give credit to the ſcandal which was publiſhed againſt Luther.

Jortin, p. 381. Ep. 22, lib. 18. Jortin, p. 382.

Luther had anſwered the king of England in a rough way, and was now perſuaded by his friends to write him a very humble letter, with ſome hope that his majeſty would favour the reformation. Henry returned him a very haughty and churliſh anſwer: upon which Luther, who had too much ſpirit to bear affronts even from crowned heads, de-

Sleidan, lib. 6. Seckendorf, lib. 2, p. 37.

Jortin, p. 395. Dupin, p. 100. Seckendorf. Burnet, v. 3. p. 171. Dupin. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 5, p. 168. Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 41.

clared publickly that he was very ſorry for having demeaned himſelf ſo far: and that he would never more throw away any civilities and ſubmiſſions upon Henry VIII. cardinal Cajetan, prince George of Saxony, or Eraſmus, who had all paid his humility with inſults. The king of England was chiefly angry, becauſe Luther had ſaid, that his book upon the ſacrament was made by another, and put out in his name. Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomiſt, and had been engaged in diſputes with Eraſmus, and was afterwards made archbiſhop of York: therefore, Luther wrote another book, intitled, "An anſwer to the abuſive and ſlanderous book of the king of England." None ſuſpect the king wanted learning for ſuch a deſign: "but it is probable ſome other gardener gathered the flowers, though king Henry had the honour to wear the poſie, carrying the credit in the title thereof." The king was aſſiſted by biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More; in return for which, he afterwards cut off their heads.

Dupin, p. 105.

The diſturbances in Germany increaſed every day, and the emperor called another diet, which was held at Spires on the twenty-fifth of June 1526. Ferdinand, and ſix other deputies, acted for the emperor, and were for executing the edict of Worms: but the elector of Saxony, and landgrave of Heſſe, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the defence of thoſe who followed the new doctrine. The emperor had a quarrel with the pope, who entered into a league againſt him with the French king, and the Venetian republic. Charles V. told Clement VII. he would appeal to a general council, and vindicate himſelf. The next year his troops invaded Italy, plundered Rome, and took the pope priſoner, who was obliged to ſubmit to ſome hard conditions before he was ſet at liberty.

A motion was made in the conſiſtory at Rome to tempt Luther with a great ſum of money, and buy him off from oppoſing popery: but one of the cardinals cried out, "*Hem! Germana illa beſtia non curat aurum, ſed auram*"

Collier. Dupin, p. 113. Collier. Rimius, p. 216.

The diſputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about the ſacrament, continued till the emperor aſſembled another diet at Spires in March 1529, when long and warm debates were held about religion. The Romaniſts again inſiſted, that the ban ſhould be executed upon the Lutherans; which was oppoſed by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the dukes of Lunenberg, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhalt, who declared again for a council, either general or national. But the Romaniſts prevailed, and confirmed the decree of the former diet of Spires; againſt which the Lutheran princes, and fourteen cities, joined in a formal proteſt, whereby they appealed from all that ſhould be done, to the emperor, a future council, or to unſuſpected judges; and accordingly they ſent deputies to the emperor, with a petition that this decree might be revoked. This was the remarkable proteſtation, which gave the name of PROTESTANTS to the Lutherans in Germany. The proteſters acted with ſo much ſteadineſs and reſolution, that the emperor was much ſtartled at it, and determined to uſe moderation for the preſent.

Dupin, p. 114. Acts & Mon. p. 68. Sleidan, lib. 5.

The ſame year, the landgrave of Heſſe brought Luther and Zuinglius to a conference at Marpurg; when the Lutherans produced ſuch articles as they objected againſt in the doctrine of the Zuinglians. After ſome debates, articles were drawn up, in which they agreed about the Trinity, original ſin, juſtification by faith, the efficacy of baptiſm, and the authority of the magiſtrates: but they diſagreed about the Sacrament, in the ſenſe and meaning of the words; though they aſſented, that the communion ſhould be adminiſtered in both kinds; and they denied tranſubſtantiation, as alſo the ſacrifice of the maſs.

Puffendorf, v. 2. 361. Dupin, p. 122. Jortin, p. 501. Eraſm. Ep. 1152.

At this time, Solyman the Magnificent invaded Germany, and beſieged Vienna: but ſoon retired with great loſs. The emperor Charles returned to Germany, and appointed another diet to be held at Augſburg, which was opened on the twentieth of June 1530. It was given out, that the emperor would tread the Goſpellers under his feet; which made the Proteſtant princes inclined to meet him in arms: but Luther prevailed on them to meet in peace. The princes appointed Luther, Melanchthon, Juſtus Jonas, and Pomeran, to draw up their form of doctrine, to lay before the diet, where Luther was afraid to appear, and was left in the caſtle of Coburg, near at hand, that he might be conſulted on occaſion. Eraſmus excuſed himſelf from appearing at this diet, becauſe he knew upon whoſe judgment the emperor relied; upon divines, in whoſe opinion whoſoever ſhould dare to open his mouth in favour of piety was a Lutheran, and worſe than a Lutheran.

Dupin, p. 116.

The imperial chancellor opened the diet by declaring, that the emperor had ſummoned this aſſembly, that every one might conſult upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be made, and offer in writing what he thought convenient, concerning religion. The Proteſtant princes petitioned the emperor to permit their confeſſion of faith to be read in a full diet, which he refuſed; but granted them leave to read it in his preſence before a ſpecial aſſembly of princes, and other members of the empire. This confeſſion of faith, which was afterwards called, "THE AUGSBURGH CONFESSION," was delivered to his imperial majeſty both in Latin and German, with the authority whereon each article was founded. It was ſigned by the elector of Saxony; George margrave of Brandenburgh; Erneſt and Francis, dukes of Brunſwick. and Lunenberg; Philip landgrave of Heſſe, and the princes of Anhalt; as alſo by the deputies of Nuremberg and Ruthlingen.

Secken-dorf, lib. 2, ſect. 66.

The emperor ſhed tears when this confeſſion was read; which were doubtleſs owing to the truth of the doctrines contained in it, and the moderation that Melanchthon had ſhewn in reviſing the whole. It was divided into two parts: the one contained twenty one articles upon the principal points of religion: and the other was concerning the ceremonies of the church. The emperor diſmiſſed the aſſembly, when they had heard the confeſſion; and the Romaniſts agreed to draw up a confutation of it, which was undertook by Faber, Eckius, Cochlæus, Conradus de Wimpina, Conradus Collinus, and other popiſh divines, who examined the Proteſtants confeſſion of faith ſtep by ſtep, and anſwered all the articles; ſome of which were approved, and others condemned; but ſome were partly received, and partly rejected, as will be ſeen in the life of Melanchthon.

Rimius, p. 217. Maim-bourg. Collier. Dupin, p. 116.

This anſwer was read before the diet, and the Romaniſts ſaid, they hoped the Proteſtants would return to the communion of the church, as they agreed in ſeveral points which had been formerly conteſted. The elector of Saxony anſwered, that the Proteſtants were always ready to come to an union in religion, in any thing which was not prejudicial to their conſciences. In conſequence of this, the Romaniſts appointed ſeventeen perſons to treat about religion with the Proteſtants; and this conference was held at Augſburg on the ſeventh of Auguſt. The popiſh deputies ſaid, that Luther would not ſubmit to the judgment of a council: but the Proteſtants declared, they would refer themſelves to the determination of a council, to which they appealed; and alſo preſented to the emperor an apology for their confeſſion, which put an end to the diet at Augſburg, and the Proteſtant princes returned home in October, without an accommodation with the Romaniſts.

The Sacramentarians alſo preſented their confeſſion of faith to the emperor at this diet; which was drawn up by Bucer and Capito: but this confeſſion was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans, and was anſwered by Faber and Eckius; in conſequence of which, the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their errors, and threatened to compel them by his authority if they refuſed.

Dupin, p. 119.

A ſymbolical repreſentation was exhibited before the emperor and his brother Ferdinand at Augſburg, when the Lutherans preſented their confeſſion of faith to that aſſembly. As the princes were at table, a company of perſons offered to act a ſmall comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and firſt entered a man in the dreſs of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of ſmall wood, of ſtraight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth and retired: on his back was written the name of *Reuchlin.* When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled alſo like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the ſtraight; but having laboured long to no purpoſe, he went away out of humour, and ſhaking his head: on his back appeared the name of *Eraſmus.* A third, dreſſed like an Auguſtinian monk, came in with a chafing-diſh full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of Luther. A fourth entered dreſſed like an emperor, who, ſeeing the crooked wood all on fire, ſeemed much concerned, and to put it out drew out his ſword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the briſker: on his back was written *Charles* V. Laſtly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and triple-crown, who ſeemed extremely ſurprized to ſee the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed exceſſive grief: then looking about on every ſide, to ſee if he could find any water to extinguiſh the flame, he caſt his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water; and in his hurry, he unfortunately ſeized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze ſo violently that he was forced to walk off: on his back was written *Leo* X. This farce wanted no commentary.

Le Clerc. Fabricius, p. 142. Jortin, p. 585.

Luther wrote ſome books againſt popery, during the ſitting of the diet; particularly a treatiſe upon the ſecond pſalm, in which he applied to the princes met at Augſburg, what was ſaid in that pſalm concerning the aſſembly and conſpiracy of the princes of the world againſt Jeſus Chriſt. The emperor procured a decree in the diet, which allowed the Proteſtant princes till the fifteenth of April following, to conſult about their ſubmiſſion to it; and his imperial majeſty promiſed to iſſue out his ſummons for a council to begin the next year. The Proteſtant princes remained firm to their confeſſion of faith, and the emperor publiſhed the decree of the diet on the ſixteenth of November, which ordered, that no alterations or innovations ſhould be made in the faith or religious worſhip of the church; and that none ſhould be admitted to the imperial chamber, who diſobeyed this decree.

Dupin, p. 122.

The elector of Saxony was ſummoned by the emperor to be preſent at Cologne, on the twenty-ninth of December, at the election of Ferdinand to be king of the Romans: but the elector appointed the other Proteſtant princes to meet him at Smalkald, on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, where they entered into a confederacy to defend themſelves againſt the emperor and the Romaniſts, who were determined to put the decree made at the diet of Augſburg rigorouſly into execution.

The court of Rome was greatly diſturbed at what had been tranſacted at the diet at Augſburg; and the pope employed his nuncios to diſſuade the emperor from holding a council: but the emperor urged the neceſſity of it; and the pope, on the firſt of December 1530, wrote a circular letter to all the Chriſtian princes, informing them, that a council ſhould be held, and deſiring them to countenance ſo holy a cauſe by their perſonal attendance. The Proteſtant princes alſo wrote circular letters to the European ſovereigns, and particularly to the kings of England and France, requeſting their intereſt and protection in obtaining a reformation, which had been attempted by John Colet in England, by John Gerſon and Nicholas Clemangis in France, and by Luther in Germany. The kings of England and France declared for a general council, peace, and reformation; which encouraged the confederate princes to meet again at Smalkald on the twenty-ninth of March 1531, when they renewed their league; and Luther compoſed a treatiſe againſt the diet of Augſburg, to prove that it was lawful to reſiſt the magiſtrates, if they commanded any perſons to aſſault thoſe who would not ſubmit to the decree.

Collier.

Seckendorf, l. 3, ſect. 9.

The Proteſtant princes held another aſſembly at Francfort on the fourth of July; and the emperor, on the thirteenth of July 1532, by the treaty of Nuremberg, agreed that all the diſputes concerning religion ſhould ceaſe until a free general council was held, which was to be within a year. The Proteſtants inſiſted that no innovation in doctrine ſhould be made from their *confeſſion*, nor any ceremonies introduced contrary thereto; which was granted by the emperor, and the Proteſtant princes agreed to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the Turks.

Seckendorf.

The elector of Saxony died in Auguſt, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John Frederic in his dominions, and zeal for the Proteſtant cauſe. The pope ſent his nuncio, in January 1533, to the new elector, to ſettle with him the conditions of holding a council: and the Proteſtant princes met upon this occaſion at Smalkald, on the twenty-fourth of June, when they deſired that the council might be free, and be held in Germany, where theſe differences in religion firſt began: but the pope refuſed to comply with their requeſt.

Dupin, p. 137.

Luther diſſuaded the elector of Saxony from making an alliance with the Switzers, and perſiſted to unite more zealouſly than ever againſt the Sacramentarians: but Bucer undertook to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians. Luther met Bucer and Capito at Wittenberg, on the twenty-ſecond of May 1536, when they entered into a long debate upon their faith and doctrine concerning the ſacrament; and they delivered to Luther the confeſſion of faith of the churches of Switzerland; but they could not agree in their articles of *the form of union* about the ſacrament. Luther explained himſelf concerning the Lord's Supper, by ſaying, he had never taught that Jeſus Chriſt came down from heaven to the earth either viſible or inviſible; and that he left it to the almighty power of God to effect how the body and blood of Chriſt are offered in the Lord's Supper, keeping himſelf entirely cloſe to the words of the Scripture, "This is my body, this is my blood." He obſerved, that as they could not underſtand each other, it was convenient they ſhould be friends, and entertain a good opinion reciprocally of themſelves, till the ſpirit of contention ſhould ceaſe among them; and ſo he committed it to the care of Bucer and Capito to finiſh what they had began.

Pope Clement VII. died on the twenty-fifth of September 1534, aged fifty-ſix; and was ſucceeded in the papal throne by Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, who took the name of Paul III. becauſe he was born in the papacy of Paul II. in 1468. The new pope propoſed to call a council at Mantua in Italy; to which the popiſh princes agreed: but fifteen Proteſtant princes, and the deputies of thirty cities, inſiſted it ſhould be held in Germany. However, the pope, on the ſecond of June 1536, publiſhed a bull, whereby he called a general council of all Chriſtendom, to meet at Mantua on the twenty-ſeventh of May 1537, and commanded all biſhops and prelates to be there.

Rimius, p. 217.

The Proteſtant princes renewed their union in 1535, and ſtipulated, by a ſolemn league at Smalkald, to aſſiſt each other with their lives and fortunes againſt thoſe of the Roman church. This union in the beginning was only for five years; but was now renewed for ten more. The parties concerned in it were the elector of Saxony, the two dukes of Lunenberg, the margrave of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Heſſe, the prince of Anhalt, and the two counts of Mansfield; with the cities of Magdeburg and Bremen; to which acceded Chriſtian king of Denmark, the dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg; with the cities of Hamburg, Eimbeck, Northeim, Francfort, Brunſwick, Hanover, Goſlar, Gottingen, Minden, Lubeck, Stettin, and others. Albert duke of Pruſſia offered to come into this union; but was rejected, becauſe he had been put to the ban of the empire, for taking Pruſſia as a fief from the crown of Poland, and thereby diſmembering it from the empire. The Roman-catholic princes, on their part, alſo made an alliance, which was called, "The *holy league*." Thoſe that entered into it, were the emperor Charles V. Ferdinand his brother, king of the Romans, the archbiſhops of Mentz and Saltzburg, the dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, George ſirnamed the *bearded* duke of Saxony, Erick of the line of Calemberg, and Henry the younger of the line of Wolfembuttle, who was appointed by the league to be the chief commander of its forces. During all the time that the union of Smalkald ſubſiſted, which was fifteen years, each party kept the other in ſuſpenſe: but nothing remarkable happened on either ſide, except the expedition of Henry againſt the city of Goſlar in 1542.

The pope ſent his nuncio to Smalkald, in February 1537, to exhort the Proteſtant princes to appear at the council at Mantua; but they told him, they would not acknowledge the pope for their judge, and would have a free council in Germany. The pope, in 1538, ordered ſome cardinals and biſhops to draw up a memorial of the chief abuſes that ought to be reformed; which was done with ſpirit againſt the ignorance and avarice of the clergy in general, and particularly the mendicant friars. Luther procured a copy of this memorial, and commented upon it, which gave great offence to the holy ſee, and the pope prorogued the council till Eaſter-day 1539.

Dupin, p. 157.

In the year 1538, aroſe the vile ſect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith. The principal perſon amongſt them was Joannes Iſlebius Agricola. Luther had the honour not only of confuting, but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his ſenſes and to his duty.

Jortin, p. 356.

Sleidan, lib. 12, p. 312.

Prince George of Saxony, who had been a great enemy to Luther, died the twenty-fourth of April 1539; and his brother Henry took poſſeſſion of his dominions in Miſnia and Thuringia, where he eſtabliſhed Lutheraniſm, which occaſioned Luther to preach at Leipſic againſt popery. The diet of Spires was held the ſame year, where the Proteſtant divines attended, and confirmed the Augſburg confeſſion, before the elector Palatine, the duke of Bavaria, and two biſhops, who acted as mediators: but all things were referred to the diet of Ratiſbon, which was opened in March 1541 by the emperor; who was preſent, as were all the princes of the empire, either in perſon, or by their deputies.

The pope ſent his legate to this diet; and the emperor nominated three perſons on each ſide to manage the conference. Pflugius, Eckius, and Gropper, were for the Romaniſts: and Melanchthon, Bucer, and Piſtorius, for the Proteſtants. The book of concord was delivered to the collocutors, which contained twenty-two articles, wherein were comprized the whole ſubſtance of religion as drawn up by Gropper. The Proteſtants agreed to ſome of the articles, and objected to the power of the church, the Euchariſt, penance, the hierarchy, and maſſes: but they alſo propoſed ſeveral articles for the reformation of the church. The emperor communicated their proceedings to the diet; and the legate recommended that the whole ſhould be tranſmitted to the pope, for his determination in a general council. The anſwer which the legate gave to the articles provoked the Proteſtants, and diſpleaſed the Romaniſts: the former requeſted the emperor to revoke, or ſuſpend, the Augſburg decree, which they looked upon as an obſtacle to peace; and his imperial majeſty put an end to the diet, by declaring, that the determination of all matters ſhould be referred to a general council; or, for want of that, to a national council, or a diet of the empire.

Dupin, p. 162.

Ibid. p. 166.

In 1542, the emperor called another diet at Spires, to conſult about aſſembling a council. This diet was opened on the ninth of February; and the Romaniſts agreed, that the pope ſhould appoint a general council at Trent, who publiſhed his bull to meet on the firſt of November. The Proteſtants would not concur; and the order came to nothing for want of a ſufficient number of biſhops to compoſe a general council, when it was opened at Trent.

A diet was held at Nuremberg in 1543, at which time Herman, archbiſhop of Cologne, and the city of Hildeſheim, declared for the Proteſtants. The next year, a diet was held at Spires, and the emperor exhorted the princes to draw up a plan of reformation, which diſpleaſed the pope, who threatened to treat the emperor with ſeverity if he granted any favour to the Proteſtants. But the emperor and the French king concluded a peace, and agreed to defend the old religion; which occaſioned the pope to ſummon a new council at Trent, to meet on the fifteenth of March 1545.

Dupin, p. 171.

The emperor, and the French king, conſulted the univerſities of Louvain and Paris about the queſtions in controverſy. The divines of the former drew up thirty-two articles, and thoſe of the latter twenty-five, againſt the reformers. The pope ſent his legates, and the emperor his ambaſſador, to Trent to open the council, and treat of a reformation: but the Proteſtant princes, in the diet at Worms, refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the council of Trent; and declared they would always reject a council which ſhould depend upon the pope.

The elector of Cologne was oppoſed by the emperor and the pope, when he introduced Lutheraniſm into his electorate; and the pope ſummoned him to appear at Rome: but the elector Palatine, and the other Proteſtant princes, were determined to defend the elector of Cologne againſt his enemies. Although the affairs of Germany inclined thus towards a war, the emperor ſent four divines to Ratiſbon, where they were met by four others for the Proteſtants, and a conference was opened between them on the twenty-ſeventh of January 1546, to examine the articles of the Augſburg confeſſion. The Romaniſts inſiſted upon ſuch articles as the Proteſtants abſolutely refuſed; and this conference, like many others, ended with leaving matters in a worſe condition than when it began. The emperor had then recourſe to arms, and the Proteſtant princes declared war againſt him: but Luther died before hoſtilities began.

Rimius, p. 221.

Luther was continually baited at by a world of furies; and it looks as if he was particularly ſet up by providence to effect a reformation. He publiſhed ſeventy-five propoſitions againſt the divines of Louvain; and alſo a ſhort confeſſion of faith; after which he was ſent for to his native country, to compoſe a difference between the counts of Mansfield. He preached his laſt ſermon at Wittenberg on the ſeventeenth of January 1546; and, on the 23d, ſet out for Iſleben, where he was honourably entertained by the count, who eſcorted him to his apartments with one hundred horſe. Luther attended the buſineſs upon which he came from the twenty-ninth of January, to the ſeventeenth of February, when he ſickened a little before ſupper of his uſual illneſs. This was an oppreſſion of humours in the opening of the ſtomach, with which Melanchthon, who was with him, had ſeen him frequently afflicted. His pain increaſed, and he went to bed, where he ſlept till midnight, when he awaked in ſuch anguiſh that he found his life was near at an end. Albert count of Mansfield, Melanchthon, Juſtus Jonas, and ſeveral other friends, attended him in his laſt moments, joining him in prayer, that God would preſerve the doctrine of his goſpel among them. Melanchthon ſays of Luther, that having frequently repeated his prayers, he was called to God, “ unto whom he ſo faithfully commended his ſpirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the bleſſed ſociety of the patriarchs, prophets, and “ apoſtles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.”

Chillingworth.
Dupin, p. 177.
Collier.
Melanchthon.
Acts & Mon. b. 7, p. 69.

Luther died the eighteenth of February 1546, in the ſixty-third year of his age. A thouſand fables have been invented concerning his death; nor would his enemies forbear publiſhing lies on this ſubject long after he had left this world. Some have ſaid, that he died ſuddenly; others that he killed himſelf; and ſome have impudently proceeeded ſo far as to give out that he was taken away by the devil. Nor are they people of mean figure or credit, who vent theſe calumnies, but the moſt famous writers, as Cochlæus, Beſſæus, Bozius, Fabianus Juſtinian, and Bellarmin. This, ſays Bayle, reflects on the whole body of popery; for ſuch fables ought not to paſs the preſs. Father Maimbourg has rejected all theſe fooliſh ſtories; but he has been miſtaken in a notable fact. Speaking of Luther, he ſays, the elector of Saxony cauſed his body to be conveyed with a moſt magnificent pomp to Wittenberg, where he erected for him a monument of white marble, ſurrounded with the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with reſpect to Germany. He was honourably interred at Wittenberg: but Seckendorf has ſhewn that no ſuch ſtatues were placed round his tomb.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 946.
Maimbourg, l. 3, p. 301.
Seckendorf, l. 3, p. 645.

Luther left a widow, and three ſons, and two daughters. His family was not extinct, when Seckendorf publiſhed his hiſtory, towards the latter end of the laſt century. Whilſt the troops of Charles V. were at Wittenberg, in the year 1547, the Spaniards ſolicited the emperor to pull down Luther's monument, and wanted to dig up his bones: but the emperor had more generoſity and prudence, than to conſent to a procedure ſo baſe and infamous.

Perizonius, p. 338.

Luther was of a large ſtature; and had ſuch a ſharp ſight that few could endure ſtedfaſtly to look upon him. He had a gentle and clear voice; was paſſionate, but ſoon appeaſed.

He had an uncommon genius, a lively imagination, a pious and devout diſpoſition, a tincture of melancholy and enthuſiaſm, and a great warmth and impetuoſity, which impelled him, in his controverſial works, to ridicule and inſult his adverſaries. He was fond of muſic, and both a compoſer and a performer, which was very good for his mind and body. It expelled melancholy, as he ſaid, and put the devil to flight, who mortally hated muſic. He entertained a mean opinion of the capacity and diſpoſition of thoſe, who had no taſte for this excellent art. He alſo ſacrificed to the graces, and compoſed ſome poems both Latin and German. He was contented with little, and had a great contempt for money.

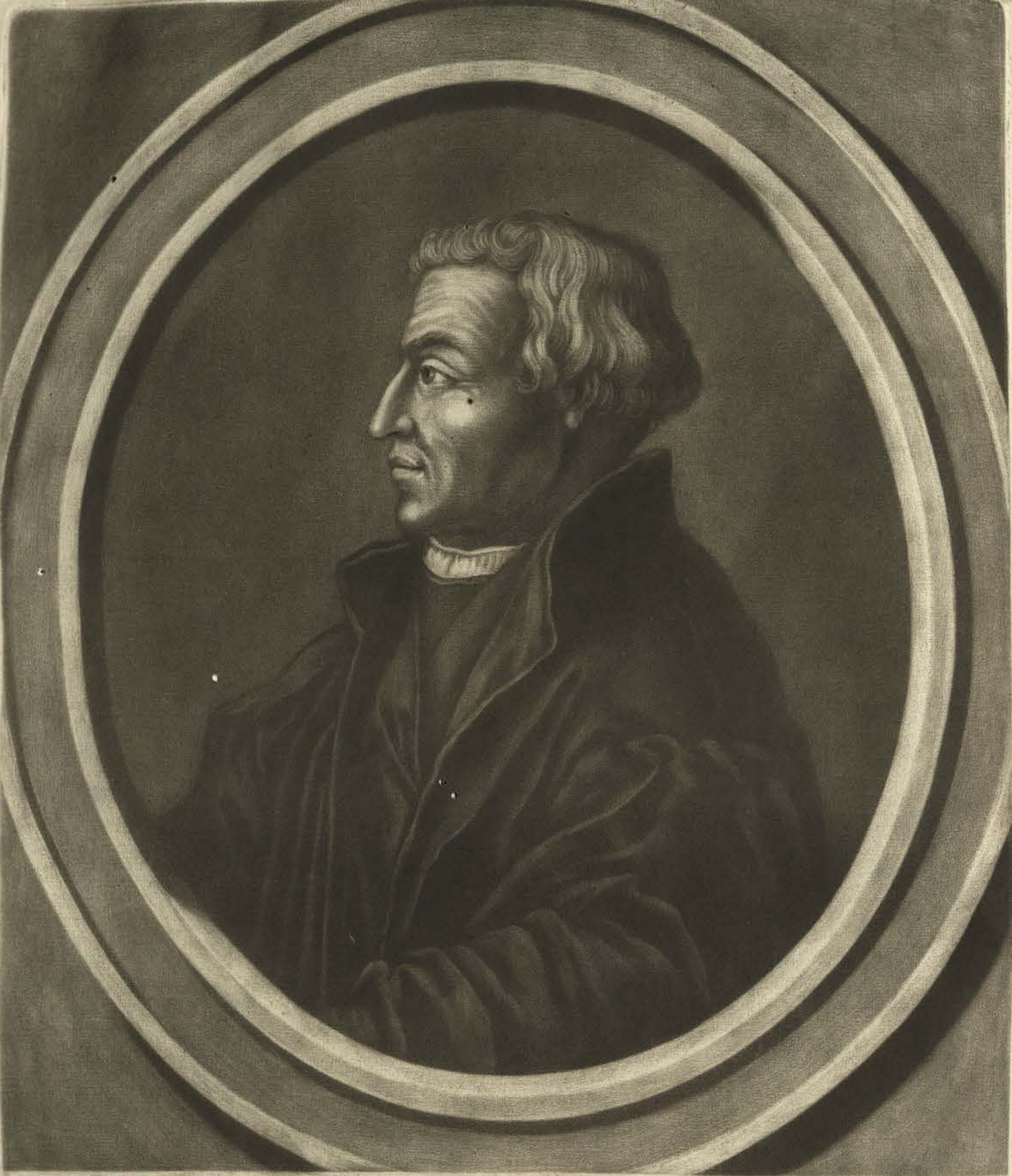
Jortin, p. 126.
Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 17.

Luther had a very ſharp and ſatirical ſtile: but his commentary on the epiſtle to the Galatians, was his favourite work, which he uſed to call his wife, his Catharine Bore. It was a very great imprudence to publiſh ſuch a collection as the *Sermones Menſales*, or *Colloquia Menſalia*; for Luther's table-talk is the ſubject of the book. It was publiſhed, in 1571, by Henry Peter Rebenſtock, miniſter of Eiſcherheim: but Luther was not the author of that book, the publication of which was the effect of an inconſiderate zeal.

Ibid. v. 2, p. 137.
Ib. l. 1, p. 139.
Bayle, v. 3. p 938.
Saldenus.

His favourite doctrine was juſtification by faith alone, and not by works, moral, legal, or evangelical: but we muſt muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that he perpetually inculcated the abſolute neceſſity of good works. According to him, a man is juſtified only by

Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 134.



R. Houston Fecit.

Martinus Bucerus

Natus Aº. 1491 Obÿt Aº. 1551 Feb. 27.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker, in Cornhill London.

by faith; but he cannot be juſtified without works; and where thoſe works are not to be found, there is aſſuredly no true faith. He was once ſomewhat inclined to the opinion, that ſouls after death ſleep till the reſurrection: but he afterwards ſaid, that the ſouls of the good are in a ſtate of felicity, and this ſeems to have been his laſt and ſettled opinion. He thought that the Jewiſh nation would never be converted; and that St. Paul's expreſſions concerning this ſubject were miſunderſtood.

Secken-dorf, l. 3. p. 30.
Bayle.

We are obliged to Luther for having put us under the neceſſity of ſtudying religion. He was a magnanimous perſon even by the conceſſion of his enemies; and undertook ſuch things as the world may reaſonably admire, having oppoſed himſelf alone to the whole earth. His followers called themſelves Lutherans much againſt his mind: but they recede from him in many things, as may be ſeen by their writings.

Secken-dorf, l 3, p. 426.
Longue-ruana, v. 1, p. 78.
Collier.

Melanchthon ſays, " Pomeranus is a grammarian; I am a logician; and Juſtus Jonas is " an orator: but Luther is good at every thing; the wonder of mankind; for whatever he " ſays, or writes, it penetrates the heart, and makes a laſting impreſſion."

It has alſo been ſaid of Luther, that it was a great miracle a poor friar ſhould be able to ſtand againſt the pope: it was a greater that he ſhould prevail: and the greateſt of all that he ſhould die in peace, as well as Eraſmus, when ſurrounded by ſo many enemies.

Luther uſed to ſay, that three things make a divine; meditation, prayer, and temptation. And that three things were to be done by a miniſter; to read the Bible diligently, to pray earneſtly, and always to be a learner.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great reformer, extended itſelf through all Germany, Denmark, Sweden, England, and other countries, under ſome different modification. " We will conclude his character, ſays a learned divine, with theſe verſes, which " belong to him much better than to Pollux, Hercules, Auguſtus, and others to whom " Horace applied them."

Jortin, p. 126.

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
  Mente quatit ſolida, neque Auſter
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
 Si fractus illabatur orbis,
  Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

The great Cornelius de Witt, when he was barbarouſly and unjuſtly put to the rack by the factious Dutch, in 1672, recited the firſt lines of this beautiful ode in his torments; and, if Luther had ſuffered in the ſame manner, he might have rehearſed the ſame lines, which were equally applicable to their courage and condition.

Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. c. 9, p. 167.

The LIFE of MARTIN BUCER,

The MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS Proteſtant divine was born at Scheleſtadt, in Alſace, in 1491, and died at Cambridge in 1551. He was one of the ableſt miniſters of that century, and there were but few eccleſiaſtical negociations in which he was not employed. He wrote ſeveral books, and compoſed many lectures, in which he laboured with great zeal, and much dexterity, to pacify the differences between the Lutherans and Zuinglians: he wiſhed that both parties had been leſs rigid; and that great affair might have happily ſucceeded, if all the heads had been perſons of a reconciling temper like himſelf. Moreri hath touched upon the chief actions of his life, which is the reaſon why Bayle has not given all the extent that he might have done upon the ſame occaſion.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 171.

Melchior Adam, p. 212.

Bucer met Luther at the diet of Worms in 1521, when they paſſed ſeveral days in familiar converſation; after which Bucer embraced the opinion of Luther, and openly profeſſed it from that time. Two years after, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in Straſburg, and he ſubſcribed a book with them, which they publiſhed in 1524, ſetting forth the reaſons that induced them to renounce popery: but he wrote ſome tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians againſt Brentius and Pomeranus, who were Lutherans. He aſſiſted, in 1529, as deputy of the church of Straſburgh, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the diſſentions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians: but it is falſe, that he begun by being a Sacramentarian, for he followed Luther as his converter from the beginning.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 108.
Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 140

Boſſuet's Hiſtoire des Variations, lib. 4, p. 167.

The biſhop of Meaux endeavours to make Bucer paſs for a diſſembler, and alledges the teſtimony of Calvin for it. “Whether Bucer had a formal deſign to trifle with the world by affected equivocations, or whether any confuſed idea of reality made him believe that he might ſincerely ſubſcribe to expreſſions ſo evidently contrary to the figurative ſenſe, is left to the judgment of the Proteſtants. It is certain, that Calvin, his friend, and in ſome meaſure his diſciple, when he would expreſs a blameable obſcurity in a profeſſion of faith, ſaid, that there was nothing ſo perplexed, ſo obſcure, ſo ambiguous, ſo winding in Bucer himſelf.” It was ſaid by Juſtus Jonas, that there was in Zuinglius ſomething ruſtic, and a little arrogant: in Oecolampadius a wonderful good nature and clemency: in Hedian no leſs humanity and good nature: in Bucer a fox-like cunning, imitating prudence and ſagacity. But the biſhop of Meaux would not rely on the diſadvatageous judgment that this divine of Saxony made of Bucer, after the conferences of Marpurg in 1529.

Calvin's Epiſt. 45, p. 94.
Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. l. 2, p. 140.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 172.
Boſſuet, l. 3, p. 124. Reſponſ. ad Abrinc.

It is more probable, that Bucer, for the ſake of unity, and out of an ardent and ſincere deſire of peace, invented expreſſions that were likely to pleaſe both parties; and that he always believed good works meritorious. Bucer is conſidered by ſome as one of the heads of the ſecond party of the reformation; and he has declared, “it muſt not be denied that one may be juſtified by works, as St. James ſays, ſeeing God will render to every one according to his works. And, continues he, the queſtion is not concerning their merits: we do not reject them; and we acknowledge, that eternal life is merited according to that word of our Lord: he who forſakes all for my ſake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, and inherit everlaſting life.” In the diſpute of Leipſic, in 1539, Bucer ſpoke in theſe terms: “ſeeing God will judge every one according to his works, it muſt not be denied, that good works, performed through the grace of Jeſus Chriſt, and which he operates himſelf in his ſervants, do merit eternal life; not indeed by their own dignity, but by the acceptance and the promiſe of God, and through the covenant made with him: for it is to ſuch works the Scripture promiſes the reward of eternal life; which, therefore, is not leſs a grace in another reſpect; foraſmuch as thoſe good works, to which ſo great a reward is given, are themſelves the gifts of God.” Bucer went farther on this ſubject, in the conference at Ratiſbon in 1546, when he ſaid: “As for what concerns the public prayers of the church, which are called collects, wherein mention is made of prayers, and of the merits of the ſaints, and alſo that it is aſked through Jeſus Chriſt; it follows, that all they who offer up that prayer, acknowledge that all the merits of the ſaints are gifts of God freely granted. For we confeſs alſo, and preach with joy, that God does not only reward the good works of his ſervants in themſelves, but alſo in thoſe for whom they pray; ſeeing he has promiſed that he will do good to thoſe who love him unto a thouſand generations.” This was juſtifying the Romiſh church, which was accuſed of aſcribing merits to the ſaints, not only for themſelves, but alſo for others. Boſſuet was a French biſhop, who died in 1704: he publiſhed fifty-one different works; but his funeral orations, and his diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory, are the pieces which have conducted him to immortality. He made theſe remarks in favour of popery; and we alſo find Voſſius ſelecting paſſages from Bucer on the ſame account, particularly from his commentary on the evangeliſts, which was publiſhed at Straſburg in 1529, and from whence he has extracted the following words: “I cannot but wiſh a more ſound judgment to ſome perſons, who have diſturbed many in this our age with this paradox; that we are ſaved by faith only: though they ſaw the thing was carried ſo far as to confine righteouſneſs only to the opinion of the mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity, who refuſe to cure this evil by one word or two? It is only to ſay, that when faith is formed we are juſtified, and that through faith we obtain a diſpoſition to good works, and conſequently a righteouſneſs: or that faith is the foundation and root of a righteous life, as Auguſtin ſaid.” This was in part oppoſing the doctrine of Luther, who was for juſtification by faith alone: but it ſhould be obſerved in general, that, to know the moderation of Bucer, his writings muſt be conſulted as printed in Germany, and not the editions of Geneva, which have been corrupted.

Voltaire's Append. to Louis XIV. p. 328.
Voſſium Epiſt. 457.
Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 120.

Voſſius.

All the works of Bucer were very moderate: but, it is ſaid, by one who was an Arminian in his heart, that Calvin caſtrated ſome of them at his pleaſure at Geneva. However,

ever, we are told, that “ Bucer uſed, as often happens among learned men as long as they live, to reviſe his lucubrations, to add, or take away, and even to retract ſome things.” Bucer declares this concerning himſelf in his preface to his commentaries on the goſpels, in theſe words: “ This diſturbs ſome, becauſe they make no doubt but many will be offended, that I now ſeem not very conſiſtent with myſelf. Becauſe the Lord has given me to underſtand ſome places more fully than I formerly did, which as it is ſo bountifully given to me, why ſhould I not impart it liberally to my brethren, and ingenuouſly declare the goodneſs of the Lord? What inconſtancy is there in profiting in the work of Salvation? And who, in this age, or in the laſt, has treated of the Scripture, and has not experienced, that, even in this ſtudy, one day is the ſcholar of another?” Afterwards he produces the example of Auguſtin in his retractations, and wiſhes that more books of retractations were publiſhed. If Bucer himſelf declares that he retracted many things of his former meditations, by what conſequence, or even with what conſcience, can any one aſſert, that the later editions of his works are corrupted, if every thing, in ſome places of them, is not found expreſſed in the very ſame words? David Paræus made a confeſſion like this of Bucer; for which he was inſulted by a jeſuit of Mentz.

Rivetus in Apologetica pro vera pace Eccleſ. v. 3, p. 1071;

Rivetus ſupra.

In his Prolegomena on Hoſea.

Luther could not endure Bucer; and yet Bucer has been ranked with Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Cranmer, as one of the authors of the reformation to which the Proteſtants are more obliged than to Eraſmus, whoſe timidity offended the reformers, by his obſtinately adhering to the interpretations of the church, upon whoſe authority he founded his faith and belief of the canonical Scriptures. In a civil letter to Bucer, in 1527, Eraſmus ſets forth his reaſons why he could not join with the reformed; and gives them a very bad character; though he declares his eſteem for Bucer, who, like Eraſmus, endeavoured to pacify the religious diſputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like Eraſmus, was inſulted by both parties.

Scultet. Annal.

Jortin, p. 274.

Ibid. 430. Ep. 906.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that “ Bucer was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate perſon. Perhaps, he was inferior to none of all the reformers for learning: but for zeal, true piety, and a moſt tender care of preſerving unity among the foreign churches, Melanchthon and he, without any injury done to the reſt, may be ranked apart by themſelves. At Ratiſbon he had a conference with Gardiner, who was then ambaſſador from king Henry VIII. in which Gardiner broke out into ſuch a violent paſſion, that, as he ſpared no reproachful words, ſo the company thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him. He was in ſuch diſorder, that the little vein between his thumb and forefinger did ſwell and palpitate, which Bucer ſaid he had never before that obſerved in any perſon in his life.” Even Cochlæus acknowledged, that Bucer and Melanchthon were very learned men.

Burnet's Reform.

Seckendorf.

The Sacramentarians preſented their confeſſion of faith at the diet of Augſburg in 1530. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito, and approved by the ſenate of Straſburg. They held, that men are only juſtified by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and faith; but that faith ought to be attended with charity: and they allowed only of two Sacraments, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper.

The Lutherans and Zuinglians differed about the Lord's Supper, and were ſeparated as to communion. The Lutherans denied having any union with the Sacramentarians, and they were not able to bear the opinion of Luther: but there was a third party gathered out of both, who were ſenſible, that they were not obliged to hold up their diviſions, and laboured to perſuade them that their opinions were not ſo different, as was commonly thought, and that they might eaſily reunite. Bucer, then a miniſter at Straſburg, was at the head of this party, and undertook, purely out of a deſire of uniting the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up a confeſſion of faith, which both ſides might approve. The taſk was difficult to perform. Luther, and his followers, had always aſſerted, that the body and blood of Chriſt were really with the bread and wine in the Euchariſt. Zuinglius, and his adherents, on the contrary held, that the bread and wine were only ſigns of the body and blood of Chriſt.

Dupin, p. 133.

Theſe two propoſitions were directly contrary. Bucer found out a medium, which he thought might ſatisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the ſame ſubſtance, that they ever were, without any alteration; but, by receiving them, they received the ſubſtance of the real body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually, and by faith. He made uſe of the ſame ſort of expreſſions, as were made by the four imperial cities, Straſburg, Conſtance, Memminghen, and Lindau, and preſented to the diet of Augſburg. He made alſo the ſame declaration to Luther, to perſuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the Euchariſt: but Luther knew the opinion of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to Bucer. He wrote a letter to the ſenate of Francfort upon this occaſion, in which having clearly ſhewn the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he ſays, that the Zuinglians play after a diabolical manner with the words of Jeſus Chriſt: that they are a double-tongued generation, who ſay that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are really in the Sacrament; but when they explain themſelves, ſay, that it is ſpiritually, not corporeally; and ſo continue in the error, that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. He adds, that if any one knows that his miniſter is a Zuinglian, he had better remain his whole life without the Sacrament, than take it at his hands: and that the Zuinglians are arch-devils, whom we ought to fly. The miniſters of Francfort made an apology againſt this letter, and made uſe of Bucer's expreſſions, affirming that believers receive the true body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nouriſhment of their ſouls: that though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature, yet it cannot be ſaid, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except the bread and wine, but that it is the Sacrament of the true body and blood, which God has given us for the nouriſhment of our ſouls. The Zuinglians ſuſpected on the other ſide, that Bucer was departed from their opinion; ſo that in his journey to Zurick, which he made in May 1533, he was forced to remove that ſuſpicion, by aſſuring them, that he was of the ſame opinion which he maintained in the conference of Bern. He added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the opinion of Luther did not differ from Zuinglius, but in terms; and that the preſence of the body of Jeſus Chriſt, which he aſſerted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the doctrine of Zuinglius.

The miniſters of Augſburg alſo complained of Bucer, and accuſed him of having changed his opinion, by acknowledging that the body of Jeſus Chriſt was eat corporeally and ſubſtantially in the Lord's Supper, and exhorting others to ſubſcribe the confeſſion of Augſburg, and the apology. They plainly told him, that they would acknowledge no other preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Lord's Supper, than that of which he ſpeaks in the ſixth chapter of St. John. Bucer replied, that the imperial cities had not, in the aſſembly of Schweinfort, departed from the confeſſion of faith, which they had given into the diet at Augſburg; and that by ſubſcribing to the confeſſion of Augſburg, they had not aſſerted a corporeal eating, but only promiſed to teach nothing contrary to that confeſſion, which, in the article of the Lord's Supper, might agree with the doctrine of Zuinglius.

Dupin, p. 135. The miniſters of Straſburg importuned the Switzers to draw up a confeſſion of their faith about the Lord's Supper. It was compoſed at Baſil in theſe words. "We acknowledge that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted his holy Supper in remembrance of his paſſion, "to publiſh his death with thankſgiving, to ſhew our Chriſtian charity, and union in the true "faith. And as in Baptiſm the water retains its own nature; ſo in the Lord's Supper, "in which the true body and true blood of Jeſus Chriſt is ſignified and tendered to us "with the bread and wine by the miniſter of the church, the bread and the wine "remain. Now we firmly believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the nouriſhment of faithful ſouls "to eternal life, and our ſouls are nouriſhed and watered by true faith in Jeſus Chriſt, "with his fleſh and his blood." They added, in the margin of that confeſſion, ſome words, by which they reſtrained what they ſeemed to ſay in favour of the real preſence, to a ſacramental and ſpiritual preſence by faith.

Ibid. What oppoſition ſoever there was between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, Bucer would not deſpair of effecting an union; and, to that end, he obtained that a ſynod of the miniſters of the cities of Upper Germany ſhould meet at Conſtance in 1534. The miniſters of Zurick were invited; but not being able to come, they ſent a confeſſion of their faith, in which they expreſſed their ſenſe of the Sacrament in the ſame words they had uſed at the conference at Bern, where they had declared, that they could not reunite with Luther, unleſs he would acknowledge that they eat the fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, no otherwiſe, than by faith; for, according to his human nature, he is only in heaven, and is only in the Euchariſt by faith after a ſacramental manner, which makes things preſent not carnally and ſenſibly, but ſpiritually, and to be received by faith. This form, approved by the churches of Baſil, Schaffhauſen, and Gall, was received by the ſynod of Conſtance, and put into the hands of Bucer for him to communicate to Luther and Melanchthon. Bucer had a conference with the latter at Caſſel, in the preſence of the landgrave, and told him, "that we received truly and ſubſtantially the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, when "we receive the Sacrament: that the bread and wine are exhibiting ſigns; and, by re"ceiving them, the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, is given to us, and received by us: "that the bread and body of Jeſus Chriſt are united, not by a mixture of ſubſtance, "but becauſe it is given with the Sacrament." Melanchthon was inclinable enough to accept this expoſition: but, becauſe he acted in the names of others, he would not conclude any thing, and obliged himſelf to give a fair account of Bucer's words. Luther alſo began to be more tractable, after Bucer had made this declaration; and, in ſeveral letters, ſhewed great inclination for an agreement, and to confer about the means of coming to an union.

The miniſters and magiſtrates of the reformed cantons of Switzerland, met at Baſil in January 1536, to draw up a confeſſion of faith. Bucer and Capito went there, and propounded an union with the Lutherans, aſſuring them that Luther was much mollified as to the Zuinglians, and deſired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them;

and therefore prayed them, ſo to moderate the expreſſions of their confeſſion of faith, which they were about to draw up, eſpecially in the articles about the Euchariſt, and the efficacy of the Sacraments, as that they might forward the union, by omitting ſuch words, as might occaſion a conteſt. This they partly obtained of the miniſters of Switzerland, from the confeſſion of faith which they had compoſed. They owned, that the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper were not meer ſigns, but made up of ſigns, and things ſignified. That the water was the ſign in Baptiſm, and the thing ſignified was regeneration and adoption: that in the Euchariſt, the bread and wine are the ſigns, and the thing ſignified, is the communion of the body of Chriſt received by faith: that the body and blood of Chriſt is offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, that Jeſus Chriſt may live in them, and they in Jeſus Chriſt; not that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally preſent; but becauſe they are ſymbols by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt to nouriſh the ſoul ſpiritually. This confeſſion of faith was alſo approved in a ſecond aſſembly of the magiſtrates and miniſters of the Proteſtant cantons of Switzerland held at Baſil in March the ſame year.

Dupin, p. 136. The miniſters of Straſburg gave notice to thoſe of Baſil and Zurick, that they had appointed a ſynod to meet at Eiſenach, on the fourteenth of May, where Luther would be preſent to treat of an union about the article of the Lord's Supper; and intreated them to ſend ſome of their divines. The Switzers thought it inconſiſtent to ſend any perſons from them; but ſent their confeſſion of faith to Bucer and Capito, that they might preſent it to the ſynod. Bucer and Capito carried it to Eiſenach, where the miniſters ſent by the chiefs of Upper Germany were aſſembled. Luther could not be there; and therefore, they went to him at Wittenberg, where they arrived on the twenty-ſecond of May, and had a conference with him. Luther required of them, that they would plainly acknowledge that the bread and wine in the Sacrament, were the body and blood of our Lord, and that the good and bad receive them alike. When they met again, the next day, Luther aſked them whether they would not revoke their opinion? Bucer anſwered him, that their faith and doctrine concerning the Sacrament was, that by the inſtitution, and the operation of our Lord; and according to the natural ſenſe of the words, the true body and true blood of Jeſus Chriſt were made preſent, given, and received, with the viſible ſigns of bread and wine: that they alſo believed, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are offered by the miniſters of the church to all thoſe that receive them: and that they are not only received by the heart and mouth of the godly for ſalvation, but by the mouth of the unworthy for their condemnation; which they yet deſire may be underſtood of the members of the church. Luther replied, he did not believe the body and blood of Chriſt were united with the bread and wine by any natural union, nor that they were locally included in the bread and wine; but he admitted a ſacramental union of the bread and body, and wine and blood. Then having conſulted privately with the Saxon divines, he returned to Bucer and his brethren, and told them, that if they did believe, and would teach, that the true body, and true blood of Jeſus Chriſt, were offered, given, and taken in the Lord's Supper, and not meer bread and wine; and that this perception, and exhibition were made really, and not after an imaginary manner, they were agreed among themſelves, and he would acknowledge and embrace them as brethren in Jeſus Chriſt.

Ib. p. 137. This confeſſion of faith was ſigned by the miniſters of the cities of Upper Germany. Afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of May, they conferred with Pomeranus about images, the ceremonies of the maſs, prieſts veſtments, tapers, the elevation and adoration of the Sacrament, which were yet uſed in Saxony. Pomeranus ſaid, that Luther confeſſed theſe things were amiſs: but that he had hitherto continued them up on account of the weak, and was thinking to aboliſh them on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month. Bucer and Capito delivered to Luther the confeſſion of faith of the churches of Switzerland, that he might examine it. He took notice of ſome words, which, as he ſaid, might offend the weak. Nevertheleſs he declared, that he would acknowledge them for his brethren, if they would ſign the form of the union, which had been drawn up. Bucer, having undertaken to cauſe it to be received by them, returned to Straſburg, and made ſuch an explication of the words, by ſoftening them, that he reduced them to a ſenſe, which was not contrary to the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. Theſe articles were ſucceſsful at Straſburg; yet they had not the ſame fate in Switzerland, where Bucer had ſent this form of union. It was there thought obſcure, doubtful, and captious; and they would not ſubſcribe to it; ſo that Bucer and Capito were obliged to go themſelves to an aſſembly of the Proteſtant cantons, which was held at Baſil in September. Bucer there related, that Luther had not diſapproved the confeſſion of the Switzers: but both parties judged it convenient to draw up a form of union; and he undertook to ſhew, that the doctrine of it was not different from their confeſſion of faith; and he exhorted them to ſign it, that the union might be compleat. The Switzers could not be prevailed on to do it; and all that Bucer could obtain was, that they would draw up a declaration of the opinions of the churches of Switzerland, in which they would explain the articles of the agreement, and ſend them to Luther. In this declaration, which is very long, the articles of the form of union about the Lord's Supper, are delivered in ſuch expreſſions, as wholly favour the judgment of Zuinglius, and are oppoſite to the real preſence. They there ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt is the food of our ſouls, and that his body is really eaten, and his blood really drank, not carnally, ſubſtantially, and corporeally, but ſpiritually, and by faith, by believing the promiſes of God, that the elements of the bread and wine, and the adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper are ſigns which repreſent Jeſus Chriſt to us, and put us in mind of his myſteries: that his preſence in the Supper is not a corporeal preſence, but a cœleſtial one; and that his body is united to the bread only in a ſacramental manner: that the bread and wine are figures of the body of Chriſt, which is diſcerned by the mind in the Sacrament: that thoſe who eat the bread at the Lord's Supper, by a ſincere faith, receive the benefits which God hath promiſed; but that they who eat without faith, receive their own judgment and condemnation. This declaration was compoſed in a ſynod at Zurick, held in October, and approved in another aſſembly which met in November following, at Baſil, from whence it was ſent to Luther, and preſented by Bucer at the aſſembly at Smalkald, in 1537. Luther approved all the articles, excepting that which concerned the Lord's Supper.

Dupin, p. 138.

The Switzers called a ſynod on purpoſe, in March 1538, to conſult about an anſwer to Luther's letter; and Bucer and Capito were ſent there, to deliver his judgment. The miniſters of Zurick alledged, that Luther, in his writings, and in the confeſſion of Augſburg, had maintained the real preſence, and poſitively condemned the opinion of the Zuinglians. That theſe writings of Luther were publick, and the words clear; nor could they allow of his doctrine, unleſs they were certain he had altered his opinion, and embraced the truth. Bucer was much amazed at this objection, and anſwered, that it was very unfit to preſs it at this time, ſince they had long known what was contained in Luther's writings, and had never urged it before in the whole courſe of the treaty: that now things were near an end, they had contrived to propound it, and revive the old quarrel to prevent the concluſion of the whole affair. The miniſters of Zurick replied, they never deſired the miniſters of Straſburg to concern themſelves with the treaty: that Bucer and Capito came to find them, and aſſured them, that Luther's opinion about the Sacrament agreed with theirs, and that they might unite with him, if they would frame a confeſſion of faith, which ſhould contain their opinion, and the conditions on which they would come to an agreement with Luther: that they had drawn up a confeſſion at Baſil, and delivered their opinion about the Lord's Supper fully; that if Luther had approved of their confeſſion of faith, there would have needed no more to be done towards an agreement; but, inſtead of that, Bucer had brought them other articles from Wittenberg, and prayed them to ſign thereto: that they had offered to do it, provided Luther liked the explication which Bucer gave of them: that at laſt, they had ſent a declaration of their opinions, which they were reſolved to abide by, and would not conſent to any thing new or obſcure. Bucer, the next day, made a long diſcourſe, in which he laboured to prove, that there was no other difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about their opinion concerning the Lord's Supper, but in words, and expreſſions. However, the miniſters of Zurick continued to declare, that they would keep cloſe to the confeſſion of Baſil, and the diſpute at Bern; that the words which Luther had always uſed, were directly contrary to their opinions; that they could not explain themſelves in any other terms without force, becauſe they were clear and without ambiguity: that it was not reaſonable to judge of the opinion of any man rather by the declaration of another, than from his own words: that Luther, in his laſt letter, had named Bucer, and Capito, for his interpreters; but it was to be feared that in the iſſue he would blame them for being too eaſy, and going too far, and ſo would not conſent to the declaration they ſhould make. Then the miniſters of Zurick came to debate the matter with Bucer, and brought him to grant, that theſe words, *this is my body*, were figurative: that the ſacramental union of the body of Chriſt, with the bread, conſiſted only in this, that the bread ſignified the body: that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is eſſentially at the right-hand of the Father, and after a ſpiritual manner in the Sacrament. They diſputed upon this queſtion: Whether the preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Lord's Supper, was miraculous? Luther had ſaid, in his laſt letter, that the preſence was inexplicable, and an effect of the divine Omnipotence. The miniſters of Zurick would not allow any miracle to be in the Lord's Supper, and maintained that it was eaſy to explain after what manner Jeſus Chriſt was ſpiritually preſent by operation and efficacy. They urged Bucer to ſign the articles on which they were agreed: but he deſired time; and drew up a long inſtrument, in form of a verbal proceſs, containing what had been ſaid on both ſides, which was diſapproved by the aſſembly.

The chancellor of Zurick, being ſenſible if they went on diſputing there would be no end, turned his ſpeech to the miniſters of Zurick, and ſaid: *Do you believe that we receive the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament, or no?* They all anſwered, *We* it: Then turning himſelf to Bucer and Capito, he ſaid to them: *Do you own that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt is received into the ſouls of believers by faith and ſpirit?* They anſwered: *We believe, and confeſs it.* To what purpoſe then, replied the chancellor, are all your diſputes which have laſted theſe three days? The miniſters of Zurick added, that they held no other doctrine, than that which they had expreſſed in their confeſſion of faith, and their declaration: and the miniſters of Straſburg ſolemnly declared, that they would not oblige them to embrace any thing contrary to it; much leſs draw any perſon from that doctrine.

Upon theſe declarations it was agreed, that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to Luther, which was drawn up, and read two days after in the aſſembly. The Switzers were very careful it ſhould be expreſſed, that in their joining with Luther, they would not change their opinion about the Lord's Supper; for they declared, they did not enter into that union, till they were aſſured, by Bucer and Capito, that Luther approved their confeſſion of faith made at Baſil, with the expoſition they had given of it; and becauſe he had declared to them, that Jeſus Chriſt was at the right-hand of his father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper; and that he did not grant any preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, nor any manducation contrary to the Chriſtian faith. They alſo declared, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper: but only ſo far as they were truly taken and received by faith; and that they would not recede from their confeſſion of faith, and their declaration: that as Luther was of the ſame opinion, they were filled with extreme joy, that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, and avoid all diſcord. This letter was dated the fourth of May, 1538.

Bucer was embarraſſed between the opinions of Luther and Zuinglius concerning the Euchariſt: one appeared to him too ſtrong, the other too weak. The doctrine of the Lutherans ſeemed to him to attribute too much reality to the preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. He could not digeſt the conſequences of it: but he alſo thought, that the opinion of the Zuinglians was too narrow, and did not come to the ideas which the Scripture, and ancient tradition, imprint on our minds. They gave him great uneaſineſs; and he wrote to John de Laſco, overſeer of the churches of Eaſt Frieſeland, to enquire, whether de Laſco, beſides a power of ſignifying, acknowledged a power of exhibiting Chriſt himſelf; and that the Lord, and the communion of his body and blood, is given and perceived; whereby we are members of him in part, and fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us; and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himſelf operates in his miniſtry, and when the words and ſymbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himſelf, by free diſpenſation through his miniſter, which they call an union, not ſenſual, local, or natural; but ſacramental, and of the covenant on account of theſe texts of Scripture, which ſpeak of the myſtery of the incorporation of the church, and of the communion, and eating and drinking of the fleſh and blood of Chriſt.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 177.

Ludovic. Gerardus Ep. 102.

Bucer alſo ſaid, that Luther was ſatisfied, if the Zuinglians owned in the holy Supper any thing more than bare ſigns of Chriſt abſent. "I am grieved, ſays he, and not without reaſon, that we, to whom the Lord hath ſo bountifully revealed the other myſteries of his kingdom, have not been able, now in thirty-four years, to agree concerning this moſt ſacred and moſt general myſtery, which all Chriſtians ought to underſtand, as well as uſe."

The Lutherans ſaid, that Bucer died in the Calviniſtical faith. Joſias Simler, profeſſor at Zurick, in an oration on the life and death of Peter Martyr, teſtifies that Bucer ſtudied ſuch expreſſions throughout the whole conteſt, as nothing certain could be concluded from, that ſo, pleaſing both parties, he might gradually compoſe the difference. However, Bucer and Martyr continued good friends, and were fully perſuaded of each others orthodoxy.

Lavaterus. Hulterus.

Melchior Adam, p. 38.

Bucer ſpoke more ſtrongly than the other miniſters upon the merit of good works; and if he varied from himſelf, in that point, it ought to be imputed to the difficulties he met with in the matter, or to the improvement he made as he grew old. He gave this laſt reaſon in excuſe of himſelf, when he found that ſome people were offended that he was not ſufficiently uniform in his works. Reaſon and charity requires to believe, that he acted in all this according to his own perſuaſion, and not out of policy. His commentary on the ſecond Pſalm is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Proteſtants and Romaniſts would eaſily agree on the ſubject of good works, if they would baniſh ſcholaſtic chicanery and party animoſity.

Bayle, p. 178.

Grotius.

Bucer was at the diet of Ratiſbon, in 1541, with Melanchthon and Piſtorius: and he alſo accompanied Brentius, Major, and Schneppius, at the conference of Ratiſbon in 1545. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on both occaſions againſt Cochlæus, and the other diſputants for the Romaniſts: but he was much troubled to ſee the diſpute between the Lutherans and Zuinglians hotter than ever. He wrote to Luther, to pacify him. He told him, that theſe diviſions would not advance the reformation; and aſſured him, that the

Dupin, p. 162.

Ibid. p. 177.

miniſters of the imperial cities and Switzerland held to the terms of the act of agreement.

Dupin, p. 178. Bucer, at the ſame time, drew up a new confeſſion of faith about the Euchariſt, in which he aſſerted, that we ought to acknowledge, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are given us in the Lord's Supper, for our nouriſhment and drink; and that the Euchariſtic bread and wine are the communion of his body and blood; ſo that we not only receive the Holy Spirit, or the virtue of the body of Jeſus Chriſt, but Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. After this explication, he added ſeveral other conſiderations, to let us know, that manducation is not real, and is only done by faith: but he acknowledged, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are really and truly given in the Lord's Supper, if it is celebrated according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, and we have a firm faith in the words in which it was given. He alſo owned, that reprobates and ſinners receive the body and blood of Chriſt, if they have faith at the time of receiving: yet he maintained, that they who have no faith in the words of Jeſus Chriſt, receive nothing by the myſtery and outward ſigns of the Sacrament, but they perceive by their ſenſes.

Ep. 72. Eraſmus wrote to Bucer, that the diviſions which were among the leading men of the reformation, made him backward to join that party: “For not to ſay any thing, ſays “he, of prophets and Anabaptiſts, are there any writings, in which there are greater “tranſports of paſſion than thoſe which Luther, Zuinglius, and Oſiander, have written “againſt one another?”

Sanders. Bayle, v. 2, p. 176. Bucer, in his diſcourſes and writings, always made profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, accommodated to the new opinions of England. It is falſe, that he made a ſeparate ſect. He continued always united with one of the Proteſtant communions; though the ſtricter part of each party did not approve his remiſsneſs.

Seckendorf. l. 2. He offended Luther, by inſerting ſome things in his eccleſiaſtical poſtill, which made for the Helvetic opinion, concerning the Holy Supper; therefore Luther, in his book *de Verbis inſtitutiones*, vehemently complained of Bucer, that he had corrupted his book of homilies, which, he ſaid, was the beſt of all that he had wrote, and which even pleaſed the Papiſts. Bucer was at no loſs for an excuſe; and might have alledged the maxim which Eraſmus attributed to him, “That a deceit which hurts nobody, and is uſeful to “many, is an action of piety.” Eraſmus endeavoured to refute him in this, on occaſion of a work, which Bucer had dedicated to the dauphin under a fictitious name.

Seckendorf. Bayle, v. 2, p. 177. Bucer had a great quarrel with Pomeranus, for having cauſed Luther's commentary on the pſalms to be printed with alterations. He was deſirous to have his own commentaries on the pſalms read by the Romaniſts, and publiſhed them under the name of Arethius, which is a Greek word, anſwering to Martin; and Felinus, a German word, expreſſing the ſignification of Bucer in Latin. If he had put his true name to them, which was hated by the monks, the reading of them would have been forbid in the popiſh countries. The prieſts in the inquiſition in Spain, imagined that Bucer's book *adverſus merita bonorum operum*, was publiſhed as a work of the biſhop of Rocheſter, *de miſericordia Dei*.

Bayle, v. 1, p. 472. Father Rapin's Reflections, p. 450. Launoi. It is ſaid, the firſt reformers clamoured loudly againſt the peripatetic philoſophy, which was founded by Ariſtotle, commonly called the prince of philoſophers. We are told, St. Thomas made uſe of Ariſtotle's method, with ſuch great ſucceſs, in explaining the doctrines of the church of Rome, that Bucer, one of the greateſt enemies to the Roman church, uſed to ſay, “Suppreſs Thomas's works, and I will deſtroy the church of Rome.” The ancient fathers complained heavily of the Ariſtotelian ſect; and it is almoſt a general complaint, that philoſophy does injury to religion: but, on the other ſide, it is certain that divinity wounds philoſophy. They are two faculties which would ſeldom agree about their juſt boundaries, if the ſecular or eccleſiaſtical powers neglected to take the neceſſary preparations to have them reconciled.

Scultetus, p. 39. It is well known, that the doctrine of the Sacraments was purified from the Romiſh idolatry, and from ſcholaſtical phraſes, by Zuinglius and Oecolampadius; and that the loſs which the canton of Zurick ſuſtained in the fight, wherein Zuinglius was killed, broke the league lately concluded between the cantons of Switzerland, the city of Straſburg, and the landgrave of Heſſe. Whereupon Martin Bucer, being too timorous, was afraid that the whole party would ſink, unleſs he ſtrengthened, with a new alliance, the towns of Upper Germany, and particularly Straſburg, where he taught. He caſt his eye upon the potent duke of Saxony; and the better to gain him, he endeavoured to make every body believe that the opinions of Luther and Zuinglius, concerning the Lord's Supper, were the the ſame in the main, and that a meer diſpute about words had prevented their agreement. He further ſaid, that it was better to uſe the expreſſions of Luther, than of Zuinglius; becauſe the latter ſpoke too meanly of the Euchariſt, and the other in a ſublime manner. He inſpired the ſame thoughts into John Calvin, who had gone from France to Straſburg. This intrigue of Bucer introduced the Lutheran expreſſions into the towns of Upper Germany, eſpecially after the fatal concordate of Wittenberg. The divines, who taught in Saxony, under the elector Chriſtian, uſed themſelves to thoſe phraſes of conſubſtantiation *phraſibus illis ſynuſiaſticis aſſueverant*; ſo that being expelled after that prince's death, and retiring into the palatinate, they took the miniſters who uſed Zuinglius's expreſſions in that country to be heterodox, which occaſioned a diſſention; but it was ſo happily, and ſo quickly ſuppreſſed, that from that time forward there was viſibly a better underſtanding between the divines of the univerſity and the reſt. A man well acquainted with the ſecret hiſtory of the church, might inform us that journies and conferences about religion, are generally ſet a-foot by ſome temporal motive. The conduct of Bucer affords an inſtance of it.

We are told, that Bucer repented of having mediated the formulary of concord in 1536. *Bucerus dixit ſe pœnas dare quod cauſam publicam homo privatus voluiſſet componere, & tam multa prava dogmata conciliare.* Peter Martyr, who heard him ſay ſo in England, told Bullinger of it; Daniel Toſſanus had it from Bullinger, and Pozelius from Daniel Toſſanus, in the preſence of Scultetus, who inſerted it in the hiſtory of his life. Calvin's friends accuſed Bucer of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called *Buceriſm*, in oppoſition to Calviniſm. This Buceriſm conſiſted principally in his approving epiſcopacy. But Calvin denied, that he ever laid this to Bucer's charge; and wiſhed that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifeſt from all his writings, eſpecially from the form of reformation, preſcribed to Herman, archbiſhop of Cologne, and what he wrote for the reformation of England. As Bucer came nearer the church of Rome than Luther, Calvin departed farther from it than Luther; ſo that there aroſe two denominations beſides Lutheraniſm; that is, Buceriſm, and Calviniſm. Calvin confeſſed that Buceriſm was more tolerable than Calviniſm, if the matter was not to be tried by the Scriptures; and that Bucer ſtudied peace too much: but he himſelf meaſured all things by truth. Theſe are Calvin's words to Bucer: "You have "no occaſion to make any excuſe to me, that you are not erecting a new popery; but "I would have your integrity ſo well known to all the world, that no room might be "left for ſuſpicion. It is alſo unneceſſary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing "of Calviniſm: if we might vary from the Scripture, I know very well how much more "tolerable Buceriſm is than Calviniſm."

Bayle, v. 5, p. 103.

Bayle, p. 171.

Voſſius's Epiſt. 457. p. 403, col. 1.

It is related, that Bucer reprimanded his friend Calvin for his vehemence and partiality, writing thus to him upon ſome occaſion; "We judge as we love, or as we hate, and "we love or hate as we liſt." This is too often the character of contentious and overbearing men, and is to be found in ſome, who have all Calvin's acrimony and prejudice, without having one quarter of his abilities and erudition Herman de Wida, archbiſhop of Cologne, having a mind to ſettle the reformation in his dioceſe, ſent for Martin Bucer in the year 1542. Moſt of the canons oppoſed the enterprize, and publiſhed a work, wherein they mixed a great many invectives againſt Bucer. Melanchthon, in confuting that piece, did not forget this article: he maintained, that the nun, whom Bucer had married for his firſt wife, did well in forſaking the church of Rome, after ſhe had diſcovered the idolatry of its worſhip. He added, that ſhe had led a very exemplary life, by her chaſtity, modeſty, and piety; that ſhe had been brought to-bed thirteen times; and that ſhe died of the plague, which ſhe might have eſcaped, if ſhe would have left her huſband. It would have been a pity ſo fruitful a woman ſhould have remained in a nunnery: and as there are many others as fit to people the world, who are hindered by monaſteries, one may eaſily judge of what prejudice theſe monaſtical vows are to the temporal good of the ſtate. Bucer married a ſecond time to a widow; which gave the canons of Cologne occaſion to reproach him with another irregularity; becauſe, according to St. Paul, a biſhop ought to be the huſband of one wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a ſecond time, nor to marry a widow.

Bayle, p. 174.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 431.

Seckendorf.

Melanchthon. parte 2, Oper. apud Seckendorf, hiſt. Lutheran, lib. 3, p. 440.

Bayle.

The word of God, ſay they, directs, that he who is called to the miniſtry ſhould be the huſband of one wife, 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i. which the canons of the apoſtles, and apoſtolical fathers, have ever to this day underſtood in this ſenſe, that he who enters into a ſecond marriage, or marries a widow, cannot be one of thoſe that ſerve in the holy miniſtry. Melanchthon eaſily confuted this objection: but we are told, that Bucer was married a third time.

Sententia delectorum per venerabili capitulum eccleſiæ colonien. de vocatione Martini Buceri, fol. 161.

Martin Bucer, and Paulus Fagius, at the inſtance of archbiſhop Cranmer, were ſent for by king Edward VI. from Straſburg, to become profeſſors in Cambridge. My author, a German, makes them to depart thence, *Magriſtratus Argentinenſis voluntate et conſenſu*, whom the Jeſuit Parſons will have both baniſhed by that ſtate. If ſo, the diſgrace is none at all, to be exiled for no other guilt than preaching the goſpel, and oppoſing the Auguſtine confeſſion, which that imperial city embraced. Beſides, the greater the providence, if, when commanded from one place, inſtantly called to another. They came to England, and were fixed at Cambridge, where Bucer was made profeſſor of divinity, Fagius of Hebrew. The former had the ordinary ſtipend of his place tripled unto him, as well it might, conſidering his worth, being of ſo much merit; his need, having wife and children; and his

Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 128.

condition, coming here a foreigner, fetched from a far country. So it was ordered, that Fagius ſhould in Hebrew read the evangelical prophet Iſaiah, and Bucer in Greek the prophetical evangeliſt St. John.—But, alas! the change of air and diet ſo wrought on their temper, that both fell ſick together. Bucer hardly recovered; but Fagius, that flouriſhing beach (nature not agreeing with his tranſplanting) withered away in the flower of his age, at ſcarce forty-five, and was buried in the church of St. Michael.

Calvin exhorted Bucer to order matters in ſuch a manner, that the reformation of England might be well purged of all remains of popery. He lets him know, that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill ſuſpicions which ſeveral had conceived of his inclining to both ſides.

Calvin's Epiſt. ad Bucerum, 93, p. 199.

Calvin writes to him thus: "I ſhall endeavour, according to your deſire, to adviſe the "lord protector as the preſent ſtate of affairs require. It will be your buſineſs to preſs "him every way, if you can but gain audience, as I am perſuaded you do; but chiefly, "that all ceremonies may be aboliſhed, which any way ſavour of ſuperſtition. This, par"ticularly, I recommend to you, that you free yourſelf from envy, which you know you "labour under, without cauſe, among ſeveral perſons; for they always call you the au"thor or approver of indifferent councils. I know that this ſuſpicion is ſo deeply rooted "in the minds of ſome people, that you will ſcarce be able to remove it, though you "omit nothing: and ſome there are who ſlander you, not out of miſtake, but meer ma"lice: in ſhort, this evil is, as it were, deſtined for you, and you will hardly be able to "eſcape it; but you muſt take care not to give the ignorant occaſion to think ill of you, "or a handle to the wicked to reproach you." It does not appear that Bucer took any notice of theſe admonitions: yet Calvin teſtifies, that he expected great things from him, if death had not taken him away too ſoon.

Dr. Warner's Ec- [illegible] Hiſt. of Eng. v. 2, p. 287.

Archbiſhop Cranmer, who had ſettled Bucer at Cambridge, wrote to him, for his opinion in the point in diſpute between his grace and doctor Hooper, who accepted the king's nomination to the biſhopric of Glouceſter, yet he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, and Cranmer would not conſecrate him without it. The archbiſhop ſuſpended Hooper from preaching till he would conform himſelf to the laws. The king was then moved to write to Cranmer, and to diſcharge him from all penalties, and forfeitures, which his grace might otherwiſe be liable to, in diſpenſing with theſe uſual rites, to which Hooper had an objection. But as the archbiſhop could not comply with the king's requeſt without violating the laws, and incurring a præmunire, ſo it was puſhed no farther by his majeſty till Hooper had ſatisfied himſelf by conſulting with Bucer and Peter Martyr, who told him, that in the buſineſs of religious rites, they were for keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the holy Scriptures, and the moſt uncorrupt ages of the church: but, however, they could not go ſo far as to believe, that the ſubſtance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. Hooper continued obſtinate; and Martyr tells Bucer, in one of his letters, his buſineſs was now at that paſs, that the beſt and moſt pious diſapproved of it; and many were much provoked. Hooper afterwards died a martyr in the proteſtant cauſe, and more of this affair will be mentioned in the life of Peter Martyr.

Fuller, p. 130.

Martin Bucer ended his life, and was buried at St. Mary's in Cambridge; ſeveral authors aſſigning ſundry dates of his death. Martin Cruſius, part 3, annal. Suev. lib. 11, cap. 25, makes him to die in 1551, on the ſecond of February. Pantaleon, de Viris Illuſtribus Germaniæ, makes him expire about the end of April of the ſame year. Mr. Fox, in his reformed Almanack, appoints the twenty-third of December, for Bucer's confeſſorſhip. A printed table, of the chancellors of Cambridge, ſet forth by doctor Perne, ſigneth March the tenth 1550, for the day of his death. Nor will the diſtinction of old and new ſtile, had it been in uſe, help to reconcile the difference. It ſeems, by all reports, that Bucer was ſufficiently dead in or about this time. Parſons, the Jeſuit, tells us, that ſome believed he died a Jew; meerly, I conceive, becauſe he lived a good Hebrician, citing Surius, Genebrand, and Lindan, for this report. Sure I am, none of them were near him at his death, as Mr. Bradford, and others were: who, when they admoniſhed him in his ſickneſs, that he ſhould arm himſelf againſt the aſſaults of the devil, he anſwered, "that he had "nothing to do with the devil, becauſe he was wholly in Christ." And when Mr. Bradford came to him, and told him that he muſt die, he anſwered, "*Ille, ille, regit, &* "*moderatur omnia*;" and ſo quietly yielded up his ſoul. What good man would not rather die like a Jew with Martin Bucer, than like a Chriſtian with, Robert Parſons? He was a plain man in perſon and apparel, and therefore, at his own requeſt, privately created doctor, without any ſolemnity: a ſkilful linguiſt, whom Voſſius, a great critic, and of palate not to be pleaſed with a common guſt, ſtileth, "Ter Maximum Bucerum," a commendation which he juſtly deſerved.

Hiſtoire des Variations, liv. 3, n. 3, p. 89, 90.

Boſſuet ſays, that Bucer was a man pretty well learned, of a flexible ſpirit, and more fertile in diſtinctions, than the moſt refined ſcholaſtics. A fine preacher, ſomewhat heavy in his ſtile; but was reſpected for his ſtature, and the ſound of his voice. He had been a Jacobin, and married as others did, and, as one may ſay, more than others; for, his wife dying, he married a ſecond and a third time. The holy fathers did not receive thoſe into prieſthood, who had been twice married while laymen. This man, being a prieſt and a monk, married three times during his new miniſtry, without ſcruple. It was a recommendation among the party; and by theſe bold examples they affected to confound the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the ancient church.

Bucer's writing was ſo very bad, that the printers and he himſelf could hardly read it: but Muſculus read it eaſily, and copied it elegantly. He tranſcribed for him, among many other things, his expoſition of the prophet Zephaniah, which is in print: in the beginning of this are his verſes, and that whole pſalter, which he publiſhed under the name of Aretius Felinus. Eraſmus, Lipſius, and ſeveral other great authors, had the ſame defect as Bucer, and there were few learned men who could write ſo well as Muſculus.

Melchior Adam, p. 374.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 285.

There is nothing more abſurd, than to impute to him as particular errors, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is preſent in the Euchariſt, only in the act of receiving: that baptiſm does not procure ſalvation to children: and that there is no ſin by incredulity that prieſts are not obliged to celibacy. The firſt of theſe propoſitions is the common doctrine of the Lutherans: the ſecond and fourth are the common doctrine of all Proteſtants. The third is not imputed to Bucer by thoſe who have made the catalogue of hereſies: on the contrary, Prateolus imputes to him the maintaining, that incredulity is the only mortal ſin that can be committed: a ſlanderous accuſation, if ever there were any ſuch.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 175.

Let us ſay, to the ſhame of thoſe makers of catalogues of hereſies, as Lindanus, Sanders, Prateolus, Gaultier, and others, that, for the particular things they alledge againſt Bucer, they give us the moſt general doctrine of the Proteſtants. I have already given the character of Bucer from two eminent prelates, to which the following may be added.

Burnet, p. 89.

Boſſuet.

When I conſider, ſays Calvin, with myſelf, what a loſs the church of God has ſuffered by the loſs of this one man, I cannot but every now and then renew my grief. He would have done great ſervice in England; and I hoped for ſomething greater from his writings hereafter, than what he has hitherto publiſhed.

Calvin Epiſt. 1, 2, p. 246.

Cardinal Pole kept a viſitation in Cambridge, by his power legatine, whereby the bones of Bucer and Fagius were burnt to aſhes, and many ſuperſtitions eſtabliſhed. This cardinal was of the blood royal, and obtained the ſee of Canterbury when Cranmer was martyred. He was at enmity with the pope; and the Engliſh clergy wiſhed him at Rome again, becauſe he was not willing to indulge queen Mary, and the perſecuting prelates, in their cruelties againſt the Proteſtants; for he was a modeſt, humble, good-natured, and learned man. However, the next year, Pole ſent his Italian friend Ormaneto, and ſeveral biſhops, on a viſitation to the univerſity of Cambridge, of which he was chancellor in the room of Gardiner. The firſt thing which they did, they put two churches under an interdict, becauſe the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two German heretics, were laid in them. They entered on a ridiculous proceſs againſt the two dead bodies; of which ſenſible men, whoſe underſtanding was not devoured by their bigotry, muſt be aſhamed. The proceſs being finiſhed by the viſitors, and a writ from the queen having been ſent in conſequence of their ſentence, the bodies were taken out of their graves, tied to ſtakes with many of their books, and all the heretical writings they could find, and burnt all together. This revived the memory of Wickliffe, and the Engliſh nation reſented ſuch acts of inhumanity: but if cardinal Pole had lived under a pope of leſs haughtineſs, and a queen of leſs cruelty, his gentle meaſures might have been fatal to the reformation.

Fuller's Camb. 135.

Fox.

Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſt. 2. p. 394.

Ib. p. 402.

The

The LIFE of PHILIP MELANCHTHON:

From 1497, to 1560.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 183.
Dupin's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. b. 3, p. 44.
Bayle.
Dupin, p 259.
Jortin Eraſmu.
Ibid. p. 35.
Dupin, p. 253.
Ib. p. 44.

THIS divine, who was one of the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his age, was born, on the ſixteenth of February 1497, at Bretten, in the palatinate of the Rhine. His father was George Schwartſerd, which ſignifies *black earth* in German, and *Melanchthon* in Greek; therefore, Reuchlin gave Philip the name of Melanchthon, in the ſame manner as Hermolaus Barbarus changed the name of Reuchlin into that of Capnio, from Capnos, which in the Greek ſignifies ſmoak, as the word *Reuch* does in the German language, from whence we have our Engliſh word *Reek*, and *Ruahk* in Hebrew has the ſame ſignification. It was cuſtomary among the learned men of that time to expreſs their names in Greek, when they could find any word in that language into which they could turn them. Thence come Oecolampadius, Eraſmus, Chytræus, Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and others: but Reuchlin was the only man whom Germany had, in his time, to put in competition with all the learned men in Italy; and it was he that adviſed Frederic duke of Saxony to ſend for Melanchthon to Wittenberg, in 1518, to be the Greek profeſſor in that univerſity.

Maim. Hiſtory of Lutheran. p. 181.
Joach. Camerarius, p. 3.
Seckendorf, p. 158.
Bayle, v. 4. p. 184.

The jeſuit Maimburg is to be blamed for ſaying, that Melanchthon was of a little village in the Lower Palatinate, and of a mean extraction. His father was born at Heidelberg; but he ſettled at Bretten, by marrying the daughter of John Reuterus, who had been mayor of that town ſome years. George Schwartſerd was employed as engineer in the ſervice of his own prince in a bloody war againſt the Bavarian princes. Others ſay, he was an armourer, or gunſmith, who grew ſo very ſkilful in his art, that he came to be known and beloved by princes, for whom he invented the moſt uſeful arms, as well offenſive as defenſive, both for tournaments and battles.

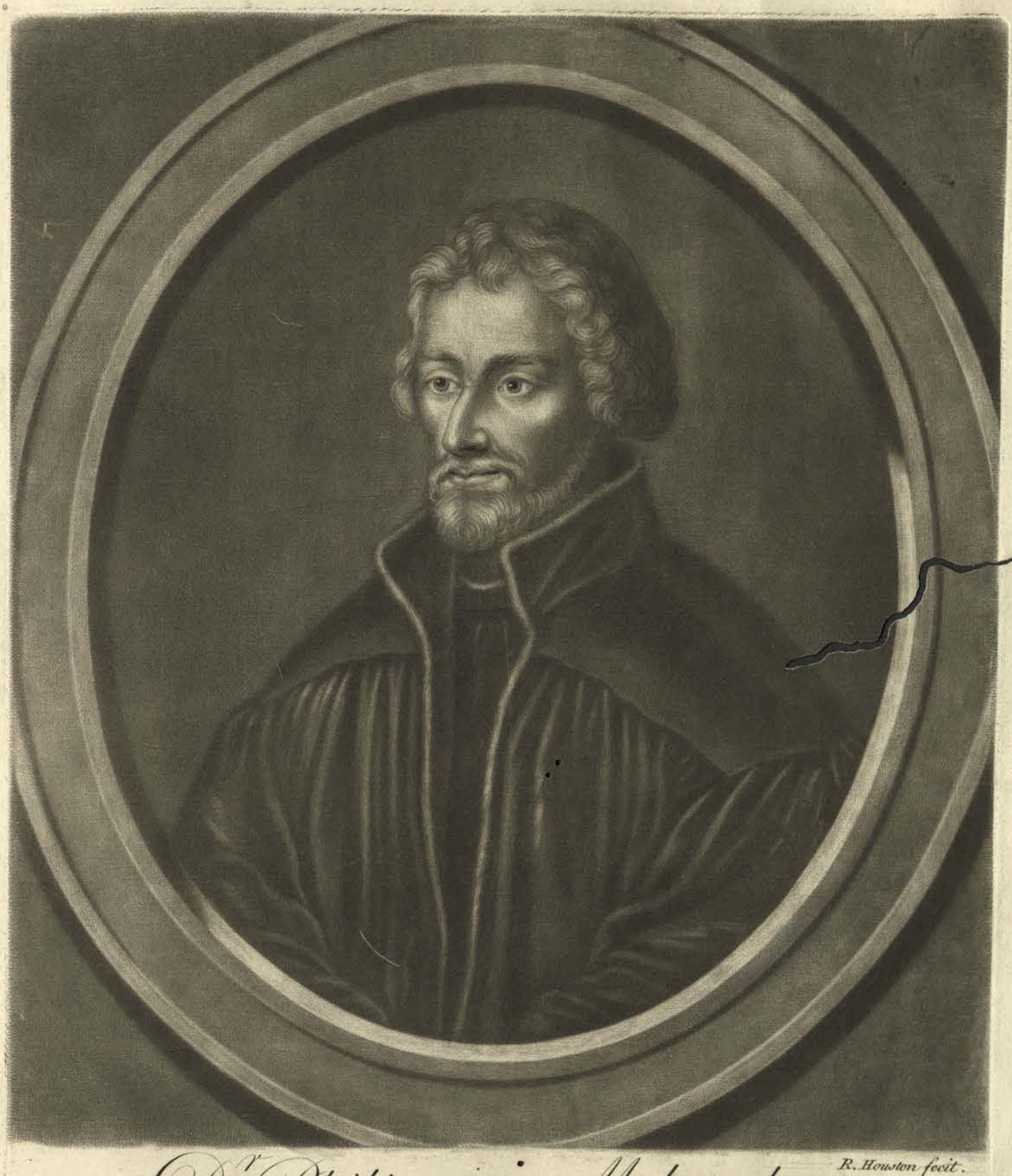
Camerar. in vita Melanch. p. 2.
Melchior Adam, in vitis philoſ. p. 184.

Camerarius paſſes a great encomium on the father of Melanchthon, who, he ſays, was a man of probity, integrity, ſecrecy, and fidelity. That he was very prudent and induſtrious; as alſo very ingenious in making arms for thoſe exerciſes which were then very common in the courts of princes. Upon account of thoſe good qualities, and of his ſkill in theſe arts, he was careſſed by the beſt and moſt powerful princes, particularly that invincible warrior Maximilian, ſon of the emperor Frederic. Maximilian being to fight a duel, with one Claudius Batarus, an Italian bully, who ſent him a challenge, George Schwartſerd equipped and fitted him with arms ſo ingenoiuſly contrived, that he quickly and eaſily obtained the victory. The father of Melanchthon died in 1508; and his mother in 1529. Their ſon George, who was four years younger than Philip, ſurvived his brother, and was employed in the higheſt offices of his country.

Ibid.
Bayle.
Camerarius, p. 5.
Bayle, p. 184.
Dupin, p. 44.
Camerar. p. 7.
Dupin.
Camerar. p. 10.
Melchior Adam, in vitis theol. p. 328.
Ibid. p. 329.

Melanchthon gave very early marks of his capacity: but his inſtruction and education were chiefly committed to the care of his grandfather Reuterus; becauſe his father's time was taken up with the affairs of the elector palatine, whom he ſerved as engineer, or commiſſary of the artillery. He ſtudied firſt in the place of his nativity, at a public ſchool; and then under a tutor, when it was known that the maſter of that ſchool had the pox. He was ſent to Pfortſheim, a ſmall city in the marquiſate of Baden, where there was a famous college; and he lodged with one of his relations, who was ſiſter to Reuchlin. Upon this occaſion, he became known to that learned man, who loved him with great tenderneſs. He went to the univerſity of Tubingen, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, and from thence to Heidelberg, that of the metropolis of the Palatinate, in 1509, where he was matriculated on the thirteenth of October, and made ſuch conſiderable improvement, that he was intruſted to teach the ſons of count Leonſtein, and was made batchelor, though he was under fourteen years of age. But he was refuſed his degree of maſter of philoſophy, on account of his youth; which, together with the air of Heidelberg, that did not agree with his conſtitution, occaſioned him to leave that univerſity in 1512, and return to that of Tubingen, where he continued ſix years.

Melanchthon



R. Houston fecit.

Dr. Philippus Melanchton

Natus A°. 1497 Denatus A°. 1560.

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Melanchthon has been juſtly reckoned among illuſtrious youths; and Mr. Baillet has juſtly beſtowed a chapter upon him in his "hiſtorical treatiſe of young men, who became famous by their ſtudies or writings." There we ſee, that he dedicated a comedy to Reuchlin, which he wrote without any aſſiſtance at the age of thirteen; and alſo made his ſchool-fellows at Pfortsheim learn the ſeveral parts of a kind of comedy, which Reuchlin had lately publiſhed. His deſign was to act that piece in the preſence of the author, and this was very prettily performed. He was employed to make the greateſt part of the harangues and diſcourſes of eloquence, that were publicly ſpoke in the univerſity of Heidelberg. He ſtudied divinity, law, and mathematics, at Tubingen, where he heard the lectures of all ſorts of profeſſors; and publickly explained Virgil, Terence, Cicero, and Livy. He alſo found time to ſerve Reuchlin in his quarrel with the monks; and diligently applied himſelf to the reading of the word of God. Reuchlin made him a preſent of a copy of the Bible which John Frobenius had lately printed at Baſil in a ſmall volume. Melanchthon always carried this Bible about him, and chiefly when he went to church, where thoſe who ſaw him hold it in his hands during divine ſervice believed he was reading quite another thing than what the time and place required of him, becauſe it was much larger than a Prayer-Book; and thoſe that envied him, took occaſion from hence to make him odious to others.

Camerar. p. 9.
Baillet.
Melchior Adam.
Dupin, p. 44.
Melchior Adam, p. 330.
Camerar. p. 15.

He was employed at Tubingen in over-ſeeing Anſelm's preſs, where he corrected the hiſtory of Nauclerus. This was a ſilly heap of chronicles and fables bundled together among hiſtories in a ſtrange confuſion: but Melanchthon took the pains to purge it, and to ſelect out of it what was tolerable; he new moulded ſome things, and enlarged others; ſo that this book may be called the work of Melanchthon. He taught at Tubingen, both in public and private, with great applauſe and admiration; and publiſhed ſome works as firſt fruits, from which it ſufficiently appeared what a crop might be afterwards expected. He was ſo remarkable, in 1515, that Eraſmus then ſaid of him, "Good God, what hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melanchthon, though as yet very young, and almoſt a boy, equally to be admired for his knowledge in both languages! What quickneſs of invention! What purity of diction! What vaſtneſs of memory! What variety of reading! What modeſty and gracefulneſs of behaviour!" John James Grynæus made a parallel between the prophet Daniel and Melanchthon, in which he introduced this fine encomium of Eraſmus.

Dupin, p. 44.
Baillet's Enfans celebres, art. 40.
Camerar. p. 16.
Melchior Adam, p. 186.
Melchior Adam, in vitis philoſ. p. 186.
Epiſt. p. 302.

In 1518, he accepted the Greek profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Wittenberg, which Frederic the elector of Saxony offered him upon the recommendation of Reuchlin. His inauguration ſpeech was ſo fine, that it removed the contempt to which his ſtature and mien expoſed him, and raiſed great admiration of himſelf. He ſoon contracted a friendſhip with Luther, who taught divinity in that univerſity; and Andrew Caroloſtadius, archdeacon of Wittenberg, joined their acquaintance, and was of their opinion. They deſired to draw Eraſmus over to their party; and, to that end, Melanchthon wrote to him, in January 1519, to inform him, that Luther had a very great eſteem for him, and wiſhed he could approve of them.

Bayle, p. 185.
Camerar. p. 24.
Dupin, p. 44.
Melchior Adam, in vitis theologorum, p. 330.
Melchior Adam.

Luther, Caroloſtadius, and Melanchthon, went together to Leipſic, in 1519, to diſpute with Eckius, as ſet forth in the life of Luther. Melanchthon wrote to one of his friends an account of what paſſed at the conferences at Leipſic; but with more modeſty, moderation, and ſincerity, than Luther; yet that letter did not pleaſe Eckius, who wrote one to his friends as an anſwer to that of Melanchthon, who replied to it. But the following years were a complication of hard labours to Melanchthon, who wrote many books, and travelled to found colleges, and viſit churches.

Bayle, p. 185.
Dupin, p. 44.
Ibid. 45.
Bayle.
Dupin, p. 51.
Ibid. p. 46, 71.

Eraſmus had heard, that Melanchthon had cenſured his paraphraſes; for which this learned man, in 1519, wrote a very civil letter to juſtify himſelf to Eraſmus, who accepted of theſe excuſes; but told Melanchthon, that men of letters ought to love each other, and be united to defend themſelves againſt their common enemies. Eraſmus ſpoke very kindly to Melanchthon; and told him, all the world was agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; but there were various ſentiments touching his doctrines. Luther had a great love and eſteem for Melanchthon; and Jovius, after having abuſed Luther in a moſt ſcandalous manner, pays a compliment to Melanchthon. Cardinal Sadolet wrote a friendly letter to Melanchthon, and highly eſteemed both him and Bucer. Melanchthon had ſo much ſcrupulous honour and diſintereſtedneſs, that he refuſed to receive his ſalary, as a reader in divinity, becauſe he could not beſtow ſuch cloſe attendance, as he thought that office required.

Camerar. p. 30.
Jortin, p. 155.
Eraſmus's Epiſt. p. 411.
Ibid. 70.
Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 43.
Ibid. v. 2, p. 64.

Melanchthon read lectures at Wittenberg upon Homer, and upon the Greek text of the epiſtle of St. Paul to Titus, which drew a great croud of auditors, and excited in them an earneſt deſire of underſtanding the Greek tongue. He reduced the ſciences into a ſyſtem, which was then difficult, as they had been long taught in a very confuſed manner.

Melchior Adam, p. 330.

We are told, that Melanchthon wrote a letter to cardinal Bembus, to recommend to him George Sabinus, who was going to ſee Italy. The cardinal had a great regard to this recommendation,

Bayle, p. 193.

recommendation, ſhewed much civility to Sabinus, and invited him to dinner, when he aſked him ſeveral queſtions, and particularly theſe three. “ What is the ſalary of Melanchthon? What is the number of his auditors? And what is his judgment concerning another life, and the reſurrection?” To the firſt, Sabinus anſwered, that Melanchthon's ſalary was but three hundred florins a year. O! ungrateful Germany, ſaid the cardinal, which purchaſes at this cheap rate ſo many works of ſuch a great man! The anſwer to the ſecond queſtion was, that Melanchthon had commonly fifteen hundred auditors. I cannot tell how to believe it, replied the cardinal, for I know not in all Europe any univerſity, beſides that of Paris, where the auditory of a profeſſor is ſo numerous. Yet Melanchthon had frequently two thouſand five hundred perſons at his lectures. To the third queſtion, it was anſwered, that the writings of Melanchthon ſufficiently teſtified his full perſuaſion as to theſe two articles.

Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 360.

Jortin, p. 241.

In the year 1520, Jerom Aleander, the pope's nuncio, ſolicited the emperor, and Frederic elector of Saxony, to puniſh Luther: in conſequence of which, the diet of Worms was held on the ſixth of January 1521, when Luther nobly vindicated his doctrine. The remarks of Melanchthon upon theſe tranſactions, and upon the conduct of Frederic, are judicious and important. “ So far, ſays he, was Luther from being ſuborned and inſtigated by the courtiers and princes, as the duke of Brunſwick affirmed, that, on the contrary, the elector of Saxony was much concerned at the foreſight of the conteſts and diſorders which would enſue, though the firſt attacks made by Luther were upon very plauſible grounds. By his own ſagacity and judiciouſneſs, and by long experience in the art of reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes were to the government. But, being truly religious, and one who feared God, he conſulted not the dictates of meer worldly and political wiſdom, and was determined to prefer the glory of God, to all other conſiderations, and at the hazard of any public or private detriment. Yet he preſumed not to rely entirely upon his own judgment concerning an affair of ſo great importance; but took the advice of other princes, and of men venerable for age, experience, learning, and probity.” This has been partly mentioned in the life of Eraſmus, who, in ſpeaking of theſe troubles to Jodocus Jonas, ſays, “ What a deplorable thing would it be, that Philip Melanchthon, an amiable youth of ſuch extraordinary abilities, ſhould be loſt to the learned world upon this account!” And, in 1522, Eraſmus was apprehenſive of being attacked by Melanchthon, with whom he was very unwilling to have any diſpute: but, in 1523, Eraſmus was well pleaſed to find, that both Luther and Melanchthon were offended at the behaviour of Hutten, who had wrote a furious libel againſt Eraſmus: and Melanchthon declared how ſorry he was that the contention between Luther and Eraſmus was continued.

Ibid. 74. Seckendorf, l. 1, p. 126. Spalatinus.

Ibid. 42.

Jortin, p. 311.

Ibid. 254.

Faber, biſhop of Vienna, was a great enemy to to the reformation; and Melanchthon has related a ſtory concerning this biſhop, from which it appears that he was no ſmall knave. In a religious conference, in private, with Simon Grynæus, the prelate behaved himſelf with great affability, and propoſed a ſecond meeting: and, in the mean time, ſent officers to ſeize upon him at Melanchthon's houſe, and to carry him to jail. But Grynæus eſcaped their hands, being warned of his danger by a venerable old man. Melanchthon, who had never ſeen this old man before, and never ſaw him afterwards, ſuſpected that he was an angel. This Grynæus ſtudied at Pfortsheim at the ſame time with Melanchthon, which gave birth to a friendſhip of long continuance between them. Grynæus was Greek profeſſor firſt at Vienna, and then at Heidelberg. He embraced the Proteſtant religion, which expoſed him to many dangers; and he was impriſoned at the inſtigation of the monks, but was ſet at liberty by the recommendation of the nobility of Hungary. He was in England, in 1531, where he received all imaginable civilities from Sir Thomas More, to whom he had been recommended by Eraſmus, as appears by an epiſtle of Grynæus prefixed to his Greek edition of Plato in 1534. He was employed to reform the church of Tubingen; and, in 1540, was aſſociated with Melanchthon for the conferences of Worms.

Seckend. Supplem. 24. Camerar. 114. Bayle, v. 3, p. 255.

Dupin, p. 69, 71. Seckendorf.

The Sorbonne of Paris condemned the writings of Luther in 1521; and Melanchthon made an apology for Luther againſt this cenſure, which he called, *Furioſum Pariſienſium theologaſtrorum decretum.* The ſame year Melanchthon was appointed by the elector of Saxony one of the deputies to give him their opinion concerning the abolition of private maſſes at Wittenberg, which they approved, and deſired the elector to aboliſh them throughout all his dominions. The elector told the deputies, by Chriſtian Beyer, that he conceived their advice was grounded on the goſpel; and required them to order that affair with ſuch moderation as to raiſe no troubles, diviſions, or ſeditions, among the people. The deputies anſwered, that they believed private maſſes might be aboliſhed, without noiſe or trouble; but the abuſe was ſo great, that, though it could not be effected without ſome diſturbance, it ought to be attempted: that the ordinance of the maſs, preſcribed by the holy Scripture, was viſibly ſo different from that of private maſſes, that it was needleſs to deliberate farther about it: that the ancient foundations of the monaſteries, colleges, and

Dupin, p. 72.

churches, were not made to ſay a certain number of maſſes, or to chant canonical hours; but to inſtruct youth in the holy Scripture and religion: that the foundations made, four or five hundred years before, to ſay maſſes, were abuſive; and that thoſe who made them, were miſtaken: that inconveniency ought not to be regarded in ſuch an enterprize, nor ſuch impediments as might be ſurmounted, ſince it was the cauſe of truth and religion. Stork, Marcus Stubnerus, and Martinus Cellarius, in 1522, went from Zwickau to Wittenberg, to preach their fanatical doctrine. But Melanchthon and the other reformers wrote to the elector of Saxony, and to Luther, about theſe men, whom they took to be enthuſiaſts; and, when they were diſcovered to be ſuch, the elector drove them out of his territories.

Dupin, p. 72.
Ibid. 73.
Ibid. 96.

Before the reformation, there were churches in Germany, in which Ariſtotle's ethics were read every Sunday to the people inſtead of the goſpel. There are few inſtances of zeal for religion, that have not been ſhewn for the peripatetic philoſophy, which accuſtoms the mind to acquieſce without evidence: but the Proteſtant divines have very much altered their conduct; if it be true, as we are told, that the firſt reformers clamoured ſo loudly againſt the philoſophy of the Stagyrite. Spanhemius, in his ſecular oration, in 1635, ſays, "Philip Melanchthon, a man of great candour, affirms, that, in ſeveral places, inſtead of "the Sunday lectures, introduced into the churches, from the time of Charles the Great, "in the eighth century, by the care of Guarenfridus, the ethics of Ariſtotle were publickly "read to the people; and that he himſelf had been preſent at the reading of them at "Tubingen." And Magrinus ſays, "A certain monk, at Tubingen, publickly explained "Ariſtotle's ethics to the people; and was wont to ſay, that, as John the Baptiſt was "the forerunner of Chriſt in divine things, ſo Ariſtotle was in natural things." But Rapin ſays, that Luther declared himſelf with ſo much heat againſt Ariſtotle's philoſophy, that he advanced, they could not reaſon according to the principles of this Pagan, without forſaking the maxims of Jeſus Chriſt: that he took every opportunity, in his works, of inveighing againſt this philoſopher, in which he was followed by Melanchthon, and all thoſe who have oppoſed the doctrines of the church of Rome. All this, and what Rapin ſays of the Anabaptiſts, is taken out of a book of George Hornius, who aſſerts that the reformers eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in philoſophy; "but the divine genius of "Philip Melanchthon ſurpaſſed them all, who, by his writings, has ſo illuſtrated all philoſophy, "that he may be truly called the author, and deſtined reſtorer, of it in Germany. "He illuſtrated logic, ethics, phyſics, and mathematics: he cleared the intricacy "of the philoſophers, and brought philoſophy to the moſt flouriſhing condition."

Bayle, v. 1, p. 472.
Geneva reſtituta.
In Eponymol. p. 81.
Rapin, p. 412.
Hornius Hiſt. philoſ. l. 6, p. 315.

Rapin miſtook Hornius; and the elogium which the latter beſtowed upon Melanchthon might be farther enlarged. This great man not only illuſtrated all the parts of philoſophy: but there is ſcarce any art or ſcience about which he did not write, and endeavour to facilitate the ſtudy of them by eaſy and plain methods. What ſhall we ſay then of thoſe who were ſo impudent as to publiſh that Melanchthon and Caroloſtadius cried down all the ſciences, that they turned artificers, and rendered all the ſchools like a deſart, ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen in them but cobwebs? The Jeſuit Creolius was one of theſe calumniators. It would be difficult to find profeſſors who read ſo many lectures as Melanchthon, and to ſo many people. He often read three or four lectures in a day; and there is reaſon to believe, that he would not interrupt his academic exerciſes when he married, except on his wedding-day.

Morhoff's Polyhiſt. p. 7.

Melanchthon, by his induſtry and learning, was the principal ſupport of the univerſity of Wittenberg; nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be drawn away from it either by civil wars or private quarrels. If Melanchthon, at any time, was led by Luther to ſpeak ill of Ariſtotle, he quickly altered his opinion, and continued to recommend the philoſophy of this founder of the Lyceum. Wherefore father Rapin had no ground for his accuſation; for we muſt not judge of a man by thoſe opinions which he quickly forſakes, but in thoſe wherein he continues all the reſt of his life. The Jeſuit Gretſer might have taught the Jeſuit Rapin how to talk about this matter; for Gretſer ſpread his abuſe againſt Melanchthon in a more ſcurrilous manner than any of that abominable order have ever done againſt any other Proteſtant; and afterwards loaded him with praiſes.

Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 355.

This René Rapin very unjuſtly placed Melanchthon in the catalogue of the modern heretics who have declaimed againſt Ariſtotle and his philoſophy: but this accuſation is ſufficiently refuted by what Melanchthon wrote to the elector of Bavaria in 1535, when he tells him, "You judge truly, that it very much concerns the ſtate that Ariſtotle be preſerved, "and that it remains in ſchools, and be much read by ſcholars: for, without this "author, neither pure philoſophy, nor even a juſt method of teaching and learning, can "be kept up."

Ibid. b. 1, Ep. 116.

The logic of the ſchools, of all the parts of philoſophy, was that which was leaſt grateful to the reformers; for they looked upon it as the ſource of vain ſubtilties, which made young people loſe a great deal of time, and corrupted theology; yet Melanchthon declared for logic. His teſtimony was cited by Caramuel in his catalogue of ſome Proteſtant

Bayle, v. 4, p. 189. Theolog. Rational. v. 2, p. 42.

doctors, who recommend the ſtudy of that part of philoſophy. Philip Melanchthon, ſays he, was the diſciple of Luther; and, though his maſter undervalued logic, he himſelf had a vaſt opinion of it; and, among other things, he wrote thus. "I exhort, and beſeech "them, both for the glory of God, and the welfare of the church, not to neglect logic; "nor applaud the fooliſh diſcourſes of thoſe who reproach it, and ſay it is uſeleſs to the "church: for logic is not only neceſſary, that the doctrine may receive light, but alſo "that it may be the bond of peace."

Jacob Gretſer's Inaug. doctor, p. 60.

The ſame Gretſer, to combat the hatred which Luther expreſſed againſt the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, oppoſed Melanchthon to him; and ſaid, from whence ſhall we borrow this apology, but from him, for whom Luther uſed to have a great eſteem; and who afterwards cancelled with praiſes, thoſe reproaches he had formerly thrown upon Ariſtotle? It is Melanchthon, who, in an oration on Ariſtotle, ſpoken by one Floccus of Nuremberg, defends the logic of Ariſtotle againſt the charge of Luther in the following words. "Now I will "add ſomething concerning philoſophy, why I judge that of Ariſtotle to be moſt uſeful "in the church. It is agreed by all, that logic is moſt neceſſary for us in the church, "becauſe it teaches method and order, defines fitly, decides juſtly, connects aptly, judges "and ſeparates monſtrous connections. Thoſe who are ignorant of this art, tear the ſubject "to be treated on, as puppies tear rags. For I like to uſe Plato's ſimilitude. Plato "juſtly extols it, by calling it the fire, which Prometheus brought from heaven, to kindle "a light in the minds of men, to enable them to judge rightly; but he no where gives "the precepts of the art. We cannot, therefore, be without Ariſtotle's logic, as that of "the Stoics is not extant."

Bayle, 192. n. O. Seckendorf, [illegible] 2. p. 108.

Melanchthon ſometimes aſſumed a falſe name in the title page of his books. He called himſelf Didymus Facentinus in the anſwer he wrote, in 1520, to an oration which Thomas Rhadinus, a Dominican, and profeſſor of divinity at Rome, had publiſhed againſt Luther: he there declaims very ſharply againſt the errors of the ſchoolmen: but it does not follow that he condemned the philoſophy of Ariſtotle. To know exactly the ſentiments of an author, we muſt not inſiſt upon what he ſays in an invective written againſt another invective: we muſt learn his judgment from his letters, or didactical writings, or, in general, from ſuch works as are not declamatory.

Jortin, p. 332.

Ep. 684, 713. Jortin, p. 334.

Ep. 703. Jortin, p. 341.

Eraſmus, in 1524, owned that the ſtate of things diſheartened him from adventuring his perſon in the Low Countries, where Hulſt and Egmond were his inveterate enemies. "When theſe ſaints, ſays he, want to do any one miſchief, they firſt clap him in priſon; "and then his affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges and parties. There "the moſt innocent man alive muſt ſuffer the vileſt treatment, leſt their authority ſhould "ſuffer: and when they have been totally miſtaken, they cry out, that the ſide of religion muſt "always be favoured!" Melanchthon, ſays Eraſmus, "would gladly have a conference "with me, but is loth to expoſe me to any hatred and obloquy, which however "I ſhould have deſpiſed. He is a youth of great candor." But there is ſome room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of a viſit from Melanchthon, who, with all his mildneſs and candor, was little leſs hated than Luther by the Romaniſts. The ſame year, Eraſmus wrote a long epiſtle to Melanchthon, which began with an invective againſt Hutten. He commended the Loci Communes of Melanchthon, as very fit and able to encounter and demoliſh phariſaical tyranny: but he added, that they contained alſo ſome things which he did not underſtand, ſome concerning which he had doubts and ſcruples, and ſome which he thought it needleſs to profeſs openly. He then boaſted of the mild and moderate councils which he had given to popes and princes; but he ſpoke very ill of Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Farellus, Capito, and Hedio.

Ibid. 343.

He apologized for having written againſt Luther, and ſaid, that the calumnies of eccleſiaſtics, who made him paſs for a Lutheran, and the importunity of princes, had conſtrained him to it. "Although, ſays he, I were a moſt bigotted Papiſt, yet would I condemn "cruelty, becauſe opinions oppoſed with cruelty ſpread the more. Therefore, the "prudent Julian would not put Chriſtians to death. Our Theologers thought, that if they "burned a man or two at Bruſſels, the reſt would be corrected by it. On the contrary, "the ſufferings of theſe men made many embrace Lutheraniſm."

Ibid.

Melanchthon anſwered Eraſmus politely, and with a much better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars ſhould not bring any prejudice againſt a good cauſe; and that Luther did in no wiſe reſemble thoſe whom he had painted in ſo odious colours. He gently reproved him for drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inſerting ſuch perſons as Oecolampadius, and other men of merit, amongſt them. As for himſelf, he declared, that in his conſcience he was perſuaded of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and would never forſake it. But, as to the diſſertation of Eraſmus upon free-will, he ſays; "We are "not at all ſhocked at it; for it would be meer tyranny to hinder any man from giving "his opinion in the church of Chriſt, concerning any points of religion. This ought to "be free to every one, who will deliver his ſentiments without paſſion and partiality. Your "moderation in that treatiſe hath been applauded; and yet ſuffer me to tell you, that

“ ſometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is not ſo eaſily provoked, as to to be unable “ to bear diſſent; and he promiſeth to obſerve the ſame moderation in his reply. It is “ alſo your duty to be very cautious not to bring an odium upon a cauſe, which the “ holy Scriptures ſo evidently favour. As you yourſelf have not as yet condemned it, if “ you attack it with vehemence, you will wound your own conſcience. You know that “ we ought to examine, and not to deſpiſe prophecies.”

Eraſmus replied, in another long epiſtle to Melanchthon, that he had not much exhorted him to forſake the reformers, knowing it would be labour loſt; but could have wiſhed that Melanchthon had applied himſelf entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the ſtudy of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the monks then called it. He declared, that his only view was to promote the good of both parties, and to diſſuade tumults; and he wiſhed, that a reformation might be made without ſtrife and contention. This was wiſhing impoſſibilities, conſidering the temper of the Romaniſts.

Ep. 714.

Jortin, p. 351.

In 1525, we find Eraſmus complaining, that Melanchthon laboured under an inſomnia, or a ſleepleſſneſs, a diſtemper too well known to ſtudious people. He ſays, that Frederic of Saxony had lately bequeathed Melanchthon a thouſand gold florins. This deſerves notice for the rarity of the thing; it being as uncommon for princes to leave legacies to ſcholars, as it is for ſcholars to leave legacies to princes.

Ibid. 394.

Ep. 790.

“ We have been ſtunned long enough, ſays Eraſmus, with the cry of *Goſpel*, *Goſpel*, “ *Goſpel*. We want *Goſpel-manners*.” In 1528, he propoſed a medium to be purſued between the extremes of monkery and reformation; and he complained, it was through them that literature was declining in every place. But in reality there was no compariſon to be made between the monks and the reformers in point of literature, which the former totally neglected, and the latter cultivated with tolerable ſucceſs and application, as it plainly appears by the treatiſes which they compoſed in thoſe days. There were perſons among them who underſtood the learned languages full as well as Eraſmus, though in genius and vivacity they did not equal him. Melanchthon, for example, and Camerarius, were not inferior to him in this ſort of literature. The ſame year Eraſmus received a polite letter from Melanchthon, who owns that he did not approve Luther's violent ways; but reproves Eraſmus alſo for too ſtrongly expreſſing his reſentments.

Jortin, p. 442.

The emperor called the diet of Spires in March 1529, where Melanchthon attended among the other reformers, who had long diſputes about religion with the Romaniſts, and, in this diet, obtained the name of PROTESTANTS. While Melanchthon was at Spires, he made a little journey to Bretten, to ſee his mother. This good woman aſked him what ſhe muſt believe amidſt theſe diſputes? She repeated to him the prayers ſhe was uſed to make, and which contained nothing that was ſuperſtitious. “ Continue, ſaid he, to believe “ and pray as you have done hitherto, and never trouble yourſelf about controverſies.” This invincibly refutes the ſilly ſtory, which Florimond de Remond publiſhed, that Melanchthon induced his mother to change her religion. He ſays, that when Melanchthon was at the point of death, his mother told him, he had perſuaded her to embrace a religion that was different from that of her forefathers. But this is falſe relating to the mother; and it is certain that ſhe died above thirty years before her ſon. What Melanchthon ſaid to his mother, plainly ſhews, that he hated diſputes in religion, and that he was only engaged in them by the part he was to act in the world.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 185.
Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 333.
Remond's Hiſtory of Hereſy, p. 186.
Bayle, p. 186.

All Europe was convinced, that Melanchthon was not ſo averſe as Luther, to an accommodation with the Romaniſts; and that he would have ſacrificed many things for the ſake of peace. This appears chiefly by the book he wrote concerning things indifferent; which was ſo ill received by the faction of Illyricus. Melanchthon adviſed the reformers not to contend ſcrupulouſly about indifferent things; provided thoſe rites and ceremonies had nothing of idolatry in them; and to bear ſome hardſhips, if it might be done without impiety. Illyricus, on the contrary, cried out, that people ſhould rather deſert all the churches, and threaten an inſurrection, than to bear a ſurplice. Some Romaniſts have been inſpired with the ſame ſpirit, which calls to my mind what a jeſuit ſaid, “ that they “ would not put out one wax-taper, though it were to convert all the Huguenots.”

Melchior Adam, in vitis philoſ. p. 195.

Jurieu.

The elector of Saxony, and ſome other princes, ſupported the reformers at the diet of Spires: but, after ſeveral debates, it was ordered, “ that the doctrine about the Euchariſt ſhould not be entertained: that the maſs ſhould be continued, and the celebration “ of it permitted even in thoſe places where the reformed doctrine prevailed: that the “ Anabaptiſts ſhould be proſcribed: and that one prince ſhould not protect the ſubjects of “ another.” The reforming princes oppoſed this decree, and alledged, “ that their miniſters had proved, by invincible arguments taken out of Scripture, that the popiſh “ maſs was contrary to the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and the practice of the apoſtles: “ that they could not permit the Lord's Supper to be adminiſtered in a different manner “ in the ſame church: that there was nothing more certain than the word of God, which “ explained itſelf; and therefore they would take care, that nothing elſe ſhould be taught

Collier.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 112.

“than the Old and New Teſtament in their purity: and they declared, that the decree of the former diet was made for the preſervation of peace; but that this would infallibly occaſion wars and troubles in Germany.” This was put in writing by way of *proteſtation*, and publiſhed, on the nineteenth of April 1529, as a ſolemn inſtrument of appeal to the emperor, and a general or national council. This gave the reformers the name of PROTESTANTS. The inſtrument of proteſtation was ſigned by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh; Erneſt, and Francis, dukes of Lunenberg; the landgrave of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhalt; as alſo by the deputies for the fourteen cities of Straſburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Conſtance, Reuthingen, Windeſheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Hailbron, Iſne, Weiſſemberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall.

Oecolampadius wrote to Melanchthon, deſiring him to declare his opinion in favour of the Zuinglians, that the conteſt might ceaſe between them and the Lutherans. Melanchthon anſwered, “that he could not approve of the opinion of the Sacramentarians; but that, if he would act politickly, he ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe, as he knew there were many learned men among them, whoſe friendſhip would be advantageous to him; ſo that, if he could have concurred with them, in their opinion about the Lord's Supper, he would have ſpoken freely. He obſerved, that the Zuinglians ſuppoſed the body of Jeſus Chriſt to be abſent, and only to be repreſented in the Sacrament, as perſons are repreſented upon a theatre: but he conſidered, that Jeſus Chriſt had promiſed to be with us to the end of the world: that it is not neceſſary to ſeparate the divinity from the humanity; ſo that he was perſuaded, the Sacrament was a pledge of the real preſence, and that the body of Jeſus Chriſt was truly received in the Lord's Supper: that the proper import of the word was not contrary to any article of faith, but agreed with other places of Scripture where the preſence of Chriſt was mentioned. He declared, it is an opinion unbecoming a Chriſtian, to believe that Jeſus Chriſt is, as it were, impriſoned in heaven: that Oecolampadius only propounded ſome abſurdities, and the judgment of ſome fathers, againſt it; neither of which ought to influence thoſe who know, that the myſteries of religion are to be judged by the word of God, and not by geometrical principles; as they muſt alſo know that many contradictions are to be met with in the writings of the ancients: but he ſaid, that the greateſt number of the expreſſions in the moſt eminent authors, prove the doctrine of the real preſence to be the general ſenſe of the church.”

Oecolampadius replied; and the conſequence was a friendly conference at Marpurg, in October following, between the heads of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. The landgrave of Heſſe was preſent at this conference, where Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, appeared on one ſide; and Luther, Melanchthon, Juſtus Jonas, Oſeander, Brentius, and Agricola, on the other ſide. The Lutherans propoſed ſuch articles as they objected againſt in the doctrine of the Zuinglians. Firſt, That there was no ſuch thing as original ſin; but it was only a natural infirmity and weakneſs; and that Baptiſm did not take away any ſin in children. Secondly, That the Holy Ghoſt is not conferred by the uſe of the word of God, and the ſacraments; but without that word, and thoſe ſacraments. Thirdly, That ſome of them were ſuppoſed to have erroneous thoughts about the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, and the holy Trinity. Fourthly, That they ſet the value of faith as to our juſtification, high enough; but ſeemed to attribute juſtification to good works. Fifthly, That they did not think the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt were really in the Lord's Supper. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius cleared themſelves fully of the ſuſpicion they lay under about the Trinity, and divinity of Jeſus Chriſt: but they had long diſputes about original ſin, and the operation of the ſacraments; in which points Melanchthon agreed with Zuinglius, by explaining, or altering his former opinions; ſo that they differed only about the Euchariſt. Luther could not ſo fully agree with Zuinglius, as may be ſeen in his life.

Bayle, p. 185.
Dupin, p. 116.

The diet of Augſburg was held in June 1530, as mentioned in Luther's life page 82. Nothing coſt Melanchthon more pains, than the taſk that was given him this year, to draw up a *confeſſion of faith*; which is called the Augſburg confeſſion, becauſe it was preſented to the emperor at the diet in that city. Melanchthon drew up this *confeſſion of faith* out of the memoirs ſent to the elector of Saxony. It was divided into two parts. The firſt contained twenty-one articles upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original ſin, the incarnation, juſtification, the goſpel-miniſtry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgment, free-will, the cauſe of ſin, faith, good works, and the adoration of ſaints. The other part was concerning the ceremonies and uſages of the church, which the Proteſtants ſaid were abuſed; ſuch as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of prieſts, confeſſion, abſtinence from meats, monaſtic vows, and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

Melanchthon had reviſed, and corrected, this confeſſion ſeveral times; but had much difficulty to pleaſe Luther at laſt. Yet Maimburg ſays, that Luther was well pleaſed with the confeſſion, when Melanchthon ſent him a copy of it: and Seckendorf does not contradict him; but ſays, that Luther was very glad this occaſion was offered of letting the world ſee what he and his followers taught. Indeed, it is probable, that Luther would not have tempered his ſtile with ſo much moderation: it was a difficult time; and all ſweetneſs of expreſſion, which affected not the merits of their cauſe, was then neceſſary to be added.

This confeſſion was ſigned by the Proteſtant princes, and read before the emperor in a ſpecial aſſembly of the empire, who were then diſmiſſed, that they might conſult what reſolutions they ſhould come to in this affair. Their judgments were divided. The more violent ſaid, that the edict of Worms ought to be put in execution; and ſuch as would not obey, ſhould be compelled by the civil powers. Others were for chooſing a certain number of honeſt, learned, and indifferent perſons, according to whoſe judgment the emperor was to decide all matters. And a third party were for giving the confeſſion of faith to the popiſh divines to confute, and the confutation to be read, in a full diet, before the Proteſtants. This laſt advice was taken, and John Faber, John Cochlæus, Eckius, Wimpina, Collinus, and ſome other popiſh divines, were appointed to draw up a confutation, which they finiſhed, and delivered to the emperor and the popiſh princes, who were of opinion that all the ſevere expreſſions, which the divines could not refrain from bringing in, ſhould be taken out. When this was done, the emperor called the Proteſtants together, on the third of Auguſt, and told them, he had communicated their confeſſion to ſome learned and religious perſons, to give their opinion of it, and to obſerve what was ſound, or what was contrary to the faith of the church: that they had given their judgments in writing, which he had approved; and then ordered it to be read before them by one of his ſecretaries.

Dupin, p. 116.

The Romiſh divines examined the Proteſtants confeſſion of faith ſtep by ſtep in their anſwer. They fully approved of ſome articles; as the firſt about the holy Trinity; the third about the incarnation; the eighth about the wicked in the church, and that the ſacraments adminiſtered by wicked perſons are good; the ninth about the neceſſity of baptiſm, and the baptiſm of infants; the tenth about the Lord's Supper; the thirteenth about the operation of the ſacraments, though they judged that article to be defective, becauſe they would not acknowledge ſeven ſacraments; the fourteenth about the calling of miniſters, provided they allowed of a canonical ordination; the ſixteenth about the authority of the magiſtrates; the ſeventeenth about the laſt judgment and the reſurrection; and the eighteenth about free-will. But they rejected other articles; as the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and twentieth, that men are not juſtified by the merit of good works, but by faith alone; the ſeventh, that the church is a congregation of ſaints; and that it is ſufficient, to preſerve its unity, that men agree in the doctrine of the goſpel, and about the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, without following the ſame uſages and traditions: the twenty-firſt, about the invocation and worſhip of ſaints Thoſe, which they partly received, and partly rejected, were the ſecond, about original ſin, which they approved, except the definition of ſin given in it, which ſeems to agree better to actual than original ſin; the eleventh alſo, about abſolution, they allowed of, but diſliked what is ſaid in it about confeſſion; in the twelfth, about repentance, they did not like the aſſertion that faith is a part of repentance, and what concerns ſatisfaction; the fifteenth was approved, as to what is ſaid there, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are to be obſerved; but rejected ſo far, as it ſays, that the cuſtoms received by tradition, as celibacy, and vows, are of no uſe to obtain grace, or make ſatisfaction to God.

As to the ſecond part of the confeſſion of Augſburg, in which the Proteſtants aſſerted, that the communion under one kind, celibacy of prieſts, the ceremonies of the maſs, private maſſes, the name of ſacrifice given to the maſs, monaſtic vows, abſtinence, faſts, and auricular confeſſion, are abuſes: the popiſh divines maintained, in their anſwer, they were not abuſes, but religious and holy uſages, commanded by ſcripture, and confirmed by tradition: yet they acknowledged, there were ſome abuſes in them that wanted reformation, and which the emperor promiſed to obtain.

The Romiſh divines deſired the Proteſtants to return to the old communion of the church. The elector of Saxony anſwered for the Proteſtants, that if the Romaniſts could prove, that the Proteſtants had advanced any error, they would recant it; and if they deſired any farther explication, they were ready to give it: that, ſince they had approved of ſome articles of their doctrine, and rejected others, it was neceſſary they ſhould confirm and explain thoſe in diſpute.

In conſequence of this, a conference was held at Augſburg on the ſeventh of Auguſt, between ſeventeen Romiſh divines, and ſome of the Proteſtants: but this was of no effect, as has been ſhewn in Luther's life, page 83. The Romaniſts ſaid, if the Proteſtants would not ſatisfy the emperor, by uniting in matters of faith with the princes and members of the empire, they would bring great troubles upon Germany by the wars and tumults, which their ſeparation would raiſe. The Proteſtants anſwered, by George Brucke, their deputy, that they took it ill to be threatened, and complained, that the emperor would not ſuffer them to be heard ſufficiently: that they could not be allowed a copy of the confutation of their confeſſion, but upon hard terms; and that it was expected, they ſhould approve of it, without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a ſafe conſcience: that though it was promiſed and concluded, in the laſt diet of Spires, that a council ſhould be held, nothing was done in it ſince. The committee of the Romiſh deputies replied, that the Proteſtants had no reaſon to complain of his imperial majeſty: that the condition on which he offered them a copy of the confutation of their confeſſion was not hard, becauſe he was ſenſible how they uſed the edict of Worms: that they might with greater ſafety conſent to the doctrine of the univerſal church, than of a ſmall number of heretics and apoſtates, who could not agree among themſelves: and that the emperor, having two wars upon his hands, could have no hopes of holding a council at that time.

The Proteſtants ſhewed reaſons for their ſeparation, and offered to chooſe a ſmall number of perſons on both ſides, who might treat amicably together, and conſult if they could not find out ſome way of agreement. This propoſal was received; and ſeven perſons were nominated by both parties to confer about religion; two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. The Romaniſts were the biſhop of Augſburg, and the duke of Brunſwick; the chancellor of the archbiſhop of Cologne, and the chancellor of the marquis of Baden; Eckius, Wimpina, and Cochlæus. For the Proteſtants were the elector of Saxony's ſon, and the marquis of Brandenburg; the lawyers Brucke and Heller; and the divines Melanchthon, Brentius, and Schnepfius. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the confeſſion of Augſburg; ſo that there remained but ſix, three of which were only diſputed againſt in part; and the other three were remitted to the ſecond part of their confeſſion, about which it was more difficult to come to an agreement. Melanchthon, and the other Lutherans, agreed to theſe points of doctrine: that men ſhould not be ſaid to be juſtified by faith alone, but by faith and grace: that good works are neceſſary: that reprobates are included in the church: that man hath a free-will: that the bleſſed ſaints intercede for us, and may be honoured. In the other ſeven articles, they agreed, that the body and blood of Chriſt were contained in both elements, and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the Euchariſt only under one kind: that the uſual veneration ſhould be given to the holy Sacrament: that the public maſs ſhould be celebrated with the uſual ceremonies, and that they ſhould obſerve what is eſſential in the conſecration: that the faſts on the vigils might be ſtill obſerved, and ſome holydays kept: that the biſhops ſhould hold their juriſdictions; and that pariſh prieſts, preachers, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſhould ſubmit to them in ſpiritual matters; and that their excommunications ſhould not be contemned.

The Romiſh divines, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, made their report to the diet, upon what terms they ſtood with the Lutherans. It was then thought, that it would be a ſpeedier way to perfect the agreement by reducing the deputies to three; and that both parties ſhould appoint two lawyers, and one divine. Melanchthon was choſe by the Proteſtants, and Eckius by the Romaniſts. The points upon which they debated, were principally the maſs, vows, and celibacy of prieſts. The Romaniſts conſented, that the married prieſts might live with their wives; but they would not relax in the buſineſs of the maſs and vows. Melanchthon, who was very much inclined to peace, might have come nearer, if he had been inveſted with ample powers: but the rigid Proteſtants had been diſſatiſfied with his condeſcenſion, and ordered him to advance no farther. This put an end to all kinds of accommodation: but Melanchthon drew up “An apology for the Augſburg “confeſſion;” which the Proteſtant princes offered to preſent to the emperor, who refuſed to receive it, and it was publiſhed the next year.

Seckendorf. In the diſpute concerning eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and the power of biſhops, Melanchthon gave way more than many of his own party, particularly the free cities, would have had him: but Melanchthon was not to be moved in the doctrinal points wherein the Proteſtants oppoſed Popery. Even Luther, in his “admonition to the princes of the “empire,” granted that the power of the biſhops, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, might be allowed, if they would employ it to the glory of God; for he overlooked that it would advance the ſupremacy of the Pope.

The Zuinglians alſo preſented their “confeſſion of faith” at the diet of Augſburg, as may be ſeen in the lives of Zuinglius, p. 57, and of Luther, p. 83.

Dupin, p. 121. The article which is moſt remarkable in the ſacramentarians confeſſion of faith, is that concerning the Euchariſt. The confeſſion of Augſburg, in the tenth article, aſſerts the real preſence: but it was not drawn up in the ſame manner, in all the editions of that confeſſion. In the firſt edition, it was delivered in theſe terms; “Concerning the Lord's “Supper, they teach, that the body and blood of Chriſt are truly preſent, and diſtributed to the receivers.” This doctrine was agreeable to the church of Rome: but, in the ſecond edition, they ſpoke of the bread and wine in other words; “That with “the bread and wine, the body and blood of Chriſt are truly and ſubſtantially preſent in “the Lord's Supper; and that they are truly given with the viſible elements; that is, with the bread and the wine, to thoſe who receive the Sacrament." Melanchthon at firſt drew up this article in a form more agreeable to the Romiſh doctrine; after which, he obſerved, that in aſſerting the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt were truly in the Sacrament, without mentioning the bread and wine, men ſeemed to underſtand as if they allowed of tranſubſtantiation; as alſo that there was no controverſy between the Romaniſts and Lutherans about that article. But the Lutherans perceived that this expoſiticn was prejudicial to their doctrine; which made them add, that the bread and wine were in the Lord's Supper with the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Lutheran divines, as well as the Romaniſts, diſapproved of the doctrine of the Zuinglians regarding the Euchariſt, which had been drawn up by Bucer. The proteſtant princes endeavoured to unite them; and the landgrave of Heſſe deſired the opinions of Melanchthon and Brentius upon the confeſſion which the Sacramentarians had preſented to the diet. Theſe divines gave their anſwer, in writing, that they could not allow, or tolerate, the notion of the Zuinglians concerning the Lord's Supper; nor join with them, or forbear to condemn them, till there was a council held, becauſe their doctrine was falſe. The landgrave endeavoured to ſoften their expreſſions; but Melanchthon and Brentius perſiſted in their judgment, and would not acknowledge the Zuinglians for brethren. Bucer was very diligent to promote an union, and propoſed a conference: which Melanchthon and Brentius rejected.

Luther was not at the diet of Augſburg, but he wrote to Melanchthon about the tranſactions there. The former was of opinion, that all propoſals of an accomodation would be ineffectual; but the latter tried to moderate the mind of Luther, and ſtop his heat.

Dupin, p. 122.

Eraſmus alſo wrote to Melanchthon in theſe words; "God alone, my dear Philip, can "unravel the intricate plot of the tragedy which is now acting. Ten councils aſſembled "together could not do it; much leſs ſuch an one as I. If a man ſays a reaſonable "thing, it is ſtraightway called Lutheraniſm." Melanchthon anſwered Eraſmus from Augſburg, and prayed him to continue the charitable office of exhorting the emperor to moderation. Eraſmus replied with ſome peeviſhneſs and reſentment, ſaying, that he would not concern himſelf in behalf of the Evangelics. However, he was better than his word, and did write to cardinal Campejus, deſiring him to diſſuade the emperor from making a religious war.

Jortin 193.

Ep. 1125. 1129.

Seckend. 2. p. 296.

The ſweating ſickneſs, which broke out in England in 1485, raged this year in Germany, among other calamities, and the affairs of the poor Proteſtants were ſo bad, in all appearance, that Melanchthon was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with ſorrow. Luther, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of conſolation.

Engliſhman's hiſt. of England, v. 2. p. 29.

Eraſm. ep. 1149.

Melanchthon, at this time, was conſulted upon the divorce which Henry VIII. was determined to have againſt Catherine of Spain: and he gave his opinion, "That "the law in Leviticus was diſpenſable, and that the marriage might be lawful; as alſo "that, in thoſe matters, ſtates and princes might make what law they pleaſed."

Sleidan. b 7. p. 186.

Burnet's abridg. v. 1. p 60.

Archbiſhop Cranmer had a very great regard for Melanchthon, whom he invited to England, and expected there. Peter Martyr, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowance from the king; but ſome more extraordinary annuity was intended Melanchthon.

Strype's life of Cranmer, p. 400.

Julius Pflug, in 1531, wrote to Eraſmus, exhorting him to uſe all his intereſt with the Chriſtian princes, that, by their authority, the Romiſh clergy might be induced to relax in favour of the Lutherans as much as could be ſpared of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions; hoping that, on the other ſide, ſome wiſe and moderate Lutherans, ſuch as Melanchthon, might ſhew the ſame condeſcenſion. Eraſmus excuſed himſelf from undertaking the office which Pflug had recommended to him, and repreſented the faults of both parties, which rendered the attempt impracticable. Indeed, he had already offered his advice to the public upon this ſubject to no manner of purpoſe: the Romiſh court had been too much offended at it, and the emperor would not deign even to hear it. In this epiſtle, he gives a charming character to Melanchthon. "He not only excels, ſays Eraſmus, in "learning and eloquence; but, by a certain fatality, he is a general favourite. Honeſt and "candid men are fond of him; and even his adverſaries cannot hate him." Happy is the perſon, whom this deſcription ſuits! It is not ſafe to attack him: the public will revenge his wrongs, and take his part againſt his adverſaries: but there is no occaſion to have recourſe to fatality.

Jortin 513.

Ib. 515.

Ep. 1195.

Jortin.

Servetus, about this time, publiſhed his book de Trinitatis Erroribus, as mentioned in the life of Oecolampadius, p. 52: and, in 1532, Servetus publiſhed another book againſt the Trinity, at Haguenau; for which he was afterwards burnt, as a heretic. Servetus was a man more extravagant than Arius in his opinion; for he conceived Chriſt to be a divine light, which God uſed as his inſtrument in making the world, and his fleſh to be made out of the very ſubſtance of God: but his grace the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his learned diſcourſe of idolatry, declared, that, by what he had ſeen of

Bibliotheque angl. art. 7. tom 2.

Ib. 9. p. 158.

the writings of Servetus, he judged him fitter to have been chained up as a madman, than burnt as a heretic.

Melanchthon, in 1533, wrote a letter to Joachim Camerarius, wherein he told him what he thought of Servetus and his books. He ſaid, that Servetus appeared to him a ſubtile and cunning man; but that he wanted gravity, and his thoughts were confuſed: that he had not ſufficiently meditated upon the things he treated of; and that his notion of juſtification was very extravagant. "Good God, ſays Melanchthon, among poſterity, "what tragedies will this queſtion raiſe; whether the logos, or word, be an hypoſtaſis "or ſubſiſtence, or perſon; and whether the ſpirit is ſo likewiſe? For my part, I have "recourſe ſolely to thoſe words of ſcripture, that command us to invoke Chriſt, by "aſcribing the honour of divinity to him, which carries along with it a great conſolation "to us: but it is of no advantage to examine critically the real or proper diſtinctions of "the hypoſtaſis or perſon."

Ep. lib. 4. 140.

Melanchthon was always afraid that diſputes would break out about the Trinity. He foreſaw that ſeveral people, not contented with the reformation of Luther and Calvin, would boldly attack the doctrine of the trinity. The thing happened as he foretold: and ſome are of opinion, that the reformation would have made a farther progreſs, had it not been for the Anti-trinitarians. Melanchthon, in another letter, informed Camerarius, that Servetus wronged Tertullian, in maintaining that this father believed the logos to be an hypoſtaſis. He alſo wrote to the ſenate of Venice, that Servetus had revived the error of Paulus Samoſatenus in his book of Trinitatis erroribus, which was diſperſed in Italy; and therefore he deſired them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that the impious error of Servetus might be avoided, rejected, and abhorred.

Boxhornii hiſt. univ. p. 70.

Francis I. king of France had a great love for learning and learned men. He eſtabliſhed profeſſors of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages at Paris. The revival of letters in France, which had been in a manner extinguiſhed for ſeveral ages, was owing to this prince, who was therefore called the *Father of Letters.* He married Eleanor, the emperor's ſiſter, in 1530; at which time there was a great controverſy about religion in France, and the king was deſirous of having Melanchthon to come there, as he judged him a proper perſon to pacify the diſputes. We are told, that the queen of Navarre often talked to the king her brother of a very good man, as ſhe ſaid, who was called Philip Melanchthon, whom ſhe was continually praiſing as the moſt learned man of his time; and that ſhe did not doubt, but if ſo holy and able a man could confer with the doctors of the Sorbonne, they would quickly find the means of reſtoring peace to the church. Whereupon this prince, who otherwiſe had a great deſire to bring into France the ableſt men of his time, wrote to Melanchthon,* and invited him to come to Paris, to join his endeavours with the French divines to reſtore the ancient diſcipline of the church. This letter was dated at Guiſe the twenth-eighth of June 1535, and declared the pleaſure the king had, that Melanchthon was diſpoſed to come into France, to endeavour to pacify the controverſies. Melanchthon wrote to the king, the twenty-eighth of September following, and aſſured him of his good intentions; but that he was ſorry he had not ſurmounted the obſtacles to his journey. Langey was ordered to ſound Melanchthon, if he was inclined to change his chair of theology at Wittenberg, whoſe income was only two hundred crowns a year, for a royal profeſſor's chair in the univerſity of Paris, at twelve hundred crowns a year. Varillas ſays, "the elector of Saxony permitted Melanchthon to "go into France, in hopes that he would make all the French turn Lutherans. But Lu"ther, who could not be without Melanchthon, detained him a long time, upon pretence "that he was to concert, or, to ſpeak more properly, to poliſh with him his laſt book "againſt the Anabaptiſts." Bayle contradicts Varillas, and ſays, the elector of Saxony could not be prevailed upon to grant Melanchthon the liberty of going to France, and wrote his excuſes to Francis I. Luther did not detain Melanchthon; but made repeated inſtances to the elector for his journey. In fact, Melanchthon could never obtain leave from the elector to make it, although Luther had earneſtly exhorted that prince to conſent to this journey, by repreſenting to him, that the hopes of ſeeing Melanchthon had put a ſtop to the perſecution of the Proteſtants in France.

Rolt's hiſt. of France, p. 164. Ibid. p. 181.

Maimburg's hiſt of Calviniſm, b. 1. p. 25.

Ep. 30.

Varillas hiſt. de l'hereſie, v. 5. p. 277.

Ib. p. 322.

Bayle, v. 4. p. 192.

Seckend. l. 3. p. 107

Camerar. p. 153.

The king of England alſo deſired to ſee Melanchthon: but neither of theſe two monarchs ever ſaw him. However, Melanchthon ſent a ſmall piece into France, which contained his advices about reconciling of the controverſies.

Melchior Adam. in vitis theol. p. 336.

The Lutherans could not agree with the Zuinglians at the ſynod of Conſtance in 1534; nor at Baſil, and at Eiſenach, in 1536. After this, there was a project of "a form of "their union" drawn up by Melanchthon; ſignifying, that they acknowledged the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt were truly and ſubſtantially preſent, given, and received in the Sacrament with the bread and wine; though there was no tranſubſtantiation, nor local incloſing of the body of Jeſus Chriſt in the bread, nor any durable union of the body of Jeſus Chriſt and the bread, when it is not uſed: for, in giving the bread, it is the body of Jeſus Chriſt by a ſacramental union; ſo that, in diſtributing the bread, the body is

Seckend. p. 108.

Dupin, p. 137.

preſent, and given; yet, when it is not in the uſe, but the bread is in the pyx, or is carried in proceſſion, the body of Jeſus Chriſt is not there. That the Sacrament has no dependence on the worthineſs of the miniſter, or receiver: and that the body and blood of Chriſt are truly given to the unworthy, and received by them.

In this form, there was nothing ſaid of the oral reception of the body of Jeſus Chriſt: and Luther concluded, there is no durable union between the body and blood of Chriſt, when the elements are not in uſe.

This confeſſion of faith was ſigned by the miniſters of Upper Germany, and approved at Straſburg: but Bucer could not get it accepted in Switzerland, though he undertook to ſhew, that the doctrine of "this form of union" was not different from the Zuinglian confeſſion of faith; as is farther ſhewn in Bucer's life.

Luther, in 1536, wrote upon his table theſe words following: "Res et verba Philippus; verba ſine rebus Eraſmus; res ſine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Caroloſtadius." Melanchthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, and reading the ſame, ſmiled, and ſaid, "Touching Eraſmus and Caroloſtadius, it is well judged and cenſured; but too much is attributed unto me; alſo good words ought to be aſcribed to Luther, for he ſpeaketh exceeding well."

Luther's colloq. menſal, p. 510. Jortin, p. 155.

Melanchthon, in 1541, aſſiſted at the conferences of Spires, and Ratiſbon, where the controverſies between the Romaniſts and Proteſtants were warmly diſputed. At the former, the Papiſts choſe Eckius, and the Proteſtants appointed Melanchthon, to confer about the points in controverſy, and agreed that they ſhould begin to diſcourſe about original ſin. They entered upon it, and continued the conference three days, when Nicholas Granville, who was then prime miniſter to the emperor, and his commiſſioner at the conference, received a letter from his imperial majeſty, which ordered that the conference ſhould be diſcontinued, and all things referred to the diet of Ratiſbon, where the Proteſtants were ordered to meet. This diet was opened in March, in the preſence of the emperor, who appointed Eckius, Pflugius, and Gropper, to manage it for the Romaniſts; and, for the Proteſtants, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Piſtorius. He commanded them to lay aſide all paſſion, and to reſpect the glory of God only in that conference. Frederic, brother to the elector palatine, was appointed preſident; who opened the conference on the 27th of April, when a writing was produced, which contained twenty-two articles, wherein the whole ſubſtance of religion was comprized. It was imagined, that this writing was drawn up by John Gropper; but the emperor ſaid, it was preſented to him by perſons of learning and piety, to forward the peace: he therefore deſired them to examine it, that they might approve of what was well, correct what was amiſs, and terminate all differences. Dupin has ſet forth all theſe articles, which are too long to be inſerted here. The proteſtants examined, and objected to ſeveral of them; which was reſented by the legate, and the diet was concluded by the emperor, who commanded that the decree of the diet of Augſburg ſhould ſtill continue; but he ſuſpended all proſecutions in the imperial chamber concerning matters of religion, till either a general or national council was held. Upon theſe aſſurances, the proteſtant princes promiſed to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Turks, who this year were become maſters of Buda.

Bayle, v. 4. p. 186. Dupin, 161.

Dupin's ſixteenth cent. p. 162.

In 1543, Melanchthon went to the elector of Cologne, to aſſiſt him in introducing a reformation into his dioceſe, which proved ineffectual. Bucer and Piſtorius aſſiſted Melanchthon in drawing up the articles for the elector: but Gropper compoſed a treatiſe againſt thoſe articles, and the divines of Cologne ſtood ſo firm againſt their archbiſhop, that he was unable to introduce the Proteſtant religion in his electorate. However, the elector of Cologne, and the elector palatine, renounced Popery.

Bayle, p. 186. Dupin, 170.

Ib. 175.

Melanchthon had two ſons, and two daughters. His daughter Anne was married to George Sabinus, of Wittenberg, in 1536, when ſhe was only fourteen years old. Sabinus was one of the beſt poets of his time; and Eraſmus, in 1534, had highly recommended him to Melanchthon. Anne underſtood Latin well, and was very handſome. Her father loved her tenderly: but there had been ſeveral quarrels between the father-in-law and the ſon-in-law; becauſe Sabinus was ambitious to obtain civil employments, and diſliked the humility of Melanchthon, who confined himſelf to literary employments, and would be at no trouble to advance his children. Sabinus, in 1543, carried his wife into Pruſſia, to the great grief of Melanchthon; and ſhe died at Konigſberg in 1547. Melanchthon's other daughter was married, in 1550, to Gaſper Peucer, who was an able phyſician, and was very much perſecuted. Melanchthon was certainly a good father, as appears by this ſtory. A frenchman found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a child with the other. Melanchthon ſeeing him ſurprized at this, made ſuch a pious diſcourſe to him about the duty of a father, and the ſtate of grace in which children are with God, that this ſtranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

Melch. Adam. phil. p. 227. Ep. 1273. Jortin, 556. Melchior Adam.

Camerar. 206.

Melchior Adam, 377. Ib. 198.

Melanchthon had much of his time taken up by the affair of the Interim. He attended ſeven conferences upon this ſubject in 1548; and wrote all the pieces that were preſented there, as alſo the Cenſure of that Interim.

Ib. theol. p. 343.

Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 400.

About this time Melanchthon was expected in England, by king Edward VI. to which he was excited by biſhop Latimer, the great court-preacher, who ſaid before the young monarch, in one of his ſermons; “I hear ſay, maſter Melanchthon, that great “clerk, ſhould come hither. I would wiſh him, and ſuch as he is, two hundred pounds “a year. The king ſhould never want it in his coffers at the year's end.”

Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 346.
Bayle, p. 186.

Melanchthon was one of the deputies, whom Maurice, elector of Saxony, was to ſend to the council of Trent in 1552. He waited ſome time at Nuremberg for a ſafe-conduct; but he returned from thence to Wittenberg, on account of the war which was ready to break out. His laſt conference with the doctors of the Romiſh communion was at Worms, in 1557; and of the diſſentions that afflicted him, there was none more violent than that which was raiſed by Flacius Illyricus.

Bayle, v. 3, p. 442.
Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 622.
Calvin, Tractat. theol. p. 840.
Boſſuet, l. 2, p. 4.

Tillemanus Heſhuſius, a divine of the Augſburg confeſſion, and profeſſor of divinity at Heidelberg, was very tenacious of Luther's doctrine concerning the Euchariſt, and had a violent diſpute with William Clebitius upon that ſubject. The elector palatine, Frederic III. was perſuaded that Melanchthon's ſuffrage would be of great weight to terminate the diſpute, and conſulted him upon it. Heſhuvius was highly offended at Melanchthon, on account of the judgment he had given againſt him, and wrote a virulent anſwer againſt him, for which he was baniſhed. He even did not ſpare Melanchthon after his death; though he had been his maſter, and deſerved other treatment from him. He calumniated his maſter, whoſe memory he ought to have revered.

Melchior Adam, in vitis theo. p. 357.

Melanchthon was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition: he had a great deal of wit, much reading, and a vaſt knowledge. He lived among a ſort of people who appeared to him paſſionate, and too forward to mix human methods, and the authority of the ſecular power, with the affairs of the church. His tender conſcience made him fear there was a mark of reprobation in it: but he muſt have well weighed all inconveniences, when he caſt his eyes upon Paleſtine, as Abelard had formerly done, to retire there, in caſe his enemies ſhould drive him away. “I am not dejected, ſays he, at the cruel clamour of my “enemies, who have threatened they will not leave me a footſtep in Germany. But I “commit myſelf to the Son of God. If I ſhall be driven away alone, I am determined “to go to Paleſtine, and, in thoſe lurking places of Jerom, by calling upon the Son of “God, to write clear teſtimonies of the divine doctrine, and in death to recommend my “ſoul to God.”

Ibid. Philoſ. p. 202.

The teſtimonies of piety with which Melanchthon ended his days were admirable: and it is obſervable, that one thing which made him look upon death as a happineſs, was, that it delivered him from theological perſecutions. Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reaſons why he ought not to be ſorry for leaving this world. One of thoſe columns contained the bleſſings that death would procure him: the other contained the evils from which death would deliver him. The firſt column had ſix heads. Firſt, That he ſhould come to the light. Secondly, That he ſhould ſee God. Thirdly, That he ſhould contemplate the Son of God. Fourthly, That he ſhould underſtand thoſe admirable myſteries which he could not comprehend in this life. Fifthly, Why we are created ſuch as we are. Sixthly, What is the union of the two natures in Jeſus Chriſt. The ſecond column had only two articles: Firſt, That he ſhould ſin no more. Secondly, That he ſhould be no longer expoſed to the vexations and rage of the divines.

Bayle, p. 187.

The ſtate of man appeared to this great divine one of the moſt incomprehenſible myſteries of religion; and yet there is not one among thoſe who believe without examining, that imagines there is any difficulty in it.

Melchior Adam, in vitis theol. p. 357.
Bayle.

Melanchthon ſaid, he had held his profeſſor's place forty years, without ever being ſure that he ſhould not loſe it before the end of the week. Nature, which gave him a peaceable temper, gave him a preſent ill-ſuited with the time in which he was to live; his moderation ſerved only to be his croſs; and he was like a lamb in the midſt of wolves. None liked his mildneſs, which expoſed him to all ſorts of ſlander, and deprived him of the means of anſwering a fool according to his folly. The only advantage it procured him was to look upon death without fear, by conſidering that it would ſecure him from the hatred of divines.

Hoornbeeck, ſumma controver. l. 2, p. 979.
Placcius de Pſeudonymis, p. 185.
Collier Ep. ad Bordingum.

Hoornbeeck attributed to Melanchthon the Greek verſion of the Augſburg confeſſion, which appeared under the name of Paul Dolſcius: and Placcius alſo believed that the tranſlation of Eccleſiaſticus and the Pſalms into Greek verſe was the work of Melanchthon. It is certain, that he aſſiſted Luther in tranſlating the New Teſtament into the German language: but Melchior Adam, Teiſſier, and Crenius, were miſtaken, as well as Placcius, about his Greek verſion of Eccleſiaſticus, and the Pſalms; for Lyſerus has proved that it was done by Dolſcius. Melanchthon, in 1559, wrote in Greek to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and ſaid, “I ſend you the Greek verſion of the *confeſſion*, which was publiſhed without “my advice: however, I like the ſtile, and have ſent it to Conſtantinople.” Melchior Adam ſays, that this verſion was made by Melanchthon, though it was publiſhed under the name of Dolſcius, who was rector of the college of Hall in Saxony. But Melanchthon's own words ſhew that he did not make this verſion.

Peucer was heard to ſay, that Melanchthon, his father-in-law, having read the dialogue *de Cœna domini*, wrote by Oecolampadius, forſook the opinion of the oral manducation; and that afterwards he triumphed in the argument from the doctrine of the fathers. He ſaid, " The doctrine of conſubſtantiation was unknown to the fathers; and that Auguſtin " was a groſs Zuinglian."

Abraham Schultetus. nar. apologet. p. 20.

Melanchthon explained himſelf freely to an Hungarian, who aſked his opinion about the Euchariſt. This was reported to Pomeranus, who afterwards addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people in a ſermon: " Moſt dear brethren, the church is in great danger: " pray to God for ſome great perſons that are fallen into error." Melanchthon was preſent, and underſtood that this was meant of him: he could not ſuppreſs his anger, and went out of the church in ſight of all the congregation. Hoſpinian has undertaken to prove, that Melanchthon turned from Lutheraniſm, as to the point of the real preſence; though the fear of oppreſſion prevented him from declaring his judgment openly; and he owned at laſt, that he wiſhed for baniſhment as a kind of deliverance. He knew of no other remedy for all thoſe evils but flight, and his ſon-in-law Peucer informs us, that he was reſolved upon it. He himſelf wrote, that Luther was ſo enraged againſt him, about a letter received from Bucer, that he thought of nothing but withdrawing himſelf for ever from his preſence. He lived under ſuch continual reſtraint with Luther, and the heads of the party, and was ſo oppreſſed with labour and vexation, that he wrote to his friend Camerarius: " I am in bondage, as if I were in the cave of the Cyclop; for I cannot diſguiſe " my ſentiments to you, and I have often thoughts of making my eſcape." Luther was not the only perſon that was violent againſt Melanchthon. Every one has the command at certain times among thoſe who forſake the old authority; and the moſt moderate, ſays the biſhop of Meaux, are always the moſt enſlaved.

Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ, p. 234, 428.
Boſſuet's Hiſt. des Variations, l. 5, num. 16.
Ep. 315.

Melanchthon ſpent all his life in ſtudy, and ſeemed not to be capable of any other labour. He ſubſiſted upon the ſalary he received from John Frederic, elector of Saxony, as profeſſor in divinity in the univerſity of Wittenberg; which was juſt ſufficient to maintain his family. It is pretended, that Melanchthon ſometimes called himſelf Hippophilus Melangæus: but Bayle ſays, he had ſeen nothing of his under that diſguiſe; though, as I have before remarked, he ſometimes put a fictitious name to the title page of his books.

Varillas's Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, b. 26, p. 277.
Baillet, p. 102.

Melanchthon died at Wittenberg, on the nineteenth of April 1560, which was the ſixty-third day of his ſixty-fourth year. He was honourably buried near Luther, in the church of the caſtle, two days after: and his funeral oration was ſpoken by Winſhemius, a doctor of phyſic, and profeſſor of the Greek tongue.

Thuanus, l. 26, p. 538.
Bayle, p. 186.

The violence with which Melanchthon was calumniated during his life, perſecuted him even after his death. Varillas has publiſhed ſuch ſtrange falſhoods about this great man, that it may be juſtly thought an unneceſſary labour to confute them. Friar de St. Romuald affirms, that his body was dug up and burnt at Munich, with great zeal by the Catholics; which, ſays Bayle, appears to be a very groſs fiction.

Melchior Adam, in vitis theol. p. 357.
Bayle, p. 192.
Abrégé Chronol. v. 3, p. 328.

It is aſtoniſhing, that, amidſt ſo many other occupations, Melanchthon could write ſo many books. The number of them is prodigious; and a chronological catalogue of them was publiſhed in 1582, by Mylius. Chriſtopher Pezelius, profeſſor of theology at Wittenberg, in 1578, publiſhed ſome extracts of Melanchthon's works, in which he put the objections and anſwers concerning theological matters in a very good method, and interſperſed ſome ſhort obſervations. This work contains eight volumes in octavo, which have been printed ſeveral times at Neuſtat. Melanchthon finiſhed few pieces, and publiſhed many imperfect. He found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather choſe to print many of them, than to perfect a ſmall number; as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him ſome aſſurance that his works would be eſteemed, though unfiniſhed. His Latin verſes pleaſed the hypercritical Julius Cæſar Scaliger: and Gaſpar Bruſchius, poet-laureat to Ferdinand king of the Romans, tranſlated Melanchthon's Catechiſm, and his Poſtilles, into German, as alſo a letter of his to the count de Weda.

Melchior Adam, p. 347.
Bayle, v. 4, p. 606.
Melchior Adam, p. 361.
Bayle, v. 4, p. 192.
Eraſmus in Ciceroniano.
Scalig. Poet. l. 6, p. 736.

Luther compared the Sacramentarians to the Anabaptiſts, and treated them as idolaters and fanatics: but Melanchthon blamed theſe invectives of Luther againſt the Sacramentarians, and kept near that opinion all his life time, not allowing of a real preſence, but in the very uſe, which he reduced to a moment.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 160.
Dupin, p. 177.

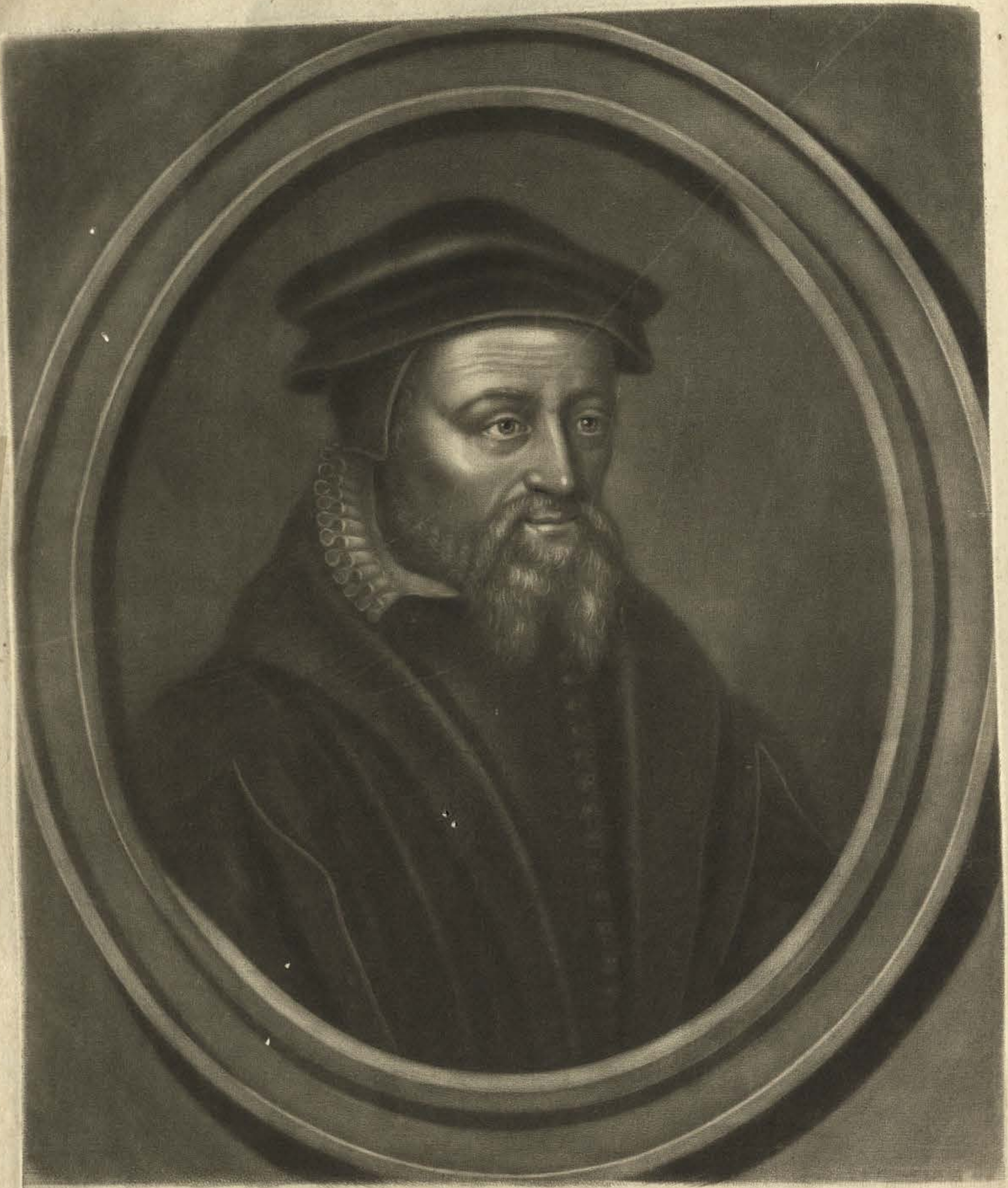
Bayle ſays, that Melanchthon was credulous, as to prodigies, aſtrology, and dreams; for the proof of which he refers to the hiſtory of the variations by the biſhop of Meaux. From Melanchthon's epiſtles it may be obſerved, that he was a believer in judicial aſtrology, a caſter of nativities, and an interpreter of dreams. A ſtrange weakneſs in ſo great a man! I have before mentioned, that he was falſely accuſed of hating the peripatetic philoſophy: but there is more reaſon to pretend, that he did not believe that grace was irreſiſtible,

Bayle, v. 4, p. 187.
Boſſuet's Var. l. 5, n. 34.
Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 156.
Ibid. p. 101.

ſiſtible. Remond has blamed him for an inclination to Pyrrhoniſm, becauſe he was ſo full of doubts. Bayle believed this matter was exaggerated; yet he thought Melanchthon was not free from doubts, and that there were many points about which he could not be poſitive. He had ſuch a mixture of natural and acquired qualities, as is commonly a ſource of irreſolution. A great genius, ſupported with a vaſt knowledge, will ſcarce find error to be altogether on one ſide. He diſcovers a ſtrong and a weak ſide in each party: he underſtands what is moſt ſpecious in the objections of his adverſaries, and what is not ſolid in his own proofs. Melanchthon was ſo cool that he examined matters freely on both ſides, and was not peremptory in his opinions, becauſe he was convinced that his knowledge might daily increaſe; for he remembered that he had corrected many things in his own writings, which he had believed to be good when they were firſt publiſhed. His modeſty and experience rendered him a little diſtruſtful. He loved peace; and deplored the confuſion of the times. He was even diſpoſed to judge favourably of ſeveral doctrines to facilitate a reunion. Modeſty, moderation, and love of peace, form in the minds of the moſt knowing men, a certain principle of equity, which makes them lukewarm and irreſolute; and this ſeems to have been the character of Melanchthon. Bayle, v. 4. p. 188.

Bayle, p. 101. He publiſhed ſeveral books on rhetoric, logic, and grammar, as well as on theology. His common-places were publiſhed in 1521, when he was only twenty-four years of age; and there is reaſon to believe that he was an author in print before the age of twenty. Dupin, 224. The parliament at Paris, in 1523, cenſured ſome of his works, as they did thoſe of Luther and Caroloſtadius. This court condemned the writings of Melanchthon, as containing "things contrary to holy ſcripture, ſound reaſon, the councils, the doctrine of the univerſal church, and judgment of the catholic fathers; being full of ſchiſmatical and heretical propoſitions already condemned, containing the doctrines of Luther, and more dangerous than his books, becauſe of the artifices and ſmoothneſs of his diſcourſe: and to ſhew that they had reaſon to condemn them, they joined a general cenſure of ſome propoſitions taken out of his book of common-places, his commentary upon the epiſtle to the Romans, his treatiſe againſt the cenſures of the Sorbonne, his letters, and declarations." The Lutheran doctrine was then encouraged in the French court; and it is no wonder that every Reformer was cenſured by the Sorbonne and parliament, who condemned Meſgret for favouring the licence which Wickliffe had introduced; and paſſed a general cenſure upon the Colloquies of Eraſmus, while that eminent genius paid Melanchthon the higheſt compliments, and ſaid he was deſirous of joining with him in his endeavours for the peace of the church; but that there were ſome men, of reputation and authority, who treated all thoſe as heretics that had any correſpondence with Melanchthon.

I ſhall conclude the character of Melanchthon, by applying to him what Eraſmus has ſaid of ſaint Ambroſe, in his preface before the works of this holy father. "The other fathers were all excellent, and each, in their particular way: but where is there any of them that has explained the ſcripture with ſo much integrity as ſaint Ambroſe? Who has more carefully avoided all kinds of doctrines that are doubtful and ſuſpected? Who better maintains the character of a Chriſtian divine throughout all his works? Who ſhews more true paternal charity in every thing he writes? And who ſo well joins together the authority and gentleneſs that ſhould accompany the epiſcopal office? Any man may ſee, that he has been affected with every thing he ſays; and that all his diſcourſes breathe an agreeable air of piety, mederation, and modeſty."



R. Houston Fecit.

Petrus Martyr Vermily^{s}.
Natus A^{o} 1500. Obijt A^{o} 1560.

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The LIFE of PETER MARTYR:

From 1500, to 1562.

THIS learned divine was born in the city of Florence, the metropolis of the dukedom of Tuſcany in Italy, on the eighth of September 1500. His father was Stephen Vermilius, who gave him ſuch a liberal education, that, at ſixteen years of age, he became a canon regular of the order of St. Auguſtin in the college at Fieſoli, about a mile from Florence. He ſpent three years at this college, and was then ſent to Padua, to enlarge his learning in that univerſity, which was in a flouriſhing condition. He ſettled there in the monaſtery of St. John de Verdera of the ſame order of Auguſtines, where he continued eight years ſtudying philoſophy, and the other liberal arts: but he more particularly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, and poets, which he conquered.

Oratio Joſiæ Simleri de vita et ob. Pet. Martyris.

He began to preach in 1526; and the firſt time he performed that office was in the church of St. Afra in Breſcia, a city belonging to the republic of Venice. He afterwards preached in the moſt conſiderable cities of Italy: but all the time that he could obtain from his function was devoted to ſacred learning, philoſophy, and in acquiring the Hebrew tongue. He became ſuch a celebrated ſcholar, that he was made abbot of Spoletto, in the duchy of Umbria, ſubject to the pope, where he continued three years. From thence he was tranſlated to the city of Naples, where he became abbot of the monaſtery of his order called St. Peter ad Aram, which was much more conſiderable than that of Spoletto.

Wood's Athenæ, Oxonienſes, v. 1, p. 106.

It was at Naples that Martyr firſt read the works of Bucer and Zuinglius, which opened his eyes to the verity of the goſpel: but he did not embrace the Proteſtant religion till the year 1542. He fell into a dangerous ſickneſs after he had been three years at Naples; but the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame it, and his phyſicians adviſed him to take better air than what Naples afforded. The fathers therefore choſe him general viſiter of their order, that he might be abſent from his cure with convenience: and he was ſoon after elected prior of St. Fridian in the city of Lucca in Tuſcany, where he enjoyed his native air.

Bayle, v. 5. p. 86.

Wood.

This priory was a place of great dignity, and had epiſcopal juriſdiction in the middle part of the city. He inſtituted a moſt admirable method of ſtudies for the young ſtudents at Lucca: but his opinion concerning a reformation of the church was diſcovered, and ſnares were laid for him by the monks, which prevented him from declaring his ſentiments. He therefore committed the beſt part of his library to the cuſtody of one of his friends, gave another part to the college, and departed from Lucca to Piſa, a city eight miles diſtant from the other.

He wrote from Piſa to cardinal Pole, and ſhewed him the reaſons of his departure. Afterwards he went into Switzerland, and continued ſome time at Zurick; from whence he went to Straſburgh, where he read and taught divinity about five years.

While he was at Straſburgh, he followed the example of Luther and Bucer, by taking a wife, whoſe name was Catharine Dampmartin. This cauſed his enemies to ſay, that he left his order and monaſtic vows for the ſake of a woman. She lived with him eight years, went with him to England, and died at Oxford.

Bucer endeavoured to perſuade Peter Martyr to follow his example about the Euchariſt. Martyr conformed himſelf for ſome time to Bucer's language, and afterwards left it, when he ſaw the dangerous conſequences of it; which were, that the Lutherans were not fully ſatisfied; while it gave offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that point. However, Bucer was convinced of Martyr's orthodoxy; and they continued their friendſhip, as mentioned in Bucer's life. In that life, I have alſo related in what manner Bucer and Fagius were invited to England in the reign of Edward VI. Peter Martyr was alſo invited there

Bayle, v. 2, p. 175. Melchior Adam, p. 38.

in that reign, to aſſiſt in the new reformation: though Naudœus erroneouſly ſays, he fled there for refuge.

Wood, p. 106.

In 1547, Edward Seymour, lord protector, and archbiſhop Cranmer, invited Peter Martyr to England, "that his aſſiſtance might be uſed to carry on a reformation in the church." He arrived in December the ſame year, in that kingdom, with Bernardine Ochinus, another Italian. They were kindly received by archbiſhop Cranmer at Lambeth, and entertained there for ſome time.

Engliſhma's hiſt. of Eng. v. 2. p. 70.

Nothing was done by the young king without the direction of the protector, who was his uncle, and under whoſe care the reformation took proper root in England, while it ſeemed declining in Germany, where the emperor had made the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe, priſoners; on which account, Rapin, under the ſame miſtake as Naudœus, ſays, "that Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and Ochinus, took ſanctuary in "England," who were eminent divines, and were very favourably received. Bucer was made profeſſor of divinity at Cambridge; and, in 1548, Martyr was incorporated doctor of divinity at Oxford, as he had ſtood at Padua. The government, at that time, had a watchful eye over both the Univerſities, where Bucer, Martyr, and the other learned foreigners, were hard preſſed in diſputes with popiſh Engliſh divines. Oglethorpe, the preſident of Magdalen-college in Oxford, was particularly obnoxious, as being backward in the work of reformation, and there was ſome talk of proſecuting him before the council: but he prevented this, by ſending a letter to Cranmer, ſetting forth his own conduct in the moſt favourable light, wherein he declared his diſlike to tranſubſtantiation; yet he thought that Chriſt was preſent in the Sacrament in ſome inconceivable manner; on which account, he was of opinion, that it ought to be adminiſtred with great devotion and caution. We ſhall find that doctor Oglethorpe was afterwards made biſhop of Carliſle; and that it was he who crowned queen Elizabeth in 1559, notwithſtanding the other biſhops refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity; becauſe that princeſs had ſufficiently declared herſelf againſt the church of Rome.

Wood. 107. Guthrie's hiſt of Eng v. 3. p. 608.

Engliſhman's hiſt. of Eng. v. 2. p. 114. Guth. v. 3. 608. Wood, 107.

Doctor Smith, another eminent profeſſor in Oxford, had been remarkably inconſtant in matters of religion, and was therefore removed from his public profeſſorſhip of divinity, to make way for Peter Martyr, notwithſtanding he was more addicted to the Zuinglian than to the Lutheran doctrines in point of the Sacrament.

Ibid. Wood's hiſt. of Antiq. uni. Oxon l. 1. p. 267.

The ſame year, Martyr was appointed by the king to read a public lecture to the academians in the divinity ſchool, and to have an annuity of forty marks for his reward. He maintained public diſputations with the Romaniſts, who behaved to him more like perſonal enemies than religious adverſaries.

Warner's eccle. hiſt. of Eng. v. 2. b 12. p. 275.

Archbiſhop Cranmer had eſtabliſhed the reformation of the principal errors in divine worſhip; and his next care was to ſettle a form of doctrine according to the ſcriptures. The chief point was the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament? and it is difficult to determine whether this was more ignorantly contended for by the clergy, or more blindly believed by the people. The clergy had always looked upon this as their ſtrong hold, and it was now the only ſupport of their falling power. The people imagined they received the very fleſh of Chriſt, which they eſteemed the greateſt privilege a Chriſtian could enjoy: thus it was magnified by the one, and inſiſted upon by the other, with equal zeal. It was therefore thought neceſſary that this point ſhould be fully opened and conſidered, before any change ſhould be made in the doctrine of the church about it. To this purpoſe diſputations were held publickly on this ſubject in both the univerſities. At Oxford, the popiſh party took advantage of the lenity of the government, and of the archbiſhop's gentleneſs in particular; ſo that they behaved with great inſolence, and diſturbed the divinity profeſſor in his chair. The profeſſor, who was Peter Martyr, complained of this behaviour; and he was convened before the vice-chancellor, together with thoſe who had made the tumult; when he offered to defend the doctrine he had read in the divinity chair, in ſcripture terms, but not in the terms of ſchoolmen. In the latter lay the chief ſtrength of the popiſh doctors, who had little other learning but a dexterity of playing an argument from hand to hand, in a kind of gibberiſh of their own, which had ſomething ſublime in the ſound, but had nothing in it when ſtript of this language. By conſtant practice, they were become very nimble at this ſort of legerdemain; of which Eraſmus, ſir Thomas More, and other learned men of that age, had made ſuch ſport, that it was now become ridiculous. The Proteſtants took advantage of theſe authorities, laid aſide this metaphyſical jargon, and introduced a way of diſputation from the original texts of ſcripture with criticiſm and common ſenſe.

Guthrie's Ed VI. v. 3. p. 11.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the main ſpring which actuated all meaſures, was religion. The young king, and the duke of Somerſet, were ſincerely and virtuouſly diſpoſed towards a reformation; and their meaſures were directed by the cool and politic head of archbiſhop Cranmer, who made an admirable uſe of that knowledge of mankind which he had acquired by his long experience. He could not, indeed, prevent many, who aſſiſted in the work of reformation, from profiting themſelves by the ſpoils of the church:

but he took care, that what ſhe loſt in her property, ſhe ſhould make up in her eſtabliſhment.

The ſpirit of reformation ſeems to have been quickened by the arrival of the foreign divines from Germany and other places. They were in general againſt the imparity of church government: but, in other reſpects, their opinions were not much repugnant to thoſe now received by the church of England. The calling in thoſe foreigners had this happy effect, that their authority, which was great in England on account of their reputation with their own ſects abroad, proved an uſeful counterpoize at the univerſities, to the influence of the Papiſts and the popiſh profeſſors, who continued ſtill numerous there.

Guthrie's Ed. VI. v. 3, p. 22.

The privy-council were informed of the tumult at Oxford, and appointed ſome delegates to hear and preſide in the diſputation which the profeſſor had undertaken. Martyr accordingly maintained, againſt three opponents, that in the ſacrament of thankſgiving there is no tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine in the body and blood of Chriſt: that his body or blood is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor under them: but that his body and blood are united to the bread and wine ſacramentally. This had the common fate of all diſputes; and each ſide declared it had got the better.

Warner. Wood.

In 1550, the king beſtowed a canonry of Chriſt-church upon Martyr, who was inſtalled the twentieth of January. He then entered upon the lodgings belonging to him, which joined on the North-ſide of Chriſt-church great gate leading into Fiſh-ſtreet. His wife Catharine ſettled with him there; as the wife of doctor Cox did about the ſame time with him in the dean's lodgings. It was obſerved, that theſe were the firſt women, who reſided in any college or hall at Oxford; by whoſe example any other canon was permitted to marry, and introduce women and children into thoſe ſeminaries, which was looked upon "as ſuch a damnable matter by the Papiſts, that they uſually ſtiled them concubines; and "called the lodgings that entertained them and their children ſtews and coney-burrows."

Wood, p. 107.

While Martyr continued in theſe apartments, he continually, and eſpecially in the night time, received very opprobrious language from the Papiſts, as well ſcholars as laics, who frequently broke his windows. This diſturbed his ſtudies and ſleep, and obliged him to change his lodgings for thoſe in the cloiſter, where he peaceably ſpent the remaining part of his abode in the univerſity. However, for the cloſer enjoyment of his ſtudies, he erected a fabric of ſtone in his garden, ſituated on the Eaſt-ſide of his apartments, wherein he partly compoſed his commentaries on the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and his epiſtles to learned men. This fabric contained two ſtories, and ſtood till 1684, when it was pulled down.

Doctor Hooper, profeſſor of divinity, was preferred to be biſhop of Glouceſter; but when he came to be conſecrated he ſcrupled the wearing of ſome of the epiſcopal ornaments. Archbiſhop Cranmer ſuſpended Hooper, as mentioned in the life of Bucer. The doctor conſulted Bucer and Martyr upon the affair; and the latter wrote him an anſwer to all his objections, which was fuller than Bucer's letter to the archbiſhop, but exactly conformable to the ſentiments expreſſed in it. He commended Hooper for his pains in preaching; but adviſed him not to exert his zeal upon points that are indefenſible, and things of little moment; leſt the people ſhould from thence be led to call in queſtion the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in the moſt important articles. He reminded him, that an abſtinence from things ſtrangled and from blood was a part of the Jewiſh inſtitution; and yet that the council at Jeruſalem commanded the Gentiles to obſerve it, to avoid giving offence. In anſwer to one objection of Hooper's, "that we ought to have an expreſs warrant from ſcripture for "every thing belonging to religion:" Martyr told him, that if the general rules of order were obſerved, the governors of the church had a diſcretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for inſtance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a declining poſture, and in a congregation of men only, ſtood upon no other than eccleſiaſtical, that is, human authority; to which he preſumed, that Hooper had always ſubmitted without any ſcruple. He told him further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant from the New Teſtament for ſinging pſalms in public worſhip; and that the Chriſtian church from the beginning, in many particulars, had a regard to the Jewiſh polity; eſpecially in the great feſtivals of Eaſter, and Whitſunday. Suppoſing, what he could not grant, that the epiſcopal habit and veſtments were introduced into the church by the ſee of Rome; yet he did not think the contagion of popery ſo very malignant as to carry infection to every thing which it touched: that to govern by ſuch narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient reſtraint upon the church of God; and that our anceſtors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning Heathen temples into Chriſtian churches, and of tranſlating the revenues ſacred to idolatry, to pious uſes, and the maintenance of the clergy.

Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 7, p. 402.
Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. v. 2, p. 288.

Hooper continued his non-conformity; but he was afterwards conſecrated biſhop, and in 1555 died a martyr, as will be particularly related in his life. Peter Martyr, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the king; as all other learned followers had, according to biſhop Latimer, who ſaid, in one of his court ſermons; “There “ is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochin, which have “ an hundred marks a-piece. I would the king would beſtow a thouſand pounds on that ſort.” Such were the ſentiments of this moſt venerable prelate and martyr, the pious Latimer. Ochinus was born at Sienna; and is ſaid to have founded the order of Capuchins in 1525. Boverius denies this: but Bayle allows he was elected general of the order, in which he continued from 1534, to 1542. He fled out of Italy to embrace the Proteſtant religion. Martyr met him at Florence, and followed him to Switzerland, where Ochinus married to give an authentic proof of his renunciation of popery. Not only the common people, but great lords and ſovereign princes, reverenced him as a ſaint. When he was to preach any where, the people flocked there; whole cities came to hear him; there was no church large enough to contain the multitude. There were printed in Germany twenty ſermons, which Ochinus had preached in his monk's habit; wherein he came very little ſhort of the pure doctrine of the Proteſtants, upon juſtification, good works, confeſſion, ſatisfaction, indulgences, purgatory, and other points.

Strype's Cranmer, p. 400.
Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 541.
Gratiani, l. 2. c. 9.
Beza in iconibus in Pet. Martyre.
Bayle, v. 4, p. 386.
Seckendorf's hiſt. Lutheran. ſupplem.

The death of Bucer, which happened in 1551, was greatly lamented by king Edward VI. and all the friends of the reformation in England. He was no friend to the book of Common-Prayer as it ſtood at the time of his death; and his remonſtrances, with thoſe of Martyr and Calvin, prevailed with archbiſhop Cranmer, and the other prelates of the reformation, to ſuffer it to be reviſed and corrected. Catharine, the wife of Peter Martyr, died about the ſame time, and ſhe was buried in the cathedral church of Oxford, near to the place where the reliques of St. Frideſwede had been repoſed: but, about four years after, her body was taken up, thrown out of the church with ſcorn, and buried in a dunghill, where it lay till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, when ſhe ordered the body to be taken up and reburied. The remains of Bucer were alſo dug up, and burnt, at Cambridge, as mentioned in his life. “ The wife of Peter Martyr had been “ ſuſpected of hereſy: but, as ſhe was a foreigner, and did not ſpeak Engliſh, it was im- “ poſſible to prove the charge againſt her; yet this did not prevent her body being taken out “ of its grave, and buried in unconſecrated ground.” The bodies of Bucer and Fagius were taken up and burnt under the farce of law. “ The like difficult proceſs was alſo “ carried on againſt the body of Peter Martyr's wife: but the viſitors could not hear of “ any witneſſes that had heard her utter any hereſy. They ſent up therefore to cardinal “ Pole for freſh inſtructions; who directed, that ſince it was notorious ſhe had been a nun “ and had married contrary to her vow, her body ſhould be taken up, and buried in a “ dunghill, as a perſon dying under excommunication; which was done accordingly.”

Guthrie, v. 3, p. 608.
Wood's Athenæ, p. 107.
Hiſt. et Ant. Ox. lib. 1, p. 279.
Guthrie, vol. 3, p. 613.
Warner, 2.

King Edward VI. died in 1553, in the ſixteenth year of his age; which gave a violent blow to the reformation. He was ſucceeded by his ſiſter Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, who had been educated a Papiſt, and whoſe reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs. Upon her acceſſion, all the popiſh biſhops were reſtored, and the Proteſtant biſhops ſet aſide. A letter was iſſued to the biſhops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exerciſes of preaching and expounding the ſcriptures without the queen's licence. Thus, the ſupremacy, for this time, was borrowed by a popiſh ſovereign, to be the ſcourge of the reformation. In the beginning of this reign, many Proteſtants foreſaw the approaching perſecutions which diſhonoured the nation, and retired abroad; ſome to Switzerland, and others to Germany. A reſolution was taken to bring into the univerſities a teſt for purging them of all Proteſtants, and to prevent their readmiſſion for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows:

Engliſhman's hiſt. of Engl. v. 2, p. 85.
Guthrie, vol. 3, p. 609.
Ibid. p. 612.

“ You ſhall ſwear, by the holy contents of this book, that you ſhall not keep, hold, “ maintain, and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of “ Wickliffe, Huſs, Luther, or any other condemned of hereſy: and that ye ſhall keep, “ hold, maintain, and defend generally and eſpecially, all ſuch articles and points as the “ Catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth, at this time: and that ye “ ſhall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all traditions, inſtitutions, “ rites, ceremonies, and laudable cuſtoms, as the ſaid church of Rome taketh them, al- “ loweth them, and approveth them: and that you ſhall namely and ſpecially hold as the “ ſaid Catholic church holdeth in all theſe articles, wherein lately hath been controverſy, “ diſſention, and error; as concerning faith and works, grace, and free-will, of ſin in a “ good work, of the ſacrifice of the New Teſtament, of the prieſthood of the new law, “ of Communion under both kinds, of Baptiſm and Chriſtian liberty, of monaſtic vows, of “ faſting and choice of meats, of the ſingle life of prieſts, of the church, of the canonical “ books, of the firm holding of matters not expreſt in the Scriptures, of the inerrability “ of general councils in faith and manners, of the power of the church to make laws, “ of the church's ſacraments and their efficacy, of the power of excommunication con- “ ferred upon the church, of puniſhing heretics, of the ſacrifice of the maſs, of purga- “ tory, of worſhipping ſaints and praying to them, of worſhipping the images of ſaints,

“ of pilgrimages, of evangelical precepts and councils. And likewiſe of all other articles, wherein controverſy or diſſention hath been in the church before this day.”

The Roman-catholics at Oxford, without waiting for any directions from the court, drove Peter Martyr from the divinity chair, and brought the old ſervice into the churches with all the train of ceremonies formerly uſed. Martyr then left Oxford, and went to London, where the queen granted him a ſafe-conduct, with which he returned to Straſburg, where he met doctor Cox and ſome other Engliſh fugitives, and renewed his lectures in philoſophy and divinity. Ochinus went to Straſburg with his friend Martyr; and it was in the year 1553, that they repaſſed the ſea. Ochinus went to Switzerland, where he continued ten years, when he was baniſhed for his writings, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and then went to Moravia, where he died of the plague. There are expreſs and unexceptionable proofs that Ochinus fled from Baſil to the ſectaries in Poland, and died in thoſe parts; yet the capuchins made no ſcruple to publiſh, that he died a Roman-catholic martyr at Geneva.

Wood's Athenæ, p. 107.

Bayle, v. 4. p. 388.

Bzovius ad, Ann. 1542, p. 96.

Martyr travelled to Zurick in 1556, where he met with doctor Jewel and ſeveral other exiled divines of England. In this city he took to his ſecond wife one Catharine Merenda. While he continued there, Maximilian Celſus, an exiled count, and the chief miniſter of the Italian church of Geneva, died; whereupon Martyr was invited to ſucceed him, which he refuſed for ſeveral reaſons. When queen Mary died, queen Elizabeth invited him to return to England, and accept of what preferment he pleaſed, which he modeſtly declined.

Wood, p. 107.

Catharine Merenda was a nun, if we believe Remond, who ſays, that Martyr was poſſeſſed with the ſame paſſions as Luther, transferring his devotions upon theſe nuns, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who threw off their monaſtic habit. Remond alſo ſays, that Martyr would have no other but the ſpoil of monaſteries; yet he owns that Catharine Merenda was recommended to him for a wife. He adds, that Brentius attacked him very roughly: and that Martyr, nettled at the boldneſs of Brentius, who had uſed him with no great meaſure of Chriſtianity, was preparing a reply, when he ſickened and died.

Bzovius, p. 87.

Flor. de Remond, p. 297.

It appears that Martyr was in France in 1561, when he paid a viſit to John Anthony Caraccioli, the biſhop of that place, who had openly declared himſelf a Proteſtant. This prelate had not been confirmed or elected by the church and people; which made him in doubt, whether he could lawfully exerciſe the paſtoral function? He convened the elders of the reformed church, who met at Poiſſy, and referred the affair to the church of Geneva. “In the mean time, paſſed through Troyes, that great man Peter Martyr, in his return from Poiſſy to his church at Zurick; by whoſe advice, the biſhop made his abjuration, ſigned the confeſſion of faith, promiſed to quit his biſhopric, and was received into the miniſtry.”

Thuanus, lib. 28, p. 569.

Beza's eccleſ. hiſt. v. 1, b, 5, p. 767.

Martyr frequently ſhifted the place of his abode, “and reſigned up his laſt breath at Zurick, on the twelfth of November 1562. He was buried there with all the ſolemnity fitting for ſo learned and great a clerk as he was.” He wanted a month and four days of being ſixty-two years of his age at his death; and his loſs was greatly regretted by the Proteſtants, whoſe cauſe he had greatly promoted by his writings. His *Epiſtolæ Theologicæ*; *Loci communes ſacrarum literarum*; *comment. in epiſt. S. Pauli ad Romanos*; *tractatio de ſacramento Euchariſtiæ habita Oxonii, cum jam abſolviſſet interpretationem XI. capitis prioris epiſtolæ ad Corinthios*; *Diſputatio de Euchariſtiæ ſacramento habita in ſchola Theol. Oxon*; *Com. in lib. Judicum*; *Exhortatio ad ſacrarum literarum ſtudium*; *Adhortatio ad cænam domini myſticam*; and ſome others, have been tranſlated into the Engliſh language: and his other writings have been carefully preſerved in Germany; all which tended to promote the reformation.

Wood, p. 108.

The LIFE of JOHN CALVIN:

The REFORMER of GENEVA, &c.

From 1509, to 1564.

Lord Bacon's Eſſays, ch. 3, p. 10, 13.

“ RELIGION being the chief band of human ſociety, it is a happy thing when itſelf “ is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and diviſions about “ religion were unknown to the Heathen. The reaſon was, becauſe the religion of the “ Heathen conſiſted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any conſtant belief. For you “ may imagine what kind of belief theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their “ church were the poets.” Theſe are the words of a great and wiſe man, who ſeems to have been copied by an elegant modern writer. This is Voltaire, who, in his account of Calviniſm in France, ſays, “ It is doubtleſs a melancholy conſideration, that the Chriſtian “ church has always been torn by diſſentions; and that ſo much blood ſhould have been “ ſhed by hands deſtined to have carried the ſymbols of the God of peace. This furious “ zeal was unknown to Paganiſm. It indeed covered the earth with darkneſs; but it “ ſcarce ever occaſioned any blood to be ſpilt, except that of animals: and if ſometimes, as “ among the Jews and Heathens, human victims were offered to the deity; theſe ſacrifices, “ horrible as they were, never produced civil wars. The religion of the Heathens con“ ſiſted wholly in morality and feſtivals. Morality, which is the ſame at all times, and “ in all places; and feſtivals, which were no more than public rejoicings, could never diſ“ turb the peace of mankind.”

Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. ch. 32, v. 2, p. 211.

Lord Bacon alſo obſerves, in his eſſay of “ the unity of the church,” that as for the fruits of it towards thoſe that are within, It is peace, which containeth all other bleſſings: it eſtabliſhes faith; it kindleth charity: the outward peace of the church diſtilleth into peace of conſcience: and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controverſies into treatiſes of mortification and devotion.

Biſhop Berkley's Eſſays, &c. p. 33. Ib. Diſcourſes to Magiſtrates, p. 60. Romans, ch. i, v. 20.

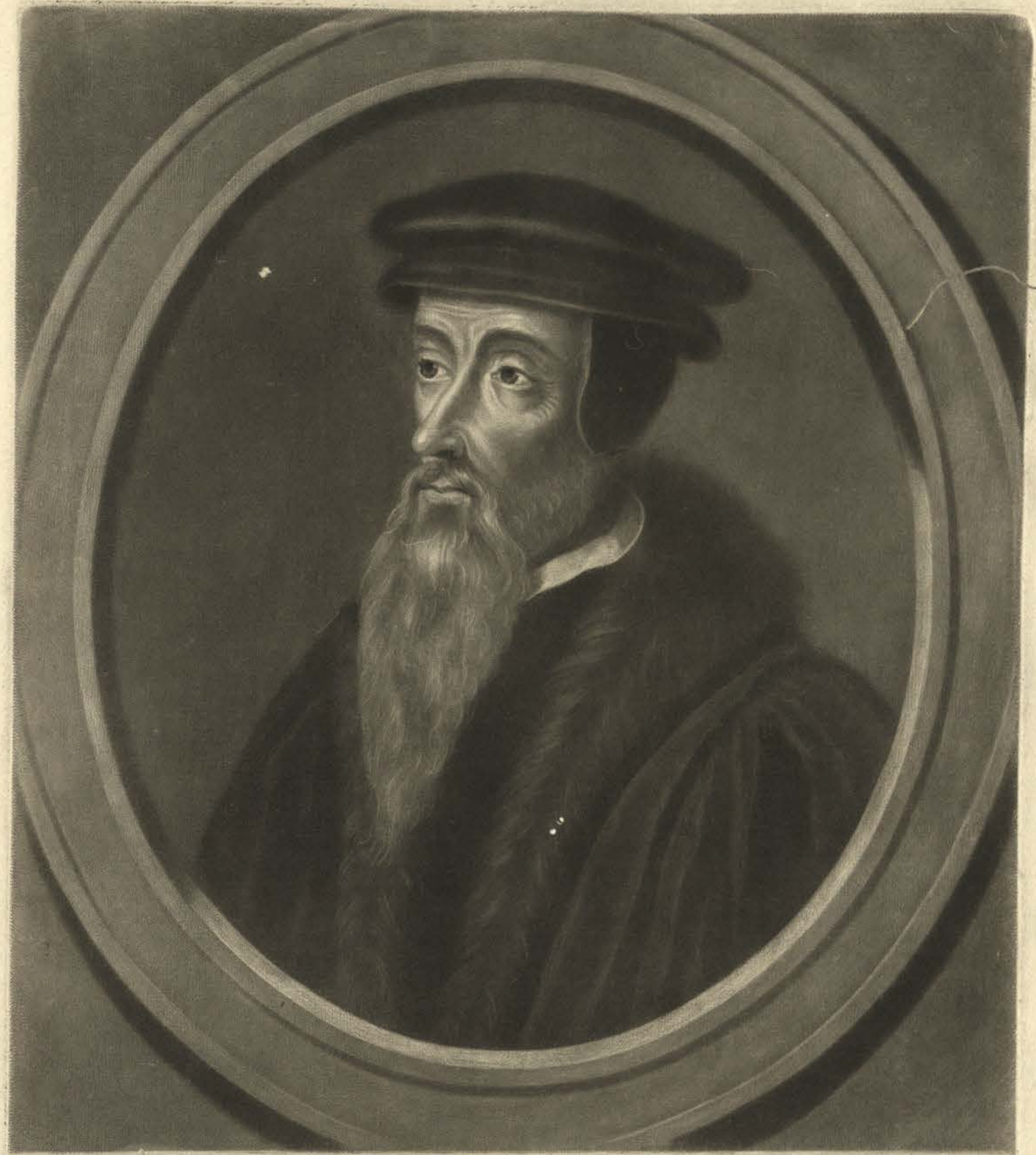
I am not, ſays a learned prelate, for placing an invidious power in the hands of the clergy, or complying with the narrowneſs of any miſtaken zealots, who ſhould incline to perſecute diſſenters. On another occaſion, he ſays, “ I deſire it may be conſidered, that “ moſt men want leiſure, opportunity, or faculties, to derive concluſions from their prin“ ciples, and eſtabliſh morality on a foundation of human ſcience. True it is, as St. Paul “ obſerves, that *the inviſible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly ſeen.* “ And from thence the duties of natural religion may be diſcovered. But theſe things are “ ſeen and diſcovered by thoſe alone who open their eyes, and look narrowly for them. “ Now, if you look throughout the world, you ſhall find but few of theſe narrow in“ ſpectors and inquirers, very few who make it their buſineſs to analyſe opinions and pur“ ſue them to their rational ſource, to examine whence truths ſpring, and how they are “ inferred. In ſhort, you ſhall find all men full of opinions; but knowledge only in a “ few. It may not be amiſs to inculcate, that the difference between prejudices and other “ opinions doth not conſiſt in this; that the former are falſe, and the latter true: but in “ this, that the former are taken upon truſt, and the latter acquired by reaſoning. Above “ all others, religious notions, or, if you will, prejudices, have the moſt influence; they “ are the ſtrongeſt curb from vice, and the moſt effectual ſpur to worthy conduct.”

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 182.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 554.

Theſe extracts may not be judged improper to introduce the life of Calvin, who was the founder of Calviniſm, which has been embraced by ſeveral nations. This eminent reformer was born, on the tenth of July 1509, at Noyon, a city of France, in the territory of Soiſſons, fifty-eight miles N. E. of Paris. His parents were Gerhard Calvin and Jane Francke, who enjoyed a decent fortune, and beſtowed on him a liberal education. They intended him for the ſervice of the church, and ſent him from the grammar-ſchool, to the college of La Marche in Paris, where he was inſtructed in the grounds of literature by Maturinus Corderius, who was one of the beſt grammarians and ſchoolmaſters that could be deſired; for he underſtood the Latin tongue very well, was a man of virtue, and diligently applied himſelf to his function; being as careful to form his ſcholars to wiſdom,

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston Fecit

Johannes Calvinus.

Natus 10 Jul. Aº 1509 Denatus 27 May Aº 1564.

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as to good Latin. Calvin afterwards dedicated to him his commentary upon the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. He was removed from his tuition, and placed under the care of Hiſpanus, a Spaniſh maſter, in Montague college, where he ſtudied logic and divinity.

Beza's life of Calvin, p. 51. Dupin.

As Calvin was deſigned for the church, his father early obtained for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon. Thoſe who report that Calvin was a canon there are miſtaken: the benefice was not a canonicate, but a chapel called de la Geſine, to which he was preferred on the twenty-firſt of May 1521. He was preſented to the cure of Marteville on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1527; which, on the fifth of July 1529, he exchanged for the cure of Pont l'Eveque, a village near Noyon, where his father was born. But we muſt obſerve, that Calvin was never in prieſt's orders; nor any farther an eccleſiaſtic than by ſimple tonſure.

Drelincourt's defence of Calvin, p. 215. Bayle, p. 260. Dupin, p. 187.

Calvin was engaged by Robert Olivetan to ſtudy religion in its ſource, which made him reſolve to renounce all ſuperſtitions; eſpecially as his father had altered his mind, and rather choſe to make him an advocate than a divine. Olivetan was his kinſman, and intended to bring him over to the doctrine of the reformers: ſo that after Calvin had finiſhed his humanity ſtudies at Paris, he was ſent to Orleans, where he ſtudied the civil law under the direction of Peter d' l'Etoile, who was preſident in the parliament of Paris, and called in Latin Petrus Stella. From thence he was ſent to Bourges, to perfect himſelf in that ſtudy under Andrew Alciat, a Milaneſe, and a great Civilian, who was invited from Milan by Francis I. to promote the knowledge of the civil law in the univerſity of Bourges, where the fame of his abilities drew from all parts a great number of ſtudents. He mixed a great deal of literature with the explication of the laws, and happily baniſhed that barbarous language which had till then prevailed in the lectures and writings of the Civilians. For this he is highly extolled by Thuanus; and he afterwards wrote a lively deſcription of the abuſes of a monaſtic life.

Bayle, v. 1. p. 193. Panzirollus de claris legum interpret. l. 2, c. 169.

Calvin made great progreſs in the civil law; and purſued his private ſtudies in the holy Scriptures with equal ſucceſs. He was incited to the latter by Melchior Wolmar, who was profeſſor of Greek at Bourges, and ſecretly a Lutheran. Wolmar made Calvin a maſter of the Greek language; and Calvin afterwards dedicated to him his comment upon the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians; as he had done that upon the Theſſalonians to his Latin maſter Corderius.

While Calvin was ſtudying the civil law at Bourges, he preached ſeveral ſermons in a neighbouring town called Liveria: but his father died in 1532; on which account he returned to Paris, in the twenty-third year of his age, with a reſolution to make divinity his principal ſtudy. Soon after he came back to Paris, he wrote a commentary upon Seneca's treatiſe "De Clementia." Bayle has expoſed the errors of Varillas regarding this book, which Calvin dedicated to Claude Hangeſt, abbot of St. Eloi in Noyon. But Varillas, in another place, ſays, that Calvin "wrote this commentary upon Seneca to acquire "a reputation; for he intended to inſinuate into Francis I. who was a great admirer of "ſuch treatiſes, a diſlike of the fires he had kindled throughout France, to puniſh thoſe "who were convicted of ſpeaking againſt the religion of their fathers." This tranſlation of Seneca was only an explication of his ſenſe, and a confirmation of it, with ſome examples and quotations, in the ſtile of a commentator. Varillas never ſaw this piece: he took it for an oration: yet he ſays, "the panegyriſts of Calvin preferred it to all the "pieces of eloquence and learning wrote either by the ancients or moderns upon the ſame "ſubject."

Beza. Bayle, v. 2, p. 260. Varillas's Hiſtory of Francis I. t. 2, l. 7. p. 251. Dupin. Bayle. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſy, b. 10.

After reſiding a few months at Paris, Calvin became acquainted with all thoſe who profeſſed the reformed religion; and particularly with Stephen Forgeus, an eminent merchant, who afterwards ſealed the truth with his blood. Francis I. was equally deſirous with the pope to aboliſh the pragmatic ſanction made by Charls VII. compoſed of the degrees and canons of the council of Bale, which reſtored the ancient freedom of elections, and ſuppreſſed the abuſes introduced by the court of Rome. Accordingly, the king aboliſhed that ordinance; and the pope conſented that his majeſty ſhould nominate to the biſhoprics and abbies of his own dominions. The pope failed in his obſervance of theſe promiſes; and it was about this time, that Calvin embraced the doctrine of Oecolampadius, and began publickly to teach it. "He explained himſelf in ſo obſcure a manner, in regard to "the real preſence of the body of our Saviour in the Euchariſt, that his followers have "entirely abandoned it, and have embraced the opinion of Zuinglius, who abſolutely de- "nied the corporal preſence in the body of Jeſus Chriſt, and admitted it only in a fi- "gurative ſenſe; whereas Luther acknowledged the corporal preſence, though he denied "it by the tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Sa- "viour, which is the doctrine of the Catholic-church."

Chalons's Hiſtory of France, v. 2, p. 70. Ibid. p. 136.

Calvin was eſteemed in the French congregations, as one of the moſt able and beſt qualified men to teach and defend the doctrine of the reformation, which had been introduced into that kingdom. Nicholas Copus was then rector of the univerſity of Paris, who had a ſpeech to make on the firſt of November 1532; in which he was aſſiſted by Calvin,

Dupin.

who inſerted into it ſuch aſſertions concerning religion as the divines of Paris thought contrary to the faith and Chriſtian piety. It ſo much diſpleaſed the parliament, as well as the Sorbonne, that it occaſioned the beginning of a perſecution againſt the Proteſtants. The parliament ſummoned the rector, who fled out of the kingdom to Baſil. They alſo ſent to apprehend Calvin in the college of Forteret; but he eſcaped out at the window by the help of the ſheets, and they ſeized his papers, among which there were letters found that diſcovered ſeveral of his correſpondents.

Bayle, p. 261.
Maimbourg, p. 58.
Dupin.

The queen of Navarre appeaſed this firſt ſtorm, and Calvin had the honour of a conference with her majeſty, who delivered the learned Faber Stapulenſis out of the hands of the inquiſitors, and ſent him to Nerac. This queen of Navarre was Margaret de Valois, ſiſter to Francis I. a princeſs of extraordinary merit; and much admired for her virtue, piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She married, in 1527, Henry d' Albret II. king of Navarre; and ſhe gladly would have introduced the reformed religion into his dominions. The reformers were protected under her patronage; and ſhe wrote a book in French rhime, called "the Mirrour of the ſkilful Soul;" which was cenſured by the Sorbonne. It was compoſed in a ſtrain very unuſual in the church of Rome: no mention was made in it either of male or female ſaints, merits, or any other purgatory than the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and even the prayer, commonly called *Salve Regina*, is there applied in French to the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. She was a princeſs of excellent underſtanding, raiſed up by God to break up the cruel deſigns of Anthony Duprat, chancellor of France, and others who incenſed the king againſt thoſe they called heretics. Many of the reformed clergy were maintained in ſchools at her own expence, not only in France, but alſo in Germany. She took a wonderful care to preſerve and ſecure thoſe that were in danger for the Proteſtant religion, and to ſuccour the refugees at Straſburg and Geneva. It is recorded in the regiſters of the parliament of Bourdeaux, that this queen, coming into court as governeſs, in the abſence of the king her huſband, made it her earneſt requeſt, that the court would releaſe one Andrew Melanchthon, accuſed of hereſy, which Philip Melanchthon had ſtrongly ſollicited of her by letters. Andrew propagated the doctrine of his kinſman ſo ſucceſsful in the Agenois, that it it could not be extirpated. In ſhort, this good-natured princeſs had nothing more at heart than to procure the eſcape of the reformers; and ſhe, by little touches, endeavoured to impreſs on the ſoul of the king her brother ſome pity for the Lutherans. But ſhe a little eclipſed her glory by her credulity in her later years: yet Mezerai ſays, that towards the end of her days, in 1549, ſhe ſeemed to repent of her repentance, and deſired Calvin, by letters, to come and inſtruct and comfort her. Joan d'Albret, daughter of Margaret, and likewiſe queen of Navarre, had alſo much indulgence for the reformed religion, and declared herſelf its protectreſs, when her huſband, Anthony de Bourbon duke of Vendome, renounced Calviniſm, and became its perſecutor. He was killed at the ſiege of Rouen, in 1562; but ſhe eſtabliſhed the reformed religion in her dominions, verifying in effect the ſaying of the prophet, that queens ſhould be the nurſing-mothers of the church of God; though, at that time, ſhe was menaced and terrified, as much a queen as ſhe was, all manner of ways; ſo far as to let her underſtand that ſhe ſhould be divorced by the pope, deprived of her kingdom and eſtates, and condemned at leaſt to perpetual impriſonment. Perhaps an amazon, ſuch as Pentheſilea, would have ventured to have aboliſhed a religion ſhe believed to be falſe: but in thoſe ages they were ignorant of what this princeſs knew: "They did not know, that the "people, whoſe altars are deſtroyed, have directors of their conſcience, who encouraged "them to rebellion, and find a hundred ways to conſpire againſt the lives of kings." If it be ſtrange that the queen of Navarre was ſo undaunted as not to fear ſuch dangers, which ſhe was perfectly acquainted with; it is ſtill more ſurprizing that ſhe maintained herſelf ſurrounded as ſhe was by two powerful princes, the king of Spain on one ſide, and the king of France on the other, both poſſeſſed with ſuch a cruelty againſt the Proteſtants, as has but few examples; both incited and animated by the ſtrong ſollicitations of the court of Rome. She was poiſoned at Paris in 1572; and that death could not but be very ſeaſonable to this princeſs, who would have been inconſolable, had ſhe ſeen the Paris maſſacre on ſaint Bartholomew's day. Henry IV. of France, was the ſon of this queen. He was the firſt prince of the blood, and chief of the houſe of Bourbon, when he ſucceded Henry III. in whom the line of Valois became extinct. This prince was born a Calviniſt, which religion he really loved, without being a bigot: but he found it impoſſible, notwithſtanding all his victories and virtues, to get poſſeſſion of his kingdom without abandoning Calviniſm. After his converſion to the Romaniſts, gratitude would not permit him to ſeek the deſtruction of the Huguenots, to whom he was indebted for his crown: but if he had been inclined to make the attempt, it is more than probable that he would have miſcarried. He therefore cheriſhed, and protected, the Proteſtants.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 317.
Beza hiſt. eccleſ. l. 1, p. 5, 14.
Flor. de Remond, l. 7, p. 849.
Beza, p. 22.
Mezerai Chron Abridg. t. 6, p. 409.
Beza, 9, p. 795.
Bayle, v. 4, p. 329
Spond. Num. 26.
Thuanus, p. 1058.
Chalons, 2, p. 347.
Voltaire's Lew's XIV. v. 2, p. 214.

So far it has been thought neceſſary to give a conciſe account of the family of Navarre, which protected Calvin, and promoted Calviniſm.

When Calvin retired to Xaintonge, he got the friendſhip of Lewis du Tillet, canon of Angouleſme, at whoſe requeſt he compoſed ſome ſhort Chriſtian exhortations, which were read as homilies in ſome pariſhes, to accuſtom the people gradually to ſearch after the truth. He went from Angouleſme to Poitiers, where he got new diſciples, to whom he adminiſtered the ſacrament in caves and grottoes. He paid Stapulenſis a viſit at Nerac in Gaſcony, and returned to Paris in 1534, at the time that Rouſſel and Coraldus were baniſhed that city, and orders were iſſued for apprehending the reformers. Servetus was then at Paris, where he diſperſed his books againſt the trinity; in which he was oppoſed by Calvin, who agreed to engage in a diſpute with him; but Servetus would not appear at the appointed conference.

Drelincourt, p. 40.
Maimburg, p. 59.
Dupin, p. 182.
Beza, v. 1, p. 14.

Francis I. was accuſed of having ſhewn too much indulgence to the reformers: but Mezerai has refuted this accuſation. Davila laid the charge in theſe words: "The belief of Calvin began to ſpread in the reign of this king, whether he allowed it, or took no notice of it." The French hiſtorian convicts this Italian of forgetfulneſs or partiality: "What! ſays he, to make ſix or ſeven ſevere edicts to ſtifle it, to convoke the clergy ſeveral times, to aſſemble a provincial council, to be continually ſending ambaſſadors to all the princes in Chriſtendom to have a general one called; to burn heretics by dozens, to ſend them to the gallies by hundreds, and to baniſh them by thouſands: can this be ſaid to allow, or take no notice of it? Are theſe bare reſolutions, or real performances?" Another French writer ſays, that "this king burnt a great many Lutherans; and ſpared none that he could diſcover: yet he took Geneva under his protection;" which was the metropolis of the reformed, and their mother church. This is one of the moſt common ſcenes of the great comedy of the world. Sovereign princes, in all ages, have played thus with religion; and they play this game ſtill; for they perſecute at home, a religion which they ſupport abroad. You muſt not infer from hence, that they have no religion: for the inference would be falſe; they are often religious even to bigotry. What then can be the reaſon of this? They have a greater regard for the temporal intereſt of their dominions, than for the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. "I do not, ſays Bayle, except the pope himſelf."

Mezerai's Hiſtory of France, t. 2, p. 1038.
Brantome's Hiſtory of France, t. 1, p. 231.
Bayle, v. 3, p. 94.

This perſecution made Calvin reſolve to quit France as ſoon as he had publiſhed a treatiſe at Orleans concerning the Pſychopannychia, againſt thoſe who believe the ſoul ſleeps, after leaving the body, to the day of Judgment. He choſe Baſil for the place of his retreat, where he was accompanied by his brother Anthony Calvin, and Lewis du Tillet. He ſoon contracted a particular friendſhip with Grynæus and Capito, with whom he ſtudied Hebrew. He was not greedy of praiſe; yet was obliged to publiſh his "Chriſtian Inſtitution," which he dedicated to Francis I. This work contributed greatly to his reputation; and his dedicatory epiſtle is one of thoſe prefatory pieces ſo much admired like Caſaubon's preface to Polybius, and the dedication of Thuanus. It was dated from Baſil, the firſt of Auguſt, 1536; and the whole was intended as the ſpecimen of a very large work. For Francis I. by his cruel executions, had greatly diſguſted the German princes, who had eſpouſed the goſpel, and whoſe friendſhip he courted; therefore, he contrived this only cunning expedient to declare to them, that he had only proceeded againſt Anabaptiſts, who ſet up their enthuſiaſm againſt the word of God, and contemned all magiſtracy. "Calvin was not able to bear this reflection caſt upon the true religion, and took occaſion to print that book; in my opinion, ſays Beza, an incomparable one." The author afterwards retouched his "Chriſtian Inſtitution," and rendered it ſo excellent in Latin, that it was admired even by Scaliger. The work was divided into four books, and contained eighty chapters. It was firſt printed at Baſil in 1535; but the preface was dated from thence the firſt of Auguſt 1536, and it was afterwards tranſlated into almoſt all the European languages.

Dupin.
Beza, p. 368.
Bayle, v. 2, p. 261.
Beza in vita Calv. p. 357.

When Calvin had publiſhed this book, he made a journey into Italy, to wait on the dutcheſs of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII. She was a princeſs of exemplary piety, and a favourer of the reformation. Calvin met with a very gracious reception from her: but the duke of Ferrara would not ſuffer him to continue long with his dutcheſs, and he returned into France, to ſettle his affairs in that kingdom, from whence he prepared to ſet out for Straſburg, or Baſil, accompanied by Anthony Calvin, the only brother he had living.

The war had left no other paſſage, but through the duke of Savoy's dominions, which obliged them to take that courſe. This ſeemed a particular direction of providence, that deſigned him for Geneva, where he was kindly entertained by William Farel, who detained him there, as it were, by an order from above. Farel was a Frenchman, and a reformer, who, like Calvin, fled from his native country to avoid the perſecution of the Papiſts. He received the *hand of fellowſhip* from Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito, among whom he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for the reformation. He diſputed againſt popery in Geneva, from whence he was obliged to retire by the violence of the great vicar and other eccleſiaſtics: but he was recalled there, in 1534, by the in-

Bayle, p. 263.
Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 112.

habitants, who had renounced the Romiſh church; and he was the principal inſtrument of the entire ſuppreſſion of popery, which happened in that city the next year.

Beza, p. 368.

Epiſt. 16, ad Tigurinos miniſtros.

Farel was a man of a truly heroic ſpirit, and uſed a great many arguments to prevail with Calvin to ſtay and aſſiſt him at Geneva, rather than proceed any farther. Calvin was unwilling to continue there, till Farel ſaid to him, "Behold, I declare to you, in the name of Almighty God, that unleſs you will here become fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, his curſe will be upon you, for ſeeking yourſelf rather than Chriſt." Peter Viret ſeconded Farel, and Calvin then ſubmitted to the judgment of the Preſbytery and magiſtrates; by whoſe ſuffrages, together with the conſent of the people, he was choſen preacher, and divinity profeſſor. He complied with the latter, and would have declined the former; but he was obliged to undertake both functions. Calvin afterwards called Farel his "fellow-labourer, to whom the Geneveſe owed even themſelves; that he was the father of their liberty, and the founder of their church." This year was remarkable for a ſtricter league between Bern and Geneva; as alſo for the eſtabliſhment of the goſpel at Lauſanne, where a free diſputation was held between the Pontificans and Proteſtants, at which Calvin was preſent.

Dupin, p. 183.

Bayle, p. 264.

Spon, p. 113.

In 1537, Calvin ſucceſsfully oppoſed the Anabaptiſts in a public conference, and confuted Peter Caroli, who had accuſed him and his brethren, of holding particular opinions concerning the Trinity. He alſo wrote two letters into France, to confirm the Proteſtants in their faith: one of them directed to Nicholas Cheminus, was an exhortation to avoid idolatry; and the other was to Gerard Rouſſel, lately made biſhop of Oleron, againſt the popiſh prieſthood. He made all the people ſolemnly ſwear to a form of faith, and abjure popery. He alſo drew up a Catechiſm, which he cauſed to be taught in Geneva; and he endeavoured to reconcile the principal families which had been divided into ſeveral factions.

Hooker's Pref. to his eccleſ. Polity.

Hooker has given the full character of Calvin, as head of the Genevan diſcipline. "A founder it had, whom for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French church did enjoy, ſince it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others: for though thouſands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind; yet he to none, but only to God, the author of that bleſſed fountain, the book of life; and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides; till being occaſioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva, which city the biſhop and clergy thereof had a little before forſaken, as ſome do affirm; being of likelihood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt, for the aboliſhment of the popiſh religion. At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth to this day; neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman, of any authority or power over them; but officers choſen by the people yearly out of themſelves, to order all things with public conſent. For ſpiritual government they had no laws at all agreed upon; but did what the paſtors of their ſouls by perſuaſion could win them unto. Calvin conſidered how dangerous it was, that the whole eſtate of that church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude, if it have power to change whatſoever itſelf liketh. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other miniſters for more countenance of the action, albeit the reſt were all againſt it, they moved and perſuaded the people to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, *firſt*, never to admit the papacy amongſt them again; and, *ſecondly*, to live in obedience unto ſuch orders, concerning the exerciſe of their religion, and the form of their eccleſiaſtical government, as thoſe their true and faithful miniſters of God's word, had, agreeably to ſcripture, ſet down to that end and purpoſe."

Bayle, v. 2, p. 264.

Dupin, p. 183.

This reformation of doctrines had not removed that corruption of manners which had prevailed in Geneva; nor that factious ſpirit which had ſo much divided the principal families. Therefore Calvin, aſſiſted by his colleagues Farel and Caroldus, declared, that as all their remonſtrances had proved ineffectual, they could not celebrate the holy Sacrament while thoſe diſorders continued. They alſo agreed, that they would no longer ſubmit to the conſtitutions that the ſynod of Bern had made; and they deſired to be heard in the ſynod which was held at Zurick.

Beza, p. 369.

Hooker's Eccleſ. Pol.

The church of Geneva made uſe of leavened bread in the communion: they had removed the baptiſmal fonts out of the churches; and aboliſhed all feſtivals except Sundays. But the churches of the canton of Bern diſapproved of theſe three things; and, by an act made in the ſynod of Lauſanne, required that the uſe of unleavened bread, the baptiſmal fonts, and the feſtivals ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in Geneva. Theſe were the regulations with which Calvin refuſed to comply. It was the manner of thoſe times, ſays Hooker, that every particular church did that within itſelf, which ſome few of their own thought good, by whom the reſt were all directed. "Such number of churches then being, though free within themſelves, yet ſmall, common conference before-hand might have eaſed them of much after-trouble. But it bred a greater inconvenience; becauſe every later

“ endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the church of Rome, than the reſt had been: whereupon grew marvellous great diſſimilitudes; and, by reaſon thereof jealouſies, heart-burnings, jars, and diſcords among them; which notwithſtanding might have been eaſily prevented, if the orders that each church did think fit and convenient for itſelf, had not been ſo peremptorily eſtabliſhed under that high commanding form which tendered them to the people, as things everlaſtingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe ſtatutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to paſs, that one church could not but accuſe and condemn another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was between them: whereas the ſame orders allowed, but eſtabliſhed in a more wary and ſuſpenſe manner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould give the opportunity of ſome general conference, what might be beſt for them afterwards to do; this had both prevented all occaſion of juſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerved a greater liberty unto the authors themſelves of entering into a farther conſultation afterwards; which, though never ſo neceſſary, they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome fear of derogation from their credit; and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after reſolute to maintain. Calvin, therefore, and the other two his aſſociates, ſtiffly refuſing to adminiſter the holy Communion to ſuch who would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, ſubmit themſelves unto the orders which their ſolemn oath had bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel, baniſhed the town.”

Every one imagines that the truths of his religion are ſo clear, that the men of genius of another cannot but be convinced of them. The Syndics of Geneva ſummoned the people in 1538; and Calvin, Farel, and Courant, preſented themſelves before the council, offering to make good their confeſſion of faith. The Syndics favoured the diſcontented party, and were Catholics in their hearts. The council under pretence of preſerving the liberties and privileges of the city; and becauſe Calvin and his friends would not conform to the cuſtom of Bern in celebrating the Communion, made an order to enjoin thoſe three members to leave the city in three days. When this decree was brought to Calvin, he ſaid, “ Truly, if I had ſerved men, I ſhould have had an ill reward: but it is well that I have ſerved him who doth always perform to his ſervants what he hath once promiſed.”

Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 113.

Calvin had no maintenance from the city, and lived at his own expence. He went to Baſil, and from thence to Straſburg; where Bucer and Capito gave him a thouſand marks of their eſteem. He was alſo careſſed by Hedio, and other learned men, who procured him permiſſion from the magiſtrates to ſet up a French church, of which he became the paſtor, and had a competent maintenance allowed him there. He was alſo made profeſſor of divinity, which fruſtrated the expectation of the ſee of Rome; as Calvin ſettled in a new place; and a new church was erected, for the former ſubverted.

Spon, p. 114. Bayle, p. 264. Spon.

While Calvin was abſent from Geneva, cardinal Sadolet wrote an eloquent letter to the inhabitants of that city, to exhort them to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church. Calvin anſwered that letter in 1539; in which he manifeſted his affection for the church of Geneva, and diſappointed the views which the biſhop of Carpentras had in his fine artful letter to that ſtate.

Dupin, p. 183.

So far would the popes and the eccleſiaſtics have been from abandoning their beloved intereſts, founded upon ignorance and ſuperſtition, that a bloody inquiſition would have been eſtabliſhed, not only in Italy and Spain, but in all Chriſtian countries, which would have ſmothered and extinguiſhed for ever thoſe lights which then began to ſparkle. Lutheraniſm gained ſuch ſtrength and ſtability, that it prevented the tyranny of an inquiſition in Germany, and the reformation of Calvin ſecured the liberty of other countries.

Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 261.

Peter Caſtellan, great almoner of France under Francis I. was ſo ſcandalized at the corruptions which he obſerved in the court of Rome, that he could not think, or ſpeak, of them without indignation. He puſhed the matter ſo far, that he believed religion was but a meer farce at Rome, which they made uſe of to deceive the world, to preſerve dominion. Calvin has not ſaid much more of it; Calvin, ſays Bayle, who has been ſo much inſulted, and ſo often called an egregious calumniator, for having made uſe of theſe words regarding the popes and cardinals: “ The firſt article of their ſacred theology is, that there is no God: the ſecond, that all that is written, and preached, of Jeſus Chriſt, is but falſehood and idle talk: the third, that all that is contained in ſcripture concerning eternal life, and the reſurrection of the body, are fables.” Caſtellan ſaid much the ſame; for when he was deſcribing the wanton luſts, avarice, and rapaciouſneſs, of the Roman pontiffs; their contempt of religion; the pride, luxury, and lazineſs of the cardinals, their riotous feaſtings, and other vices, which he had obſerved in the court of Rome, while he was there with the biſhop of Auxerre the French ambaſſador, he would be moved with ſo much indignation, that not only the colour in his face, but the very motions and geſtures of his body would be changed: inſomuch, that he would often ſay, he was fully perſuaded that the popes themſelves, the ſupreme heads of religion, contaminated

Bayle, Caſtellan, v. 2, p. 371, n. h. Inſtit. l. 4, c. 7, p. 27.

Gallandius, in vita Caſtellan, p. 42.

with ſo many vices of their own and thoſe about them, did not ſincerely, and from their hearts, worſhip Chriſt.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 374. Jortin, p. 276.

Calvin, Beza, and ſeveral others, were perſuaded that all thoſe, who at the firſt had favoured the reformation, either by endeavouring to mollify the minds of the perſecutors, or by ſhewing an extreme deſire to ſee the evils of the church at an end, were ſo many apoſtates and betrayers of their own conſciences, if they continued in the communion of Rome, or altered their behaviour towards the Proteſtants.

Ib. 290. Dupin, p. 305. Eraſm. lib. 28, Epiſt. 8. Pref. to St. Hilary.

Formerly faith conſiſted more in a good life, than in the profeſſion of articles of religion. Neceſſity engaged Chriſtians to draw up articles; but few in number, and with an apoſtolical moderation and reſerve. Then the perverſeneſs and malice of heretics caused the holy Scriptures to be more diligently diſcuſſed, and points of doctrine to be determined by ſynodal authority. Then creeds began to be found in mens writings, more than in their hearts; and there were almoſt as many confeſſions of faith, as there were perſons capable of framing them and drawing them up. Articles were multiplied, and ſincerity diminiſhed; diſputes grew hot, and charity grew cold. The doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, which once had nothing to do with verbal writings, began to ſtand in need of philoſophical props; and this was the firſt commencement of the depravation of the church. Riches flowed in, which augmented the corruption, and then violence began to be employed. The authority of the emperors added much to the power of the church, and very little to the purity of the Chriſtian faith. At laſt, ſcholaſtic ſophiſtry aroſe, and begat ten thouſand articles of faith; and theſe were ſupported by terror and menaces.

Bayle. Hooker's Eccleſ. Pol.

Luther, Bucer, Calvin, and other bright ſtars which ſhone in the reformed church, were to enlighten this gloom. The divines of Straſburg deſired Calvin to aſſiſt at the diet the emperor had called at Worms and Ratiſbon in 1541, to ſee if it was poſſible to reconcile the differences in religion. He appeared there with Bucer, and conferred with Melanchthon, who called him his *divine.* The time was now come for eſtabliſhing the church at Geneva, by recalling Calvin. The Syndics who had promoted the decree of baniſhment *were dead or baniſhed; and the people were not before ſo willing to be rid of their learned paſtor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and were unwilling to part with him, if irreſiſtible ſollicitations had not been uſed.*

Cal. Ep. 24. Hooker. Luke xx. 17.

One of the town miniſters, who *ſaw in what manner the people were inclined for the* recalling of Calvin, gave him *notice of their affection in this ſort.* "*The ſenate of two* "hundred being aſſembled, they all deſire Calvin. The next day a general convocation; "they all cry, we will have Calvin, that good and learned man, the miniſter of Chriſt." When Calvin underſtood this, he praiſed God, and judged it was the call of heaven. He ſaid, "It is marvellous in our eyes; for the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was made "the head of the corner." In his abſence, he had perſuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that though he more approved of common bread to be uſed in the Euchariſt; yet they ſhould rather accept the other, than cauſe any trouble in the church about it.

Hooker.

The people ſaw that the name of Calvin increaſed every day greater abroad; and that, with his fame, their infamy was ſpread, who had ejected him with ſuch raſhneſs and folly. "Beſides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways "ſtand the poor town in great ſtead: as the truth is, their miniſter's foreign eſtimation "hath been the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatever ſecret reſpects were likely to "move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned, as it had been another "Tully, to his own home."

Bayle, p. 264.

He re-entered Geneva, on the thirteenth of September 1541, to the infinite ſatiſfaction of the people and magiſtracy; and the firſt thing he did was to eſtabliſh a form of diſcipline; and a conſiſtorial juriſdiction, with power to exerciſe canonical cenſures and puniſhments, even to excommunication excluſive. This diſpleaſed many, who urged, that it was reſtoring the Roman tyranny: however, the thing was executed; and this new canon paſſed into a law, in a general aſſembly of the people, on the twentieth of November 1541.

Hooker's Eccleſ. Pol.

He rightly conſidered how groſs a thing it was for men of his quality, wiſe and grave men, to live with ſuch a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their miniſters, both himſelf and others, had been. For the remedy of this inconvenience, he gave them plainly to underſtand, that if he became their teacher again, they muſt be content to admit a complete form of diſcipline, which both they, and alſo their paſtors, ſhould be ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve for ever after. Of which diſcipline the principal parts were theſe: a ſtanding eccleſiaſtical court to be eſtabliſhed; perpetual judges in that court to be their miniſters, others of the people annually choſen twice ſo many in number as they to be judges together with them in the ſame court: theſe two ſorts to have the care of all mens manners, power of determining all kind of eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and authority to convent, control, and puniſh, as far as with excommunication, whoever they ſhould think worthy, none, either ſmall or great, excepted. "This device, ſays Hooker, I ſee not how the

“ wiſeſt, at that time living, could have bettered, if we duly conſider what the ſtate of “ Geneva did then require. For their biſhop and his clergy being departed from them, “ to chooſe in his room any other biſhop had been a thing altogether impoſſible. And “ for their miniſters to ſeek that themſelves alone might have coercive power over the “ whole church, would perhaps have been hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo “ frank an offer was made, that for every one miniſter, there ſhould be two of the people “ to ſit and give voice in the eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory, what inconvenience could they eaſily “ find, which themſelves might not be able always to remedy? They were brought to “ ſo ſtreight an iſſue, that of two things, they muſt chooſe one; namely, whether they “ would, to their endleſs diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſs, diſmiſs him, whoſe reſtitution “ they had in ſo impotent manner deſired; or elſe condeſcend unto that demand, wherein “ he was reſolute either to have it, or to leave them? They thought it better to be “ ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, than diſcredited for ever abroad: wherefore thoſe orders “ were on all ſides aſſented to; with no leſs alacrity of mind, than cities unable to hold “ out longer, are wont to ſhew when they take conditions, ſuch as it liketh him to “ offer them, which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of advantage.”

I have given ſome account of Switzerland, in the life of Zuinglius, page 53, where it is ſaid that the Geneveſe are allies to the Swiſs. The city of Geneva is ſituated on the river Rhone, at the Weſt end of the lake Lemain, ſeventy miles South-weſt of Bern, and ſixty miles North-eaſt of Lyons in France. It is about two miles in circumference, and contains about thirty thouſand inhabitants. The republic of Geneva, excluſive of the city, is but of ſmall extent, not containing above eleven pariſhes. The city of Geneva is conſiderable for its ſituation, as well as its commerce; it being the key, and the moſt flouriſhing city of Switzerland. Doctor Burnet ſays, “ it is ſurprizing to ſee the learning that “ is here, not only among the profeſſors of it, but the very magiſtrates and trading citizens “ are well verſed in the Latin-tongue, mighty well acquainted with hiſtory, and generally “ men of good ſenſe.” They have an univerſity; but the language of the common people is the Savoyard, or a very bad dialect of the French-tongue: though people of condition ſpeak French in greater purity. Their biſhop was formerly their ſovereign: but when they became a republic, the legiſlative authority was placed in a council of two hundred, and a ſenate of twenty-five, who have the executive power, or adminiſtration of the government. The territories of France and Savoy come up to the very walls of Geneva; and they muſt have been reduced under the dominion of one or the other, if they had not been protected by their allies, the cantons of Friburg, Bern, and Zurick, againſt the attacks of both.

Salmon, p. 91.

Poſtlethwayt's Dict. of Trade, v. 1. p. 891.

Rolt's Dict. of Trade under the article Geneva.

Both the clergy and laity of Geneva engaged themſelves to a perpetual obſervance of the new inſtitution made by Calvin, whoſe inflexible ſeverity, in maintaining the rights of his conſiſtory, raiſed him a great many enemies, and occaſioned ſome diſorders in the city. However, he ſurmounted all oppoſition, and alſo governed the Proteſtants in France, who almoſt all held the doctrine of Calvin, and received miniſters from Geneva, who preſided in their congregations.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 264.

Dupin, p. 183.

An eminent Calviniſt was againſt popular government; becauſe the univerſal kingdom hath one king, and the government of the world is monarchical. There is nothing more clear and certain, than that the ultimate end puts the due eſtimate on all the means of government: but, “ that is the beſt form of government, which moſt powerfully conduces “ to the ſpiritual and everlaſting welfare of the people, their holineſs, obedience, and “ pleaſing of God. If government be no means to this end, it is not good, deſirable, nor “ of God: for if it be not to and for God, it is not from him. The neareſt end of go- “ vernment is order; the next is the maintenance and promotion of the proſperity and ſecu- “ rity of the people, together with the honour of the governor. The more principal end “ is our preſent pleaſing and honouring of God: the ultimate end is our more perfect “ everlaſting pleaſing him in our fruition of him in glory. The good of the world, and “ the whole body of the faithful ſubjects of God, require more attention than the welfare “ of a particular common-wealth. The ſame principles that prove it ſordid and impious “ to value our private perſonal proſperity before that of the common-wealth, prove it as “ bad to value the benefit of one common-wealth before the univerſal kingdom of God on “ earth. If a people could live moſt proſperouſly to themſelves in the ſtate of ſome petty “ republics and free cities; but are thereby incapable of doing much for the ſafety or “ welfare of their brethren abroad, it is not the moſt deſirable government. Civil order is “ the neareſt end of civil polity: but church order, for holy communion in God's wor- “ ſhip, is the neareſt end of church polity.” Yet he ſays, “ that though variety of out- “ ward ſtates, and the neglects of either magiſtrates or paſtors, may be an exception, as “ to inward qualifications, the ſame perſons are generally fit to be members of church and “ common-wealth.”

Baxter's Holy Common-wealth, p. 79.

Ibid. p. 77.

Ibid. p. 81.

Ibid. p. 219, 221.

Dupin ſays, “ The doctrine of Calvin concerning the ſacrament, is not fundamentally “ different from that of the Zuinglians; though he uſes very poſitive words to expreſs

Dupin, p. 183.

“ the preſence of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt. He affirms, *that* we are not only partakers of the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, but alſo of his fleſh which is diſtributed to us: *that* he nouriſhes us there with the proper ſubſtance of his body and blood: *that* it is not to be doubted but we receive his very body: and that this communion of the body and blood of Chriſt is given under the ſymbols of bread and wine to all that celebrate his ſupper, according to its lawful inſtitution; ſo that we truly receive what is ſignified by the ſymbols, that the body which is received is not a ſymbolical body, as it was not a ſymbolical ſpirit which appeared in the baptiſm of our Lord; but the Holy Spirit itſelf was really and ſubſtantially under the ſymbol or outward form of a dove: *that* Jeſus Chriſt is united to us in this ſacrament, not by fancy and imagination, nor by thought, or a bare apprehenſion of the mind, but really and verily by a true and ſubſtantial union: *that* the manner of our receiving the body of Chriſt, is very different from the other manner of receiving him by faith: *that* this myſtery is incomprehenſible, and contains a miracle, which exceeds the limits and capacity of the mind of man, and is the work of God, much above the courſe of nature: *that* there is a divine and ſupernatural change in it, which ſurpaſſes our ſenſible knowledge: *that* the fleſh and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are truly given to the unworthy, as well as to the faithful and elect; though they are not received with benefit, unleſs by the faithful only.” Theſe ſort of expreſſions, and ſeveral others, which are in Calvin's inſtitutions, and his other writings, might make us believe, that he did not deny the real and ſubſtantial preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt: yet, in other places, he clearly rejects not only tranſubſtantiation, but alſo his real preſence; by aſſerting, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially preſent only in heaven; and that it is united to us only by faith, after a ſpiritual manner, by the incomprehenſible working of the Holy Spirit, which joins things together that are ſeparated by diſtance of place. Theſe words, *this is my body*, ought to be underſtood after a figurative manner, according to his notion; and the ſign is there put for the thing ſignified, as when it is ſaid, “The Rock is Chriſt; the lamb is the paſſover; and circumciſion is the covenant.” The body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are united to us only by virtue and efficacy; and his fleſh, remaining in heaven, infuſes life into us from his ſubſtance: laſtly, though the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are communicated to us by the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, they are not really and ſubſtantially preſent there: and though the body and blood of Chriſt are there preſented, and offered to all Chriſtians, they are not really received, except by the truly faithful, and not by the unworthy.

Dupin, p. 184.

Calvin differed not much from Luther in other points of doctrine. He held the ſame principles as to imputative juſtice, and the certainty of our juſtification, which he extended even to an aſſurance of eternal ſalvation. He alſo added an impoſſibility of falling finally from grace; and the ſalvation of the children of believers, who die before they have been baptized. He likewiſe condemned, with more ſeverity than the Lutherans, the invocation of ſaints; the worſhip and uſe of images; vows; celibacy of prieſts; faſting; holy-days; ſacrifice of the maſs; adoration of the Euchariſt; indulgences; the ſacraments, except the Euchariſt and baptiſm; and, in general, all the rites and ceremonies of the church, whic the Lutherans had not entirely aboliſhed.

Bayle, v. 4, p. 59.

Rohault, Entretiens ſur la philoſ. p. 48.

Ibid. p. 57.

The manner in which Emanuel Maignan, one of the greateſt philoſophers of the ſeventeenth century, explained the retaining of accidents, without a ſubject, in the myſtery of the Euchariſt, is more happy than that of Des Cartes. He was a divine of the order of the Minims, and ſays, “there is nothing ſo eaſy, as to explain the manner how the accidents of bread and wine ſubſiſt without the bread and wine; for we need only ſay, that the bread and wine being taken away, God continues ſtill to make the ſame impreſſions upon our ſenſes, as they did, before they were changed.” Rohault, who was a Carteſian, blames this hypotheſis; becauſe it admits two miracles, where only one is wanting. “Though it be true, ſays he, that God can produce in our ſenſes the impreſſions of bread and wine, after they have been changed by tranſubſtantiation; yet there is no neceſſity, after this, to have recourſe to a new miracle: becauſe it follows, from the very eſſence of the myſtery, which is that the bread is really changed into the body of Jeſus Chriſt, that we muſt continue to perceive all the ſame appearances as we perceived before; that is, the accidents of bread and wine muſt ſubſiſt.” This Carteſian pretends, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt takes up the place of the bread in ſuch a manner, that the ſame ſpaces exactly, which ſerved for a place for the bread, are thoſe wherein the body of Jeſus Chriſt is diſpoſed, leaving to the matter, which filled the pores of the bread, the ſame ſpaces it filled before. From whence it follows, that the parts of the body of Jeſus Chriſt aſſume the figure, ſituation, and in general all the other modes of bread, and conſequently they are bread: for, according to him, the eſſence of bread, or the form, which diſtinguiſhes it from all other bodies, is nothing but a particular concurrence of modifications; therefore, where-ever this concurrence is, there muſt be bread; and ſo, it being found in the body of Jeſus Chriſt, at the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, this body is nothing elſe but bread: from whence it follows, that this great myſtery conſiſts in deſtroying a bit of bread, and replacing another bit of bread in the room of that which was annihilated. But this hypotheſis includes ſuch abſurdities, as are inconſiſtent with popery, and the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

Calvin introduced the Lutheran expreſſions regarding the Euchariſt, as mentioned in Bucer's life, p. 89, and 94; which ſeem to admit of a corporal preſence. Jodocus Harchius, a phyſician of Mons, wanted to find a middle way in the doctrine of the Euchariſt between the Roman-catholics and the Proteſtants, to compoſe their differences; but he was laughed at by both. John Poinet, biſhop of Wincheſter, who retired to Straſburg in the reign of queen Mary, compoſed a book with this title, "Diallecticon viri boni et literati de veritate, "natura, atque ſubſtantia corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtia;" wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the controverſies about the Euchariſt, and particularly thoſe of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He was zealouſly attached to the reformation; but he rightly judged what would be the fate of his book; "that neither of the contending parties "would approve of it; and that, while he endeavoured to reconcile perſons who were at "war with one another, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the indignation of both ſides:" and he compared himſelf to a man who receives a wound with a ſword in ſtriving to part people that are fighting. This book concerned the reality, nature, and ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt; which this famous biſhop publiſhed with no other deſign but to ſet the faith and doctrine of the church of England in a clear light. He firſt ſhews, that the Euchariſt is not barely the figure of our Lord's body; but that it alſo comprehends the reality, nature, and ſubſtance of it: for which reaſon theſe words, *nature* and *ſubſtance*, are not to be rejected, ſince the fathers, in diſcourſing of this ſacrament, made uſe of them. Secondly, he enquires, whether theſe words, *reality*, *nature*, and *ſubſtance*, were underſtood by the fathers in this myſtery, according to their general ſignification, or in a ſenſe that was peculiar and better adapted to the ſacraments? For that we ſhould not only obſerve what words the fathers made uſe of, but likewiſe what meaning they put upon them. And that though he was ready with the fathers, to acknowledge a difference between the body of Chriſt, which had the natural form of a human body, and his myſtical body in the ſacrament; yet he inclined to think that this difference ſhould be applied to the manner in which it is preſent and exhibited, rather than to the thing itſelf, the true body of Chriſt: it being moſt certain, that the body which believers receive in the ſacrament, is the ſame which Chriſt offered up by his death for their ſalvation. Laſtly, he maintains, that it muſt be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe, according to the general and unanimous expoſition of the ancient fathers; and that every carnal thought or imagination ſhould be excluded. Poinet laid great ſtreſs upon the authority of the fathers, who ſpeak in ſtrong terms of the preſence of our Lord's body in the ſymbols of the Euchariſt; and he entirely rejected the opinion that was aſcribed to the Lutherans. However, he condemned thoſe who admit of the oral manducation of the body of Jeſus Chriſt: and was willing to allow of the word *tranſubſtantiation*, provided it was underſtood in a certain ſenſe, and not to include oral manducation. He had no reaſon to think that the Romaniſts would be ſatisfied with his allowing of a term which he modified in that manner. But as for thoſe who deſired to have a miracle granted in the Euchariſt, he might fancy his hypotheſis would ſatisfy them, if they only aſked a great miracle in general; for what he teaches on this head is one of the moſt incomprehenſible things that can be imagined. He admits a real and ſubſtantial preſence of the body of Jeſus Chriſt; but which is no more than ſacramental at the ſame time: and he affirms, that, by virtue of this preſence, the bread in the Euchariſt may purify our ſouls, and unite us into one body with our Redeemer.

Bayle, v. 3. p. 352.

Biſhop Coſins's Hiſt tranſubſtant. Papalis, cap. 2, p. 9.

The Catechiſm of the reformed churches, compoſed by Calvin, does not differ much from the opinion of this biſhop of Wincheſter; as may be ſeen in theſe words: "thus "I doubt not but Jeſus Chriſt, as he was ſignified and promiſed, will make us partakers "of his own ſubſtance, that we may be united to him in one life. M. But how can "that be, ſince the body of Jeſus Chriſt is in heaven, and we are in this earthly pilgrimage? S. It is by the incomprehenſible power of his ſpirit, which unites things that "are diſtant in place from one another."

Geneva Catechiſm, ſect. 53.

Poinet's Diallection was afterwards joined to the treatiſe "*De corpore et ſanguine domini*," wrote by Bertrom, who alſo endeavoured to reconcile the controverſies about the Euchariſt, and whoſe notions are very particular concerning this important article.

Calvin was intimidated at nothing, and ſettled the peace of Geneva. It would be difficult to believe, that in the midſt of violent agitations at home, he could ſhew ſo much care, as he did, of the churches abroad, in France, England, Germany, and Poland; and write ſo many books and letters. But there are inconteſtible proofs of it; for he lived in continual action, and almoſt conſtantly with his pen in his hand, even when ſickneſs confined him to his bed; ariſing from his zeal for the general good of the churches. He was a man on whom God had conferred extraordinary talents, a great deal of wit, an exquiſite judgment, a faithful memory, an able, indefatigable, and elegant pen; an extenſive

Paſquier. l. 8, c. 4.

tenſive knowledge, and a great zeal for the truth. But he could not eſcape ſlander abroad, and oppoſition at home.

He was full thirty years old when he married Idolette de Bure, the widow of John Stordeur, a native of Liege, and an Anabaptiſt, whom he had converted. He married her at Straſburgh, in 1540, by the advice of his friend Martin Bucer. She had children by her former huſband, and alſo brought Calvin a ſon, who died before his father. She died in the beginning of 1549, to the great grief of Calvin, who continued a widower all the reſt of his life. Remond ſays, it was a marriage doomed to a perpetual barrenneſs, though Idolette was young and handſome. Papyrius Maſſo ventures to ſay, that Calvin could get no children; and Spondanus has repeated the ſame thing. But Calvin has proved the contrary himſelf, in anſwer to thoſe who reproached him with being childleſs: "To wipe off the charge of want of natural affection, which had "been objected to him, he ſays, that Baldwin accuſes him of being childleſs! God was pleaſed "to give me a ſon, and to take him away again. This Baldwin makes a reflection upon me "to be without children: but I have children innumerable through the whole Chriſtian world." The biſhop of Meaux has made uſe of theſe words to accuſe Calvin of pride: but Drelincourt has ſufficiently anſwered thoſe who reproached him before with the ſame thing.

Papyrius Maſſo Elog. p. 418.
Beza in vita Calv. p. 370.
Calvin's Epiſt. 101.
Remond's, Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, l. 7. c. 17.
Spondan. annal. 1538. n. 12.
Tractat. Theol. p. 369.

As the reformers married to prove their converſion from the Papiſts, the latter reproached them, as if they warred againſt Rome for the ſame reaſons the Grecians warred againſt Troy. "Our adverſaries, ſays Calvin, pretend we wage a ſort of Trojan war for a woman. To ſay "nothing of others at preſent; they muſt allow myſelf at leaſt to be free from this charge: "ſince I am more particularly able, in my own caſe, to refute this ſcurrilous reflection. For "notwithſtanding I was at liberty to have married under the tyranny of the Pope, I voluntarily "led a ſingle life for many years."

Boſſuet's Hiſt. des Var. l. 9, n. 78.
Drelinc. Defence de Calv. p 313.
Calvin. in Tractata de Scand. p. 100.

The Romaniſts caſt many reflections on Calvin for changing his name from Cauvin, which was the name of his family: but a proteſtant divine, who was miniſter of the church of Paris, in 1620, has vindicated him againſt them all; not only by ſome examples, but alſo from ſolid reaſons. In reality, ſays he, the change of a letter in the name of Calvin, is very inconſiderable, or none at all. In turning Cauvin into Latin, it cannot be tranſlated otherwiſe than by Calvinus, to give it an air and termination ſuitable to the genius of that language: for as the Picard word Cauve, and the French Chauve, is by all good authors expreſſed in Latin by Calvus; ſo Cauvin in Picard, and Chauvin in French, muſt in Latin be Calvinus. "Now, ſays Drelincourt, the "works of this godly man being wrote in Latin, and having made him univerſally known by "the name Calvinus; if afterwards, when he wrote in French, he had uſed any other name "than that of Calvin, the work might have been aſcribed to ſome different author, to the "great damage both of the public and printers."

Drelinc. p. 202.
Ib. 204.

Calvin, indeed, has been accuſed of frequently changing his name. *That*, his inſtitutions, in 1539, were preſented to Francis I. under the name of Johannes *Alcuinus*, which was his anagram. That in 1543, he called himſelf Johannes Calidoenius, a name half Greek and half Latin, as if he would ſay Johannes de Calido Vino: but Calidænius is Chauvin in French, which is believed to be the true name of his father. *That*, in 1548, he would be called Johannes Carvinus. *That*, in 1550, he was called Happeville: and afterwards Calvin. Garaſſe, in this is apt to miſlead all the critics who have not the opportunity of conſulting great libraries; "but I am perſuaded, ſays Bayle, it is full of falſities."

Garaſſe Doctrine Curieuſe, p. 1023.
Bayle v. 2. 271.

Calvin's inſtitution, according to Schultingius, who undertook to confute it, was publiſhed under the name of Alcuinus, at Straſburg, in 1539: but Moreri pretends, that Calvin put this name to it before. Remond ſays, "That as Luther thought fit to alter his name, Calvin fol"lowed his example:" and, as if this name was not glorious enough, or rather unlucky to him, ſince Lucian is an anagram of Calvin, he gave himſelf the name of Alcuin, the learned tutor of the emperor Charlemagne. Spondanus, in a ſort of paraphraſe on this paſſage, ſays, that Calvin was ambitious of paſſing under the name of the great Alcuinus, who was preceptor to Charlemagne, and founder of the univerſity of Paris; but that it had been much more juſt for him, by another tranſpoſition, to have taken that of Lucianus.

Ib. v. 5. p. 86.
Remond. l. 7. p. 880.
Spond. ad Ann. 1534. p. 423.

Bayle doubts all the articles of Garaſſe: but he proves that he is miſtaken in the third; he even calls him a downright liar in the fourth; and ſays the fifth is the moſt abſurd of all. If Calvin ever publiſhed his Inſtitutes under the name of Alcuin, it is more probable that it was in the firſt edition, than in that of 1539; for being then profeſſor and miniſter at Straſburgh, he had not the ſame reaſons for a diſguiſe as in 1535. What reaſon had he for taking the diſguiſe of Happeville in 1550? He then lived in great ſecurity at Geneva; he was univerſally known by his true name, which he placed at the head of his works, and rendered it venerable among all the reformed.

Florimond de Remond tells us, that Bucer preſented Calvin to Eraſmus at Baſil, who having converſed with Calvin, told Bucer, that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the church. Others have adopted this idle ſtory from Florimond; particularly Moreri, who is cenſured for it by Bayle. The whole is "a romance; and its author is a writer of no credit, "veracity, and conſiſtency. Florimond, ſays ſomebody, was a man who *judged without conſcience,* "*wrote without learning, and built houſes without money.* Of theſe three accompliſhments the "firſt

Jortin's Eraſm. p. 555.

" firſt and ſecond are far more common than the third." The authority of ſuch a man is of no weight, as he confounds and miſplaces circumſtances; and cannot ſee in his work the blunders, abſurdities, and impoſſibilities which ſtare full in his eyes. We ſhould therefore be very weak to give any credit to Florimond de Remond, when he brings neither witneſſes, nor any other ſort of proof: we ſhould be very imprudent to truſt him, and highly deſerve to be deceived, if we made ſuch a bad uſe of our ſincerity. " I ſhould not, ſays Bayle, have been ſo " buſy in expoſing the falſities of Remond, if I had not obſerved they ſpread from book to " book, and that the moſt celebrated authors procure them a ſort of perpetuity by adopting " them. I have met with them in the laſt volume of father Alexander's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory." If the Proteſtants complain that he has revived Remond's confuſed narration, and put it in a way to make a better fortune than under the auſpices of its firſt parent, he may complain of them in his turn, for neglecting to diſcover his impertinencies. It is very difficult, even by a ſubſtantial confutation, to prevent the perpetuation of ſome errors. What then muſt it be if they are let alone? However, all things rightly conſidered, this judgment of the great Eraſmus muſt be very much to the glory of Calvin, according to the Proteſtant hypotheſis: for it proves, that he acknowledged the eminent qualities of this young man, if he ſaid, *Video magnam peſtem oriri in eccleſia contra eccleſiam*; which are the words in Florimond. One cannot help admiring the decent manner in which the illuſtrious Thuanus hath ſpoken of Calvin, who ſays, he was called the great Divine.

Bayle. v. 2, p. 271.

Remond. l. 7, p. 889.

Jortin.

Thuan. l. 36. 287.

Calvin eſtabliſhed the Preſbyterian government in the church of Geneva, and elders were accordingly appointed. The Catechiſm which he wrote in French and Latin was an admirable piece, and found ſuch approbation and entertainment in foreign places, that it was tranſlated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, Engliſh, and Scotch: Immanuel Tremelius tranſlated it into Hebrew, as Henry Stephens did into Greek. Calvin modeſtly ſhewed that his doctrine had the approbation of the moſt learned men of that age; as Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melanchthon, Capito, Myconius, and Zuichius; which he proved out of their writings.

He made much uſe of Farel and Viret, yet he contributed much more to them. It was pleaſing to good men, to behold three ſuch perſons, ſo famous in the church, co-operating in the work of the Lord, and excelling in ſeveral gifts of the ſpirit. Farel excelled in a certain greatneſs of mind, whoſe thundering ſermons could not be heard without trembling; and whoſe ardent prayers would elevate the ſoul. Viret ſo much excelled in ſweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. Calvin fitted the mind with grave and ſententious diſcourſes. So that Beza ſays, " I often thought, that the gifts of theſe three men, meeting in one, would " make a complete paſtor."

The ordinary labours of Calvin were theſe. Every other Sabbath he preached twice. Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, he read his divinity lectures. Thurſday he aſſiſted in the conſiſtory for the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. On Friday he read a lecture in expoſition of ſome difficult places in ſcripture. Beſides his public writings, and private negociations. God ſo bleſſed his miniſtry that he was applied and reſorted to from all parts of the chriſtian world; ſome to conſult his advice in matters of religion, and others to hear him preach. This filled the city of Geneva with a great concourſe of people; and, beſides the eſtabliſhed church, there were alſo churches for the Engliſh, Spaniards, and Italians.

In 1542, Calvin confuted the Sorbonniſts in thoſe articles of religion which they would have impoſed upon mankind. The next year he was attacked by Albert Pyghius, whom he refuted in his anſwer about free-will, which he dedicated to Philip Melanchthon, who teſtified his regard for that work in his epiſtles. Pyghius was a Dutch divine, and has been a great ſcourge to the Lutherans. The ſame author pretends, that nature inſulted Pyghius with a kind of impudence, by covering his great learning and chriſtian eloquence with a hideous face. He was remarkable for his extream uglineſs and diſſonant voice: but he was reputed the greateſt ſophiſter of the time. The pope rewarded him with the provoſtſhip of St. John at Utrecht, for defending his bull to the general council in 1538; and he expected to be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, if he oppoſed and refuted the doctrine of Calvin. The cardinals Sadolet and Cervinus were his patrons. The former aſſured him, that he would recommend him to the pope and cardinals. The latter wrote to him, on the 27th of October 1542, in theſe words: " As to your debts, were it in my power to pay them, you ſhould be in no diſtreſs: and though " his holineſs, at preſent, is put to vaſt charges on many accounts, I will not fail to repreſent " your ſervices and wants, and to aſſiſt you as much as I can."

Paulus Jovius Hiſt. 27. p. 111. Ib in Elo. p. 245.

Beza.

Bayle, v. 4, p 638.

Some ſay, that the reading of Calvin's works made Pyghius heterodox with reſpect to the merit of good works, and the juſtification of ſinners. Others affirm, that Pyghius examined the works of Calvin with ſo great a deſire of refuting them, that he run into another extream, and followed the ſteps of the Pelagians. Cardinal Bona adviſed, that the works of Pyghius ſhould be read with caution. And Poſſevinus ſaid, that his doctrine concerning original ſin and grace was contrary to the writings of St. Auguſtin. " Pyghius choſe Calvin for his antagoniſt, that, by gaining a notable victory over him, he might get a cardinal's hat from the pope: " but he was diſappointed in his expectation, and only obtained the reward which the enemies

Beza in vita Calv. ad Ann. 1543.

“of truth deſerve; that is, to be deſpiſed by learned and wiſe men, and deceived by Satan himſelf.”

Calvin. reſponſ. contra Pyg. de libero arbitrio p. 140. opuſ. theol.

Pyghius began his book concerning free-will, with the connexion that is between the knowledge of God and the knowledge of man. He found that method in Calvin's Inſtitution, and made uſe of it, without acknowledging from whence he had it; for which Calvin cenſured him as follows. “I am ſurprized at his aſſurance, in taking the liberty to tranſcribe from my book, without making the leaſt mention of me. Nor do I ſee what he can alledge for himſelf, unleſs it be the right of preſcription, becauſe he had been uſed to this way for a long time. For in that great book which he put out againſt my Confeſſion, he has frequently inſerted whole pages, taken from my Inſtitution, and ſo adapted them to his own purpoſe, as if it were his own. Now I would fain know, What right or title he has to make uſe of what belongs to me? Was there any acquaintance between us, I could readily forgive his confidence; but there is no room for ſuch an indulgence. Does he think that he may lawfully plunder my goods, becauſe I am his enemy? This kind of plunder can be juſtified by no law or cuſtom. The only pretence then is, that the ſame thoughts might have occurred to this learned man, as had occurred to me. But I would intreat my reader, to compare the firſt chapter of Pyghius's book with the firſt chapter of my Inſtitution, and then they will ſee his intolerable impudence with contempt and indignation. If they will pleaſe to go farther, and run over his treatiſe on juſtification, and examine it by the ſixth chapter of my Inſtitution, I believe they will hardly be able to govern their paſſion. For he does not ſteal in ſecret, and by picking out here and there; nor does he artfully endeavour to hide his theft, that what he has from me might appear to be his own; but he repeats verbatim what I ſay, in ſuch a bare-faced manner, that he ſeems to have ſtitched entire pages to his book, on purpoſe to avoid the trouble of tranſcribing them. Had he named his author, I ſhould have called him a borrower: but, as he has not, he deſerves the name of a plagiary.” In

Ibid.

another place, Calvin ſays, “The reader will wonder how Pyghius came to be ſo ſtupid, as not to apprehend that he would be immediately detected. But when I conſider it, there is one thing may be ſaid in his excuſe; that he did ſo more out of ſecurity than imprudence. For he was contented if he could pleaſe thoſe, who as conſcientiouſly forbear to read our writings, as they readily commend and admire every thing that is writ againſt us.”

Wood's Athenæ, v. 1. p. 442.

Dr. George Carleton, biſhop of Chicheſter, in 1619, publiſhed a book entitled, “Conſenſus eccleſ. catholicæ contra tridentinos de ſcripturis, eccleſia, fide et gratia, &c.” in which he ſays, “The Papiſts aſſert that Pyghius, otherwiſe a catholic doctor, was led away by reading the works of Calvin: but Pyghius himſelf affirms, he had his doctrine only from the ſcriptures. O Calvin, happy even by the teſtimony of thy adverſaries; ſince thy writings are ſo conformable to the holy ſcriptures, that what a very famous popiſh doctor confeſſes he took from the ſcriptures, other Papiſts imputed to the reading of thy books. Certainly had not the opinion of ſcholaſtic divines evidently claſhed with the ſcriptures, Pyghius would never have forſaken it.”

Bayle, v. 4. p. 639. Raynand de malig. ac bonis.

Baſnage hiſt. des Egliſes Reformees v. 2. p. 39.

But a Romiſh writer, who impudently reckons Calvin among the firſt claſs of heretics, and Luther among thoſe of the ſecond, ſays, that “Luther required leſs learning in his reader than Calvin, whoſe ſubtle way of writing may impoſe even upon them who are tolerably learned, as we find by Pyghius, who frequently ſplit upon rocks, by reading his works, though he was a learned man.” A French miniſter alſo ſays, that Pyghius maintained the doctrine of grace; and affirmed, that we are not juſtified by an inherent righteouſneſs within us: but he was ſharply cenſured by the dean of the univerſity of Louvain, who reproached him with having been corrupted by reading Calvin's Inſtitution.”

Calvin. Reſpons. p. 163.

Ib. 188.

Ib. 191.

Calvin never acknowledged that his works had made Pyghius orthodox in the leaſt: on the contrary, he ſaid, “All this not only ſavours of the ſchool of Pelagius, but is almoſt an open profeſſion of the Pelagian impiety. He maintains many things as thoſe Pelagians did whom Auguſtin deſcribes; and is much worſe than ſome of them were. And therefore Pyghius in vain either attempts to disjoin himſelf from Pelagius, with whom I have evidently proved he agrees, or to join us to the Manichees, or other heretics, from whom we differ no leſs, than he does from the orthodox ſenſe of the church.”

St. Auguſtin juſtifie de Calviniſm, p. 182.

Pyghius has alſo been ſtigmatized for a Pelagian by a Janſeniſt, who calls him, “A man that could not apprehend the doctrine of St. Auguſtin, nor that of the church; having but an imperfect knowledge of the corruption of nature, and original ſin, which is the key of that doctrine. A man full of Pelagian errors about that matter, who ſpoke againſt divine predeſtination, and the doctrine of efficacious and free grace, with great indiſcretion and ignorance.” This Janſeniſt concludes, that “it is no wonder if the whole faculty of Louvain, in the famous cenſure of 1587, called Pyghius a favourer and a colleague of the ſemi-pelagians; if the faculty of Douay, in their cenſure, reckoned him among the diſciples of Fauſtus Rejenſis; if the learned Eſtius ſpoke of him much in the ſame manner; and if Dr. John Molanus ſays, that the moſt learned divines blame him for having departed from the doctrine of St. Auguſtin, concerning original ſin, predeſtination, and grace.”

Pelagius, a Briton, was the author of that hereſy which bore his name, and began in the fifth century. He maintained, *That* man may be well inclined without the aſſiſtance of the grace of God; and that grace is given in proportion to our merit: *That* man may arrive at ſuch a ſtate of perfection, as to be no longer ſubject to paſſions or ſin. *That* there is no original ſin; and that children who die without baptiſm are not damned. Manichæus, or Manes, was the author of that ſect, which was called after him, in the fourth century; the foundation of whoſe doctrine was, that there are two principles of all things, the one good, and the other evil; both of them eternal, ſovereign, immortal, and independent. Thoſe who are deſirous of knowing the nature and propagation of theſe hereſies, may conſult Dupin's hiſtory of the Church, vol. 2. p. 111 to 118, for the Manichees; and cent. 5. chap. 2. for the Pelagians, from p. 176 to 181. As alſo Fuller's Church hiſtory, cent 5. And in Bayle's dictionary, v. 4. p. 90. under the article *Manichees*; and in v. 5. p. 815, where he explains, " How what he has " ſaid concerning the objections of the Manichees ought to be conſidered." I ſhall only make this farther obſervation, that the treatiſes which Pyghius wrote concerning free-will againſt Calvin, and about original ſin, have been placed among the books prohibited by the Spaniſh Inquiſition. Pyghius was ſo provoked at a book which Bucer wrote againſt him, that it haſtened his death, in drawing up an anſwer, which he left unfiniſhed.

Cochlæus ad Ann. 1542.

In 1544, Calvin declared his opinion about the power of the church of Neufchatel in eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The ſame year he diſpleaſed Sebaſtian Caſtalio, becauſe he diſapproved of the tranſlation which Caſtalio had made of the New Teſtament into French and Latin. Caſtalio was ſkilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He publiſhed a Greek poem on the life of St. John the baptiſt; and a Latin poem, which is a paraphraſe on the prophet Jonas. He acquired the eſteem and friendſhip of Calvin, during his abode at Straſburg, in 1540. Calvin procured for him the place of teacher in the college of Geneva, which Caſtalio exerciſed till he was compelled to leave the city, for having maintained ſome particular opinions. Caſtalio began his Latin tranſlation at Geneva in 1542, which he finiſhed at Baſil in 1550, and dedicated to Edward VI. king of England. The French tranſlation was printed at Baſil in 1555, and was dedicated to Henry II. His tranſlation of the ſcripture is variouſly ſpoken of; ſome blame it much, others ſpeak very well of it. The fault which was moſt generally condemned in his Latin tranſlation, is the affectation of uſing claſſic Latin only, which made him ſay *Genius* inſtead of *Angelus*, *Lotio* inſtead of *Baptiſmus*, and *Reſpublica* inſtead of *Eccleſia*. Voſſius, and other learned perſons, cenſured him for it with reaſon. He is accuſed of running into another extreme in his French tranſlation, where he made uſe of low and mean terms. Bayle, indeed, wonders at the impudence of Garaſſe, and ſays, if another than Caſtalio had made that tranſlation of the ſcripture, they would not have complained ſo much againſt his language: for he died of poverty, if we believe Scaliger; and his misfortune has given him no author to pity him but Montaign, who is remarkable for the ſolidity of his reflection on this curious and melancholy fact, which is worthy to be conſulted, and may be found in his elegant eſſays, book I. chap. 34, p. 353. But we have it from a great authority, that many perſons judged, that Caſtalio applied his impure hands to the tranſlation of the ſcriptures with an inſolent temerity. And Beza ſays, that the jargon of Poictou, the groſſeſt of all the jargons of France, may appear leſs barbarous than the epiſtle of Caſtalio. We are told that Caſtalio aſpired to the miniſtry, and had ſometimes preached: but he was no miniſter at Geneva. He was ſo vexed, that he could not make Calvin approve of the impertinences of his French tranſlations of the New Teſtament, that he begun to ſpread ſome errors; and to maintain, that the *Song of Songs* was an obſcene piece, which ought to be left out of the canon of the ſcriptures. He inveighed againſt the miniſters who oppoſed his intention; for which he was cited before the ſenate, where he was heard on the firſt of June, when he was declared convicted of calumny, and was ordered to leave the town. Beza farther ſays, to the Geneveſe, that " Satan endeavoured to ſhake them and their faith, by the means of " Sebaſtian Caſtalio, a man of pretended piety. The blow, though ſeemingly light, was " a dangerous one: however, your city was purged from the latent poiſon in the year " forty-five, by ſpewing out, as it were, the man himſelf." This recital ſeems over-ſtrained, when compared with an atteſtation, that Calvin gave to Caſtalio; which imports, that he laid down his office voluntarily. Doctor Spon does not ſay that he was expelled the city; but only that he was depoſed. Caſtalio told Calvin as follows: in your teſtimonial, you teſtify, that the only reaſon of my leaving you was, my different notion of the Song of Songs; and your interpretation of the article of faith, concerning the deſcent of Chriſt into hell. Your words are theſe: " We briefly atteſt this, that ſuch was our opinion of him, " that, by common conſent, he was deſigned for the paſtoral office: and that no one may " ſuſpect there was any other cauſe of Sebaſtian Caſtalio's leaving us, we certify this " where-ever he comes: he voluntarily reſigned his place of teacher in the ſchool: he be- " haved himſelf ſo in it, that we judged him worthy of this ſacred charge. Nor was it " any blemiſh in his life, or any impious tenet, but the reaſon above-mentioned alone, " which prevented his admiſſion."

Voſſius Inſtitut. Orat. l. 4, c. 1.

Garaſſe, p. 202.

Bayle, v. 2. p. 361, n. C.

Scaligerana, p. 46.

Varillas, v. 6, l. 26, p. 22.

Thuanus, lib 35, in fin.

Beza, v. 1, p. 430.

Ib. v. 3, p. 372.

Ib. Epiſt. Dedic. l. de Hæres. ad Sen. Geneva.

Spon, l. 3, p. 257.

Caſt. in Defenſ. p. 19.

Bayle, p. 362.

Caſtalio retired to Baſil, where he obtained the profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue, and died there in 1563. He had the misfortune to expoſe himſelf to the indignation of Calvin, and of Beza, who loaded him with reproaches. They were perſuaded he deſerved them, as he followed a relaxed method in the doctrine of predeſtination. This man was a great inſtance of learning and poverty: but if he had kept within the bounds of his profeſſion, he would have done greater ſervices than he did to the common-wealth of learning; and would have ſecured himſelf from many vexations; inſtead of which, he ſet up for a myſtic, and a devotee, and concerned himſelf with the nice and obſcure queſtions of divinity.

Dupin, p. 171.

Luther's Life, p. 89.

A diet was held at Spires in 1544, as mentioned in the life of Luther, page 85. Upon this occaſion, Calvin publiſhed his book "Of the neceſſity of reforming the church;" which was more ſolid and nervous than any other book that had appeared on that ſubject among his cotemporaries. He anſwered the inſolent letters which the pope wrote to the emperor, on his promiſing the Proteſtants to hold a general council; which the pope ſaid was thruſting his ſickle into another man's harveſt. And he alſo wrote two books, wherein he confuted the Anabaptiſts and Libertines, who had revived the monſtrous hereſies of former ages. The Libertines were a ſect of heretics who ſprung up in Holland in 1525, whoſe heads were Quintin and Copin. They maintained, that whatever was done by men, was done by the ſpirit of God; and thence concluded there was no ſin, but to thoſe who thought it ſo. They alſo aſſerted, that to live without any doubt or ſcruple, was to return to the ſtate of innocency. They allowed their followers to call themſelves Catholics, or Proteſtants, according to the company they fell in. They pretended, that the ſoul died with the body; that heaven was a dream, hell a phantom, and religion a meer trick of ſtate; with many other monſtrous opinions.

Beza hiſt. Eccleſ l. 1, p. 22. Ib. tom. 1, p. 436. Bayle, v. 4, p. 815. La Place de l'eſtat de la religion, &c. l. 4, p. 151.

The queen of Navarre was offended with Calvin's book againſt the Libertines, becauſe he had cenſured Quintin and Pocques, whom ſhe admitted into her houſe. They were two deſperate Libertines, whoſe errors and blaſphemies were confuted by Calvin. Quintin had embraced the reformed religion: but he fell off, and was made profeſſor of the canon law at Paris in 1536. He afterwards demanded, that the Proteſtants ſhould be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity: but though that bloody ſpirit had ſo long prevailed, it was thought ſtrange that a clergyman ſhould take upon himſelf to ſolicit ſuch a thing. His ſpeech, upon delivering the memorial of the clergy, to the king, proved, the moſt humble and devout orators of the clergy were for ſhedding blood, if it was neceſſary; ſince they reminded his majeſty of the order and threatenings of Moſes. Beſides, Quintin ſaid, that the king being armed with the ſword, ought to oppoſe the heretics: that God had put the ſword into his hands to protect the good, and puniſh the wicked: and that none can deny that a heretic is capitally wicked, and conſequently ought to be puniſhed capitally, and be ſubject to the ſword of the magiſtrate.

Beza, hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 22.

Ib. in vita Calvini. ad ann. 1544. See p. 120. Bayle, v. 4, p. 323.

"Moſt of the grandees of France began, at this time, to ſuit themſelves to the humour of the king; and, by degrees, grew ſuch ſtrangers to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, "that at laſt they became worſe than all others. Nay, even the queen of Navarre began "to behave herſelf in a quite different manner, falling into idolatry like the reſt; not that "ſhe approved ſuch ſuperſtitions in her heart; but becauſe Ruffi, and others like him, "perſuaded her they were indifferent things." But Beza alſo ſays, "that the queen of "Navarre was diſpleaſed at Calvin's book againſt the Libertines, becauſe ſhe was ſo incredibly faſcinated with Quintin and Pocques, that, though ſhe did not profeſs their opinions, yet ſhe took them to be good men; and therefore, in ſome meaſure, thought "herſelf wounded through their ſides." Her charity induced her to protect them; and it is not much to be wondered at, if ſhe was provoked againſt Calvin, who with that cutting ſtile, peculiar to him, had ſeverely handled the perſons whom ſhe had protected and maintained. She complained to him of it; which made an impreſſion on him, as ſhe was ſtill acknowledged the protectreſs of the reformed. For a princeſs, or any other woman, to do good to thoſe whom ſhe takes to be the houſehold of faith, is no extraordinary thing, as it is the common effect of a moderate piety. But for a queen to grant her protection to people perſecuted for opinions which ſhe believes to be falſe; to open a ſanctuary to them, to preſerve them from the flames prepared for them, to furniſh them with a ſubſiſtence, liberally to relieve the troubles and inconveniencies of their exile, is an heroical magnanimity which has hardly any precedent.

Calvin. Epiſt. 62. Beza in Iconibus, t. 3. Brantome, illuſt. ladies, p. 310. Bayle, v. 4, p. 318.

Calvin, on the twentieth of April 1545, wrote a reſpectful letter to this queen, to juſtify his conduct; wherein he ſays, "immediately on the receipt of your letters, I diſpatched "this anſwer, that I might give you full ſatisfaction on this account, leſt you ſhould abate "any thing of that zeal, of which hitherto you have made profeſſion, and expreſſed in "reality." Beza ſpeaks favourably of this queen in his Icones: and Brantome ſays, ſhe was ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, which was then the name in France of what has been ſince called Calviniſm. But ſhe ſeems to have profeſſed Calviniſm at her death.

Calvin ſo far prevailed, *that* the Libertines were checked in France, and confined themſelves to Holland.

The year 1545 was rendered infamous by that cruel and abominable edict which the parliament of Aquitain iſſued againſt the poor Waldenſes, whereby the moſt unparalleled barbarities were exerciſed upon thoſe unhappy people, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, even to the very burning of their towns. The Waldenſes, or Vaudois, were a ſect eſtabliſhed by Peter Vaud, or Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons in France, in 1160, who found out ſeveral errors in the church of Rome, and began a reformation. The clergy excommunicated him, and perſecuted ſome of his diſciples, which occaſioned them to quit Lyons, and fly into the vallies of Piedmont, which have been ever ſince inhabited by their deſcendants, who have adhered to their doctrine. I have mentioned, in the life of Jerom of Prague, page 21, that the Waldenſes, or Pyghards of Bohemia, were nearly like the Proteſtants. Claudius Seyſſelius, archbiſhop of Turin, in 1517, wrote a treatiſe againſt the Vaudois, intitled, "Diſputationes contra Errores et ſectam Waldenſium;" in hopes of bringing them back to the church of Rome. He ſays, they charged their ſeparation from the church upon the negligence or ignorance of the prieſts; and that they adhered only to the authority of the ſacred ſcriptures. But he acknowledges, *that*, excepting their opinions againſt faith and religion, they live more pure and holy lives than other chriſtians: *that* they never ſwear without compulſion; and keep their promiſes faithfully: *that* the general part of them live in poverty, which makes them think they are the only people who lead apoſtolic lives; and on that account they pretend that the power of the church remains only in their ſociety. An extract of Seyſſelius may be ſeen in Dupin's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, cent. ſixteen, p. 365: and I have alſo mentioned the doctrine of the Waldenſes in the life of Luther, page 63.

The Zuinglians joined themſelves with the Waldenſes, who were pleaſed to find a new ſect ſpring up in Germany that was ſomewhat like their own; and the Sacramentarians were raviſhed, to find that ſo ancient a ſect were much of the ſame ſentiments with themſelves. But becauſe they were not fully agreed in all things, in doctrine and diſcipline, the Waldenſes ſent Peter Maſſonus and George Morellus to Oecolampadius and Bucer, to unite them in thoſe points about which they differed. Theſe laſt adviſed them, 1. To leave thoſe errors, that a chriſtian might not lawfully ſwear; nor uſe the office of a magiſtrate: that the miniſters of the church might not have a property in any thing; and that wicked miniſters had no power to adminiſter ſacraments. 2. That they ſhould allow of no more than two ſacraments; ſhould caſt off auricular confeſſion; and deny free-will. 3. That they ought to keep holy the Lord's-day; and no longer allow any perſons, who deſired to be owned as members of their church, to be preſent at maſs, or any how to join in papal ſuperſtitions, or acknowledge the prieſts of the Roman church for their paſtors, or make uſe of their miniſtry. In 1536 the Waldenſes conſulted the miniſters of Geneva again about religion, when they received the inſtructions of Farel, and concluded their union with them, on condition they ſhould retain their old miniſters. The ſame year the parliament of Provence publiſhed an edict againſt the Waldenſes, who were very numerous in that juriſdiction, eſpecially at Cabriers and Merindol: but the execution of this edict was delayed by the king's order, till new complaints were made againſt them in 1544, when they ſent his majeſty a confeſſion of their faith, exactly agreeing with the doctrine of the Zuinglian churches, which they thought would protect them from a perſecution. But it proved quite contrary: for Oppedæus, who was firſt preſident of the parliament of Provence, obtained of the king, by the recommendation of cardinal du Turnon, an order to put the edict againſt the Vaudois in execution. Minerius, the deputy governor of Provence, raiſed ſome troops, which were joined by others, ſent by the vice-legate of Avignon; and the whole body were turned looſe like blood-hounds on the miſerable Vaudois, who were utterly deſtroyed, except ſuch as concealed themſelves cloſe in the mountains, or fled to Geneva and Switzerland.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. p. 184.

This king, notwithſtanding theſe fires and burnings, took Geneva under his protection in 1534, when it was attacked by the duke of Savoy. How can we reconcile this perſecution and that protection?

Calvin was greatly afflicted for the ſufferings of the Waldenſes, to whom he had wrote conſolatory letters a ſhort time before, and ſent them faithful paſtors for inſtructing them in the goſpel precepts. He wrote to the reformed in France, to convince them they acted in a pernicious manner, who pretended it was no ſin to be preſent at the popiſh ſervices, if they kept the true religion in their hearts. He told them, it was an error condemned by the ancient fathers: and, becauſe ſome of them might think him too rigid, he adjoined to his own the opinions of Melancthon, Bucer, and Martyr; whereby the name of theſe Nicodemites became obnoxious; for ſo they were called, who cloaked their errors with his example.

Brantome's Life of Francis I. v. 1, p. 231. See p. 121.

When the emperor held the diet at Ratiſbon, in 1541, the neceſſity of his affairs compelled him to grant the Proteſtants the INTERIM; that is, a ſet form of faith, which

Chalon's Hiſtory of France, v. 2, p. 149.

might be agreeable to both parties, till a general council ſhould regulate the points wherein the Proteſtants had abandoned the ſentiments of the Roman church. The emperor wanted to invade the Turkiſh dominions in Africa: but he loſt half of his army in that fatal expedition, and returned to Germany, where he renewed his ſeverities againſt the Proteſtants. Calvin aſſiſted Melanchthon in writing againſt the interim; while the emperor and the king of England were engaged in a war againſt France, which ended in 1546, and was ſoon followed by the the deaths of Henry VIII. and Francis I.

The city of Geneva had been infeſted with the plague, and very unhappy diviſions began there in 1546. Calvin, from the pulpit, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſs of the people, who revived the controverſy about their privileges, and would not ſuffer their paſtors to diſpoſe of the eccleſiaſtical goods taken from the Pontificans, as they ought to be. The young people would not ſuffer themſelves to be deprived of their ſports, taverns, and other places of debauchery. The miniſters inſiſted earneſtly upon it, both in the council and church, threatening the contumacious with excommunication. One of the council accuſed Calvin, that he had taught falſe doctrine for the ſpace of ſeven years: but the council committed him to priſon, without the ſollicitation of Calvin, and enjoined him to perform penance by carrying a torch in his hand through the city.

Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 118.

Viret's ſervant received a letter from Calvin: but, inſtead of carrying it to his maſter, as he was directed, he delivered it to the Syndicks, who broke it open, and were not a little diſpleaſed at ſome paſſages in it, eſpecially where he told Viret, “ that the people “ of Geneva would govern without God; and that he had to do with hypocrites.” Calvin was ſent for to anſwer this before them; when he juſtified his complaint by the inſtance of ſeveral debauched perſons, who were ſuffered to ſcoff at the word of God, and to ſlight their inſtructions. Calvin left the city, at the ſame time that Farel departed from Neufchatel to go to Zurick, to be profeſſor at a ſynod compoſed of divines from Switzerland and the Griſſons. At his return, he ſet forth his commentaries on the epiſtle of St. Paul to Titus, which he dedicated to Farel and Viret, in conſideration of a ſtrict friendſhip and unity between them.

Powel on the death of queen Mary, p. 26.

Sleidan, lib. 19, p. 538.

Fuller's church hiſt. book 7. p. 375. Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 605.

Ib. 606.

Calvin remarked of Luther, that he often prayed he might not ſee the vials of wrath poured upon Germany; which immediately after his death came upon thoſe places in a ſtorm, and with the ſwiftneſs and execution of a whirlwind. Luther died in 1546; and all Germany was in arms, in 1547, on account of religion; which gave great trouble to Calvin, who was glad that Bucer, Martyr, and ſome other of his friends, were ſheltered from the ſtorm in England, where they were invited by archbiſhop Cranmer, as mentioned in the life of Bucer, page 95. The Calviniſts ſaid, that Bucer favoured epiſcopacy: but Calvin entertained a good opinion of him, and wrote to him in a very friendly manner, while he was aſſiſting the reformers in England. Calvin adviſed Bucer how to conduct himſelf before king Edward VI. He correſponded with the duke of Somerſet; and gave him his opinion how the reformation ſhould be carried on. In one of his letters to the lord protector, he expreſſed his diſlike of praying for the dead; “ which was one of thoſe “ things he termed *tolerabiles ineptias*, engliſhed by ſome, *tolerable fooleries*; more mildly “ by others, *tolerable unfitneſſes*. In requital whereof biſhop Williams was wont to ſay, that “ Calvin had his *tolerabiles moroſitates*.” The protector ſeemed to threaten to aboliſh epiſcopal authority itſelf, both out of church and ſtate: but this was an impracticable ſcheme, and archbiſhop Cranmer ſoon convinced him of his errors. The foreign profeſſors, who had taken refuge, and were ſettled in England, were put upon combating the popiſh doctrine of the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and many diſputes upon that head were held in the univerſities, as mentioned in the life of Peter Martyr, page 114. Calvin, in his epiſtolary correſpondence with the protector, was inſtrumental not only in puſhing ſome ſeverities againſt the Papiſts; but in ſome advances towards bringing the church of England to a nearer conformity with the churches abroad, where the worſhip was more plain. Biſhop Hooper, whoſe education and principles agreed chiefly with the Helvetain churches, ſeconded Calvin in this; and, in all his ſermons, inveighed ſtrongly againſt altars, which, he ſaid, put the people in mind of their old ſuperſtitions. Soon after this, happened the controverſy with Hooper concerning his wearing the eccleſiaſtical veſtments; which I have mentioned in Bucer's life, page 96.

Calvin in reſpon. ad Balduinum, p. 367, tract. theol.

Francis Baudouin, who lodged with Calvin, gave out, that, in Bucer's judgment, Calvin kept no meaſure either in his love or hatred; or that he either raiſed people above the heavens, or ſunk them down to hell. But Calvin proteſted with an oath, that Bucer had never cenſured him in that manner. “ I call God and his angels to witneſs, ſays Calvin, “ that what Baudouin recites of that matter is a wicked fiction of his own. May God “ ſo proſper me as I never heard any ſuch thing from Bucer: on the contrary, Bucer, “ whom I revere as a father, cultivated a mutual brotherly friendſhip with me, with ſo “ much affection, that it grieved him very much when I left Straſburg. It is certain he “ ſtrove to the utmoſt to retain me by any means whatſoever. There is alſo a letter of “ his to our ſenate, wherein he complains that I was recalled hither to the great loſs of “the whole church; and in ſhort goes ſo far, that he ſays, I am inferior to none of the miniſters of ſound doctrine, and have but few equals.” Baudouin confeſſes, in his anſwer, that he had not ſeen what Bucer had wrote to Calvin; but he brags he had Calvin's anſwer to Bucer. Theodore Beza wrote to Baudouin, and made the following apology for Calvin: “You ſay Calvin curſed himſelf if ever he heard any ſuch thing from Bucer: but why, ſycophant, do you omit what is moſt to the purpoſe? For theſe are Calvin's words: *Baudouin ſays, that Bucer once told me that I kept no meaſure in my hatred or love; but was a man of that vehemence, that I either extolled a man above the ſkies, or debaſed him to hell.* You ſee manifeſtly, ſycophant though you are ſo blind with rage or hatred that you can ſee nothing, that what you wrote obſcurely of Bucer's rebuke, Calvin underſtood as of ſome converſation; and, therefore, remembering the ſweet and uninterrupted friendſhip that had been between him and Bucer, did not raſhly break out into that expreſſion; ſo that this is nothing at all to the letter, which you have corrupted too; for Bucer, whoſe letter I have in his own hand writing, did not write, *you judge as you love*; but *we judge as we love*, whereby he comprehended himſelf in the number, and deplored a common fault of mankind.” Beza alſo remarks, that thoſe two great men ſoon altered their ſtile in writing to each other; and that there are letters of Bucer to Calvin of a later date, and full of mildneſs.

Balduinus in reſponſione, p. 56.

Beza reſponſ. ad Balduinum, p. 211.

In 1548, Calvin wrote his “Antidote againſt the ſeven ſeſſions of the council of Trent.” He alſo wrote commentaries upon ſix of St. Paul's Epiſtles: and he more fully confuted the interim, which was publiſhed for the deſtruction of the German churches. He drew up a treatiſe to ſhew the falſehood and vanity of judicial aſtrology: and he ſent letters to the Proteſtants at Roan, to detect the fraud of a Franciſcan-friar, who had ſpread among them the poiſonous doctrines of the Libertines and Carpocratians. The latter were condemned in 208, for placing the image of Ariſtotle next to that of Jeſus Chriſt; and for adoring him, through an extravagant zeal for his doctrine. Yet the ſame jeſuit ſays, that nothing did more honour to Ariſtotle, in the ſixteenth century, than the bitter invectives of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Melanchthon, Poſtel, Sarpi, and all thoſe who wrote againſt it, and the church of Rome.

Rapin's Compar. of Plato and Ariſtotle, p. 392. Ib. 412.

The next year, Calvin loſt his wife, who was a valuable woman; and he bore his loſs with ſuch conſtancy, that it gave an excellent example to the whole church.

A great contention happened in the Saxon churches about *things indifferent:* upon which they ſent to Calvin for his judgment, who freely declared his opinion to them. He alſo admoniſhed Melanchthon of his duty, who was accuſed for too much ſoftneſs in this point: but Calvin afterwards found it to be a falſe charge. He wrote conſolatory letters to Brentius in his exile. He accompanied Farel to Zurick, where, in a ſynod of all the Helvetian churches, he ſhewed his agreement with them; and indeed there was no great difficulty to bring good and wiſe men into an harmonious concord. This agreement made a ſtronger union between the churches of Zurick and Geneva; and increaſed the friendſhip between Calvin and Bullinger.

When Calvin returned to Geneva, the ſenate publiſhed a decree, empowering the miniſters to require of every family an account of their faith: and they ordered, that no holy-day ſhould be obſerved but the ſabbath. This made the enemies of Calvin ſay, he had even aboliſhed the ſabbath; to which he gave his anſwer in his book “Of Scandals,” dedicated to Laurence Normendius, who was his intimate friend.

Melanchthon laid the foundation of a ſect called the *Synergiſts*, which was compoſed of ſome German divines, who thought that the hypotheſis of Luther about free-will was too harſh, and taught that men are not converted by the divine grace, without the co-operation of human will. Victorinus Strigelius, and ſome other divines, who had a great regard for the authority of Melanchthon, conſidered ſome phraſes which they found in his books, whereby it appeared, that he aſcribed a great power to human will: wherefore they maintained, that the natural power of free-will concurred with grace in the converſion of a ſinner. It is certain, that Melanchthon could not approve the rigid method of Luther and Calvin; and it is in vain to alledge, as a proof of his being of the ſame opinion with them upon that head, the great praiſes he beſtowed upon their piety; for he knew very well how to avoid the ill conſequences of prepoſſeſſion, and believed that men might err through a good motive. Calvin had dedicated his book *De ſervitute humani arbitrii* to Melanchthon, who wrote him a letter of thanks for it, and ſaid, “They wiſh you had rather employed your excelling eloquence in other matters more beneficial to the church than in the queſtion concerning neceſſity. I hold this principle, that God is not the cauſe of ſin, nor willeth it; and at the ſame time admit of contingency in this weakneſs of our judgment, that the ignorant may know that David ſinned of his own free choice. We blame our own will when we fall; and do not ſeek the cauſe in the decree of God. On the contrary, when we hold out, we know that God both will and does aſſiſt us. Be willing only, and God is all-ſufficient, ſaith Baſil. Thus our care is excited, and the boundleſs goodneſs of God is praiſed, who hath promiſed aſſiſtance,

Mycrælius ſyntagm. hiſt. eccleſ. p. 865.

Balduin. p. 139.

Beza in vita Calvini, opera t. 3, p. 376. Bayle, v 5, p. 153.

“ and grants it to thoſe who aſk it.” He ſeemed to charge thoſe of Geneva as introducing the fate of the ſtoics. Though he was prepoſſeſſed in favour of free-will, he could diſcern the great parts, piety, and eloquence which Calvin diſcovered in maintaining the contrary opinion. He thought that the doctrine of Calvin made God the author of ſin: but he knew Calvin did not teach it under that notion, and would have looked upon it as an abominable tenet if ſo conſidered. He was not ignorant under what form it appeared to Calvin; as that it was under the appearance of a ſyſtem, grounded upon ſeveral paſſages of the ſcripture, and tending to maintain the rights of God's providence, and thoſe of the diſpenſation of the new law. But he was ſenſible, that the doctrine of free-will appeared to Calvin under a monſtrous ſhape, as deſtructive of Providence, and directly contrary to St. Paul's Epiſtles, and to the glory that redounds to God from the ſalvation of men.

Calvin. in brevi reſponſ. ad dibrendas nebulonis, p. 730. tract. theol.

Calvin, in his writings, every where declares, when he treats of the cauſe of ſin, that the name of God ought not to be mentioned: becauſe the nature of God is perfectly righteous and juſt. He therefore ſays, “ how rank a calumny is it, to charge a man who hath ſo well deſerved “ of the church of God, with making God the author of ſin: he teaches, on all occaſions, “ that nothing can be without the will of God. He ſays, the wicked actions of men are ſo “ ruled by the ſecret judgment of God, as that he is no ways acceſſary to them. The ſum of “ what he teaches is, that God, in a wonderful manner, and by ways unknown to us, directs “ all things to whatever end he pleaſes. But why God wills what ſeems to us not ſuitable to “ his nature, he acknowledges to be incomprehenſible: and therefore denies that it ſhould be “ over curiouſly and boldly ſearched into; becauſe the judgments of God are a vaſt abyſs, and “ myſteries beyond our reach, which ought to be adored with awful reverence. But ſtill he “ keeps to this principle; that, though the reaſon of his counſel be unknown to us, the praiſe “ of righteouſneſs is ever to be given to God; becauſe his will is the ſupreme rule of equity.” Warm and paſſionate men will not be ſatisfied with ſuch a wiſe anſwer: but Melanchthon, whoſe great equity and modeſty enabled him clearly to diſcover the weak and the ſtrong ſide of the opinions he approved or rejected, was always ready to do juſtice to Calvin. Every man ſhould imitate that peaceable and equitable divine. Not to believe what is ſeen, ought frequently to be the motto of a chriſtian, as well as to believe what is not ſeen; which, in effect, is the ſenſe of Calvin's words. It is therefore a great ſubject of ſcandal to ſee the diviſions occaſioned by the diſputes about grace. Every ſect taxes the other with teaching impious things, and carries animoſity to the higheſt degree: yet, it is about ſuch doctrines that a mutual toleration ſhould moſt readily take place.

Bayle, 5. 154.

Bayle's Explication concerning the Manichees, p. 821.

Rom. c. 8. v. 29, 30.

Ib. c. 9. v. 18.

The writings of St. Paul teach us, that this great apoſtle, propoſing to himſelf the difficulties concerning predeſtination, could get out of them no otherwiſe than by aſſerting the abſolute power of God over his creatures, with an exclamation upon the incomprehenſibility of his ways. This holy writer, inſpired by God, and immediately directed by the Holy Ghoſt in all his writings, ſays, “ Whom God did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate to be conformed to the “ image of his Son, that he might be the firſt-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom “ he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called; and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified; and “ whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.” He alſo ſays, “ God hath mercy on whom he “ will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth.” After which, he alledges the ſovereign power of God, and the ſupreme right which the Creator has to diſpoſe of his creatures as it ſeems good to him: “ Nay but, O man, who art thou that replieſt againſt God? Shall the “ thing formed ſay to him that formed it, Why haſt thou made me thus? Hath not the potter “ power over the clay of the ſame lump, to make one veſſel unto honour, and another unto “ diſhonour?” He acknowledges an incomprehenſibility, in the thing, which ought to put a ſtop to all diſputes. He cries out, “ O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and know- “ ledge of God! how unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out! For who “ hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor?” All Chriſtians ought to find here a definitive ſentence, a judgment final and without appeal, about grace; or rather they ſhould learn, from this conduct of St. Paul, never to diſpute about predeſtination.

Ib. ii. 20, 21.

Ib. c. 11. v. 33, 34.

Bayle, v. 1. p. 481.

It is evident, that the doctrine concerning Adam's ſin, with its dependencies, of all the myſteries unconceivable to reaſon, and inexplicable by its maxims, is that which moſt neceſſarily obliges us to ſubmit to revealed truth, notwithſtanding all the oppoſitions to philoſophical truth. It is to be wiſhed, that this point had been always remembered; for the unhappy diſputes about grace, which have cauſed ſo many troubles, were only derived from the treating of this myſtery as a thing reconcileable with our weak reaſon. The Roman Catholics, ſays Bayle, have acted inconſiſtently here; they have inſulted Calvin with the utmoſt fury, for liberally following the doctrine of St. Paul; while they would explain it in a milder ſenſe, that human reaſon might be ſatisfied. But they had not the ſame regard for reaſon in the explication of the paſſages relating to the trinity and the ſacrament of the euchariſt. And Calvin might thus have defended himſelf againſt thoſe who diſliked his hypotheſis of predeſtination: he might have told them, “ Ye are prepoſterouſly ſqueamiſh, after having digeſted the difficulties of one God in three “ perſons, and thoſe of tranſubſtantiation. You will not hearken to philoſophical arguments “ on that head: you talk of nothing but the omnipotence of God: you complain of our deny-

Ib. concerning the Manichees, p. 821.

Ib. 822.

ing it, when we deny the preſervation of accidents without a ſubject, and the preſence of a body in different places. Why then do ye attack the myſtery of predeſtination by human arguments? Why do not ye believe that the power of God extends even to the reconciling the liberty of creatures with the neceſſity of his decrees, and his juſtice with the puniſhment of a ſin neceſſarily committed?”

In 1550, Galearius Caracciola, marquiſs of Vico, in the kingdom of Naples, left his eſtate and family, and withdrew to Geneva, on account of religion. Before his arrival, ſome perſons ſpread a report, that he came as a ſpy: but his converſation gave ſufficient proof of the contrary. Bolſec, a Carmelite, who had left the order, and, under pretence of embracing the Proteſtant religion, had applied himſelf to the profeſſion of phyſic and divinity, took occaſion to preach up free-will, and that predeſtination was out of works foreſeen. He charged Calvin with making God the author of ſin, and by that means contributing to the condemnation of the wicked; as if God had been a Jupiter, or a tyrant; alledging farther, that St. Auguſtine was forcibly drawn in to be a patron of this doctrine, though he was not of that opinion, of which he warned them to take heed, as it was a new and dangerous doctrine, and of which he charged Laurentius Valla to be the author. Calvin was preſent at this meeting, where he heard Bolſec diſcourſe, with admirable patience; and, after he had ſaid as much as he could, Calvin preſented himſelf, and anſwered moſt ingeniouſly to every article for the ſpace of an hour. Beſides many places which he cited out of the holy ſcripture, he quoted ſo many paſſages out of St. Auguſtine, as would make a man believe he had ſtudied no other author: ſo that every one admired it, and ſhut up all with this ſaying, “Would to God that he who hath ſo much cited St. Auguſtine, had ſeen more of him than his covering.” Farel, who was then at Geneva, made a diſtinct oration to confirm what Calvin had ſaid before him; and, to ſhew that they were to blame who charged them with error, Bolſec was thereupon committed to priſon, where Calvin endeavoured to convince him of his error, as well by perſonal conference, as by letters. Soon after, by the conſent of the churches of Switzerland, he was baniſhed the city, for ſedition and pelagianiſm. It is reported, that ten years after he recanted, in a full ſynod at Orleans; yet wrote a book of Calvin's life, wherein he very much injured his reputation. This occaſioned Calvin to ſet forth a treatiſe concerning predeſtination and providence; which the magiſtrates of Berne would neither approve nor condemn; prudently forbidding their miniſters to preach to the people a doctrine which they, and all other men, ſo little underſtood. Troillet, who had been an hermit, openly cenſured Calvin's Inſtitutions: but the council enjoined him to be ſilent. However, many diſturbances happened about this matter; and the young people of the city accuſed Calvin of pride, and too much ſeverity; while the college of miniſters, in a public meeting, aſſerted the true doctrine of predeſtination.

Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 118.

Philibert Bertelier, regiſter of the inferior court of juſtice at Geneva, had been ſuſpended from the ſacrament by the Preſbytery, on account of his vicious life: but he applied to the ſenate to be abſolved. This was oppoſed, in the name of the Preſbytery, by Calvin, who ſhewed, that the chriſtian magiſtrate ought to preſerve, not to deſtroy, the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. Bertelier was always Calvin's enemy, becauſe he had often reprimanded and cenſured him for his vicious and ſcandalous life; and had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his wicked and pernicious deſigns. This appears by Calvin's letters to Viret, and to Bullinger, in the months of September and November, 1553; in which he cries him down as a bad and audacious man. Beza alſo repreſents the wicked qualities of Bertelier, in Calvin's life. The clamour which was raiſed againſt the miniſters, as if, in ſome reſpects, they had invaded the rights of the ſovereignty, was the reaſon why the council of two hundred ordered that the final judgment of cauſes of excommunication ſhould belong to the ſenate, and that the ſenate might abſolve the excommunicated, as they ſhould think fit. By virtue of this decree, the ſenate granted letters of abſolution to Bertelier, which were ſealed with the ſeal of the republic. The ſacrament was to be adminiſtered within two days. When Calvin came to hear of what had paſſed, he ſoon reſolved what to do, and preached againſt the contempt of the ſacrament. He raiſed his voice, lifted up his hands, and ſaid, that he would imitate St. Chryſoſtom; that he would not oppoſe force to force, but that he would rather ſuffer himſelf to be maſſacred, than that his hands ſhould preſent the holy myſteries to thoſe who had been judged unworthy of them. This was a thunderbolt, which confounded the faction of Bertelier; ſo that it was not thought fit that he ſhould preſent himſelf to the communion. The next day after the ſacrament, Calvin, accompanied by his conſiſtory, deſired leave of the ſenate, and of the council of two hundred, to ſpeak to the people about this matter, as it concerned the abrogation of a law made by the people. This made ſo great an impreſſion on their minds, that it was reſolved the Swiſs Cantons ſhould be conſulted about it; and that the decree of the two hundred ſhould be ſuſpended; but that none ſhould ſay the ancient regulations had been infringed. By this means the conſiſtory obtained a complete victory over the ſenate, and the council of two hundred.

Lullin's Defence of Calvin; Drelinc. Defence of Calvin, p. 148.

Beza in vita Calv. ad Ann. 1553.

Calvin diſpatched letters to ſome principal paſtors in the Helvetic cities; craving earneſtly at their hands to reſpect this cauſe, as a thing whereon the whole ſtate of religion and piety in that church ſo much depended, that God, and all good men, were inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unleſs thoſe cities, by their good means, might be brought to give ſen-

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tence with the miniſters of Geneva, when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them; and ſo to give it, that it might effectually contain two things; the one, an abſolute approbation of the diſcipline of Geneva, as conſonant to the word of God, without any cautions or qualifications; the other, an earneſt admonition not to innovate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein, as touching both points, was ſatisfied. For though the Helvetian churches never obſerved that diſcipline; yet they returned proper anſwers to the three queſtions ſtated by the ſenate of Geneva: *Firſt*, after what manner, by God's commandment, according to the ſcripture, and unſpotted religion, excommunication ſhould be exerciſed? *Secondly*, whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way, than by the conſiſtory? *Thirdly*, what the uſe of their churches was to do in this caſe? The Swiſs paſtors anſwered, that they had heard of thoſe conſiſtorial laws, and acknowledged them to be godly ordinances, drawing towards the preſcript of the word of God; for which cauſe, they did not think it good for the church of Geneva, by innovation, to change the ſame, but rather to keep them as they were. "Which anſwer, although not "anſwering to the former demands, but reſpecting what Calvin judged requiſite for them to "anſwer, was accepted without any farther reply; inaſmuch as they plainly ſaw, that where "ſtomach doth ſtrive with wit, the match is not equal; and ſo the heat of their former con"tentions began to ſlake."

Hooker's Pref to his Eccleſ. Pol.

One of the greateſt uſes which may be drawn from reading, is to learn the weakneſſes of the heart of man, and the ill effects of prejudices in points of religion. No leſs a perſon than the great Cardinal Richelieu, has produced an accuſation againſt Calvin, on the credit of Bertelier, than which none was ever worſe contrived, and worſe proved; though it has been adopted, and conveyed from book to book. Bertelier pretended, that the republic of Geneva had ſent him to Noyon, with orders to make an exact enquiry there into Calvin's life and character; and that he found Calvin had been convicted of Sodomy; but that, at the biſhop's requeſt, the puniſhment of fire was commuted into that of being branded with the *Flower-de-Luce*. He boaſted to have an act, ſigned by a notary, which certified the truth of the proceſs and condemnation. Bolſec affirms, that he had ſeen this act: and this is the ground of that horrid accuſation. Neither Bertelier, nor Bolſec, are to be credited. If Bertelier's act had not been ſuppoſitious, there would have been, at Noyon, authentic and public teſtimonies of the trial and puniſhment in queſtion; and they would have been publiſhed as ſoon as the Romiſh religion began to ſuffer by Calvin's means. Bertelier had no party againſt him in Geneva more inexorable than Calvin, who held him in abhorrence, on account of his vices. Bertelier was accuſed of ſedition and conſpiracy againſt the ſtate and church; but he ran away, and, not appearing to anſwer for himſelf, was condemned, as being attainted and convicted of thoſe crimes, to loſe his head, by a ſentence pronounced againſt him, the 6th of Auguſt 1555. No envoy or deputy was ever ſent from Geneva upon public buſineſs, who was not in a higher ſtation than that of Bertelier; beſides, there were ſome conſiderable perſons at Noyon, who retired to Geneva, as well as Calvin: by whoſe means it was very eaſy to receive all the information which could have been deſired, without going farther. If what Bertelier ſaid was true, he would have had his paper when he fled from Geneva: but it is plain he had not the commiſſion he boaſted of, after that time. But can any one believe, that, before the year 1555, when thoſe who were called heretics durſt not ſhew themſelves for fear of being burnt, a deputy from Geneva ſhould go boldly to Noyon, to inform himſelf of Calvin's life? Who will believe, that if Bertelier had an authentic act of Calvin's infamy in 1554, he would have kept it ſo cloſe, that the public ſhould have no knowledge of it before 1557? Was it not a piece which the clergy of France would have bought for its weight in gold? "But why, ſays "Bayle, do I loſe time in confuting ſuch a ridiculous romance? Nothing ſurpriſes me more, "than to ſee ſo great a perſon, as cardinal de Richelieu, depend on this piece of Bertelier; "and alledge, as his principal reaſon, that the republic of Geneva did not undertake to ſhew "the falſehood of this piece." The truth is, this cardinal made all imaginable enquiry into the pretended proceedings againſt Calvin at Noyon, and that he diſcovered nothing; yet he maintained the affirmative on the credit of Jerom Bolſec, whoſe teſtimony is of no weight in things which are laid to Calvin's charge. Bolſec would have been altogether buried in oblivion, if he had not been taken notice of by the monks and miſſionaries for writing ſome ſatirical books againſt the reformation. He was convicted of ſedition and pelagianiſm, at Geneva, in 1551, and baniſhed the territory of the republic. He was alſo baniſhed from Bern; after which he went to France, where he aſſiſted in perſecuting the Proteſtants, and even proſtituted his wife to the canons of Autun. He was an infamous man, who forſook his order, had been baniſhed thrice, and changed his religion four times; and who, after having aſperſed the dead and the living, died in deſpair. Varillas thought Bolſec a diſcredited author: Maimburg rejected the infamy that was thrown upon Calvin: and Florimond de Remond owns, they have defamed him horribly. Papyrius Maſſo ſpoke very ill of Calvin, but would not venture to mention the ſtory of the Flower-de-luce; and he called thoſe mean wretched ſcriblers, who reproached that miniſter with lewdneſs. Is it not ſtrange, that cardinal de Richelieu, in one of the beſt books of controverſy that has been publiſhed on the part of the church of Rome, ſhould be leſs ſcrupulous and nice than Remond, Maſſo, and Romuald; and that he ſhould give out, as a true matter of fact, the ſtory of Bolſec, which began then to be laid aſide by the miſſionaries?

Bayle, v. 1, p. 784.

Ib. 784.

Lullin.

Bayle, 1. 783.

Beza in vita Calv. p. 376.

Drelincourt, p. 102

Maimb. l. 4, p. 336.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 62.

Richelieu intended to have reconciled both religions in France, but was prevented by death; and there was not one ſtory which people did not believe, when it defamed him or cardinal Mazarin.

In 1553 the malice of the factious Geneveſe broke out ſo impetuouſly, as to endanger both the church and commonwealth. About this time, Michael Servetus came to Geneva, where he began to dogmatize. He had compoſed a book, intitled, *Chriſtianiſſimi reſtitutio*, full of execrable hereſies. He annulled the diſtinction of the three perſons in the Godhead. He affirmed, “ That the Son and Holy Ghoſt were created in the beginning of the “ world: that the eſſence of God was common to all creatures, which produced a free “ will in man; yet the knowledge of good and evil was ſtifled in him, till he was twenty “ years of age, before which time a man could not commit any mortal ſin: that it was “ ſufficient to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt was the Son of God; but it was not abſolutely “ neceſſary to lay hold on his promiſes, as all men, both Jews and Heathens, were juſ- “ tified by their good moral works: and that the baptiſm of infants was a meer fop- “ pery.” He was countenanced, at firſt, by ſome of the magiſtrates, who hated Calvin: ſo that, beſides his natural maliciousneſs, he was rude enough, in maintaining his blaſphemies, to give Calvin the lie above fifty times in one diſcourſe: he alſo as often called him a wicked wretch, and Simon Magus. The council could no longer endure his impudence, but committed him to priſon, and articles were drawn up againſt him, which were ſent to the four Proteſtant cantons for their concurrence; after which, he was burnt alive, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of repentance, but only a great fear of death.

Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 119.

The enemies of Calvin on this account, ſaid, that he copied after Saul the perſecutor, and not after St. Paul the apoſtle of the beneficent Jeſus. They aſſert, “ that though “ Calvin cauſed the papacy of Rome to be baniſhed out of Geneva, yet he eſtabliſhed a “ papacy of his own: that as there was a pope at Rome, ſo he was no other than a “ pope at Geneva; not only by eſtabliſhing an infallibility in the very conſtitution of that “ church, but by his maintaining and carrying on of that conſtitution, together with his “ own authority, by perſecution and blood, of which the fate of Servetus affords ſuffici- “ ent demonſtrations, and undeniable proofs.” Even Eraſmus, in the beginning of his epiſtle to Conradus Pelicanus, ſays, that Calvin expoſed Servetus to the reſentment of his greateſt enemies; and that, “ Upon his information, Servetus was impriſoned at Vienne, “ and would have been burnt alive in that city, had he not made his eſcape. He was “ burnt in effigy, with five bales of his books. That unhappy phyſician, having reſolved “ to retire to Naples, where he hoped to practiſe phyſic among his countrymen, was ſo “ imprudent as to take his way through Geneva, though he knew that Calvin was his “ mortal enemy. Calvin was informed of his arrival, and acquainted the magiſtrates of it. “ Servetus was arreſted, tried, and burnt alive, on the twenty-ſeventh of October 1553, “ for the hereſies contained in the book printed at Vienne. Thus the unfortunate Serve- “ tus fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that illuſtrious reformer.”

Hiſtory of Servetus, p. 22.

Epiſt. lib. 19. p. 738.

The author of the memoirs of literature ſays, “ If the religion of Proteſtants depended “ on the doctrine and conduct of the reformers, he ſhould take care how he publiſhed “ his account of Servetus: but as the Proteſtant religion is entirely founded on holy Scrip- “ ture; ſo the defaults of the reformer ought not to have any ill influence on the refor- “ mation. The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the ſixteenth century, among “ ſome Proteſtants, was that pernicious error which they had imbibed in the church of “ Rome: and, I believe, I can ſay, without doing any injury to that church, that ſhe is, “ in a great meaſure, anſwerable for the execution of Servetus. If the Roman-catholics “ had never put any perſon to death for the ſake of religion; I dare ſay, that Servetus “ had never been condemned to die in any Proteſtant city. Let us remember, that Cal- “ vin, and all the magiſtrates of Geneva, in the year 1553, were born and bred up in “ the church of Rome: this is the beſt apology that can be made for them.”

Bibliotheque Angloiſe, t. 2 part I. art. 7.

In the lives of Oecolampadius and Melanchthon, it has been mentioned, how the Proteſtant divines were diſguſted at the two firſt books which Servetus publiſhed againſt the Trinity; and that he continued an Anti-trinitarian. But it is neceſſary, in this place, to ſet the whole matter in a plainer light.

Ib. p. 52, 108.

Servetus was born, in 1509, at Villanueva, in the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain. He ſtudied the civil law at the univerſity of Toulouſe in France, in which kingdom it does not appear that there were any Anti-trinitarians at that time: therefore, it is probable, that Servetus himſelf began the new doctrine, for which he was afterwards put to death. He was convinced, by ſtudying the ſcripture, that the church wanted to be reformed; which made him reſolve to retire into Germany, and ſet up for a reformer. In 1531, he publiſhed his firſt work, intitled, “ De Trinitatis erroribus libri ſeptem;” wherein he undertook to ſhew, that the words, *Jeſus* and *Chriſt*, and *Son of God*, denote only a man; which he endeavoured to ſhew by ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture. Concerning the perſon of our Saviour, he ſaid, “ Chriſt was præformed in the divine mind: he was a certain mode of “ being himſelf there, which mode God diſpoſed of in himſelf, that he might make him-

Bib. Ang. tom. 2, and Memoirs of Literat. v. 4, letter 1.

Ib. p. 110.

“ ſelf known to us; that is, by deſcribing the effigies of Jeſus Chriſt in himſelf.” He called this “ the face of God, and the word that was made fleſh.” He denied the Trinity, like the modern Unitarians: but he had a very different opinion from theirs, concerning Jeſus Chriſt. It is ſtrange, that a man who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, as being incomprehenſible, ſhould ſubſtitute a notion ſo obſcure and unintelligible in the room of it. He uſed ſeveral expreſſions in this book, at which the orthodox were very much offended; for he called the three divine perſons a chimæra, and metaphyſical gods. In 1532, he put out another book with this title, “ Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo.” Thus Servetus publiſhed two books againſt the Trinity, in leſs than two years, without ſcrupling to put his name to them. He was young, zealous for his new opinion, and perhaps unacquainted with the principles of the reformers: nor is it unlikely, that he thought he might as freely write againſt the doctrine of the Trinity, as the reformers had done againſt tranſubſtantiation. And, in 1553, he publiſhed a third book againſt the Trinity, which conſiſted of 734 pages in octavo, printed at Vienne, a very ancient city of the Lower Dauphine in France, 68 miles S. W. of Geneva. This book was intitled, “ The “ Reſtitution of Chriſtianity: wherein the knowledge of God, of the Chriſtian faith, of “ juſtification, regeneration, baptiſm, and of eating the Lord's Supper, are perfectly re“ ſtored.”

Servetus was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he publiſhed this book, to which he would not venture to put his name, as he had done to the former books. Many believe, that he was burnt for the firſt book; but this is a miſtake, for Servetus was committed to the flames for the laſt book, which ſhould be rectified in the life of Melancthon. It contained the following pieces. 1. Of the divine Trinity, that there is not an illuſion of three inviſible beings in it; but the real manifeſtation of the ſubſtance of God, and communication of his ſpirit. 2. Of the faith of Chriſt, and the righteouſneſs of his kingdom, excelling that of the law; and of charity. 3. Of regeneration from above, and the reign of Antichriſt. 4. Thirty epiſtles to John Calvin, preacher at Geneva. 5. Sixty ſigns of the reign of Antichriſt, and his diſcovery juſt now at hand. 6. Of the myſtery of the Trinity.

When Servetus had publiſhed his ſecond book, he left Germany, and went to Paris, Beza, 1. 14. where he was admitted doctor of phyſic in that univerſity. Calvin knew Servetus in Paris, Ibid. p. 121. and oppoſed his doctrine. In 1542, Servetus was at Lyons, where he corrected the proofs of Pagninus's Latin Bible, and added a preface to it, with ſome notes, under the name of Villanovanus. Calvin called thoſe notes impious and impertinent; and ſays, that Servetus fraudulently got five hundred livres from the bookſeller for his trouble. What is moſt conſiderable in the notes was concerning Chriſt, figuratively repreſented in the ſcripture.

Calvin's Tract theol. p. 836. Calvin kept a long correſpondence with Servetus, whom he endeavoured to reclaim from his errors. Servetus ſent Calvin the three following queſtions, and deſired him to anſwer them. 1. “ Whether the man Jeſus, who was crucified, is the Son of God? And what “ is the foundation of that ſonſhip? 2. “ Whether the kingdom of Chriſt is in men? “ When may a man be ſaid to enter into it; and when to be regenerated?” 3. “ Whe“ ther the baptiſm that Chriſt inſtituted ought to be received in faith, even as his ſupper “ is? And to what purpoſe theſe were inſtituted under the new covenant?” Calvin anſwered thoſe queries, Ib. 827. in a manner that offended Servetus; and Calvin ſays, this diſpute occaſioned the hatred which Servetus conceived for him from that time.

Servetus, upon all occaſions, expreſſed a great indignation againſt the church of Rome, which he took to be the beaſt mentioned in the Apocalypſe: but he delivered himſelf ſo confuſedly about the nature of Chriſt, that it is difficult to have a notion of his doctrine. Bibliotheque Angloiſe, p. 101. It appears, from the whole tenor of the fourth book of the Trinity, that he was a ſubtil metaphyſician; had read the ſchoolmen, and many of the fathers: that he underſtood Hebrew: that he believed the ſoul to be material: and that he was a great enemy to the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination.

Though the “ Chriſtianiſſimi Reſtitutio” was printed very privately at Vienne, Calvin had a copy ſent to him, and was informed that Servetus was the author. It is ſaid, he ſent to Lyons, to have him arreſted, and proſecuted as a heretic: that Servetus was apprehended on the fifteenth of June; but made his eſcape on the ſeventeenth: that he was condemned to be burnt alive, if he could be ſeized; and, in the mean time, to be burnt in effigy, with his books. The ſentence was pronounced againſt him “ upon the ſcan“ dalous crime of hereſy, dogmatiſation, compoſition of new doctrines, and heretical books, “ ſchiſm, perturbation of union and public peace, rebellion and diſobedience to the orders “ made againſt hereſies.” His effigies, and five bales of his books, were burnt by the common hangman at Vienne, purſuant to the ſentence of the delphinal court, which mentions the epiſtles and manuſcripts of Servetus ſent to Calvin, who, on that account, was charged with having informed againſt Servetus.

Fidelis exp ſit. error Servetus, p. 827. But Calvin wonders how it ſhould come to paſs, that, all of a ſudden, there ſhould ſtart up ſuch a great familiarity and friendſhip between him and the guardians of the papacy. “ Will it ever be credited, ſays he, that there is ſuch a free correſpondence kept up by way of letters between me and them, who are not leſs at variance one with another than Chriſt is with Belial? Whereas, there is nothing more wanting, to refute ſuch a fooliſh calumny, than the bare denial of it.” He adds, that Servetus had ſpread this report among the Papiſts, four years before; and, that if he had informed againſt him then, the Papiſts would not have ſpared him ſo long.

When Servetus eſcaped from Vienne, he reſolved to retire to Naples, and took Geneva in his way, where Calvin cauſed him to be impriſoned, proſecuted, and put to death. His accuſer was Nicolas de la Fontaine, and Servetus was brought to the bar, for the firſt time, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, when thirty-eight interrogatories were exhibited againſt him. The trial was procraſtinated, and the magiſtrates of Geneva ordered Calvin to extract ſeveral propoſitions out of Servetus's book, intitled “ Chriſtianiſmi reſtitutio;” and he reduced thoſe propoſitions to thirty-eight articles, which, according to the title, “ the miniſters of the church of Geneva declared to be full of impious blaſphemies againſt God, and of other mad and prophane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of God, and the orthodox agreement of that church.” Servetus anſwered the whole; and the ſtate of the caſe was tranſmitted to the Helvetic churches for their opinions.

On the twenty-ſixth of October, Calvin wrote to Farel, at Neufchatel, how the matters ſtood, as follows: “ The meſſenger is returned from Switzerland. The cantons unanimouſly declare, that Servetus has revived the impious errors with which Satan formerly diſturbed the church, and that he is an intolerable monſter. Thoſe of Baſil are right. Thoſe of Zurick are the moſt vehement; for they expreſs the heinouſneſs of his impiety in very emphatical words, and exhort our magiſtrates to uſe him ſeverely. Thoſe of Schaffhauſen ſubſcribe to their judgment. The letter of the divines of Bern, which is alſo to the purpoſe, is attended with that of the ſenate, whereby our magiſtrates have been very much animated. Cæſar, a comical man, pretended to be ſick three days, but came to court at laſt to acquit that profligate fellow; for he was not aſhamed to propoſe, that the cauſe ſhould be removed to the council of two hundred. Nevertheleſs, he has been condemned, without any diſpute. He will be executed to-morrow. We have endeavoured to commute that ſort of death; but it was in vain. I will tell you, when I ſee you, why the judges have not granted our requeſt.”

The Syndics were the judges, who were incenſed againſt Servetus for writing with aſperity againſt Calvin, whom he conſidered as his accuſer. Calvin had enemies, who encouraged Servetus to write againſt him, in a very calumniating manner, all the time he was in confinement. This proved fatal to Servetus, who, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, was condemned to be burnt alive. The proceſs drawn up before the Syndics contained the whole charge againſt him, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of Servetus, page 188 to 194: and the ſentence was pronounced by the Syndics as follows: “ That by the proceſs, and alſo by his voluntary confeſſions, and by his books, it plainly appeared to them, that Servetus had long ago put forth a falſe and heretical doctrine, which he obſtinately continued to ſpread and publiſh, ſo far as to print books againſt God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; in ſhort, againſt the true foundation of the Chriſtian religion: *that* he had not been aſhamed of riſing up againſt the divine Majeſty, and the holy Trinity; endeavouring to infect the world with his hereſies. Therefore, they condemned him to be carried to the Champel [a], and there to be burnt alive with his books.”

After this terrible ſentence was paſſed, Servetus ſent for Calvin, who, with two magiſtrates, gave him a viſit in the priſon. Servetus begged his pardon. Calvin ſaid, he never thought of revenging himſelf for any private injuries, which the priſoner had done him: but obſerved, that he had laboured, even to the hazard of his life, for the ſpace of ſixteen years, to reclaim him from his errors. Calvin alſo told Servetus, that he had converſed with him by private letters with great mildneſs, and continued to uſe him like a friend, till he found that Servetus bitterly inveighed againſt him, even to madneſs, becauſe he had been ſo free in his friendly reproofs to him. He exhorted the priſoner to aſk forgiveneſs of God, for having attempted to blot three hypoſtaſes out of his eſſence. But when Calvin perceived his admonitions made no impreſſion upon Servetus, he told him, he would not preſume to be wiſer than his maſter; “ and, according to St. Paul's command, went away from that heretic, who was condemned by his own conſcience.”

Bib. Ang. p. 187.

Fidelis expo. err. Servetus.

Farel was determined that Servetus ſhould be cut off, and came to Geneva to be preſent at his execution. Calvin was deſirous to mitigate the puniſhment; but Farel was for having it fully executed. Servetus was carried to the ſtake the day after he received his ſentence, and Farel aſſiſted at the execution. Servetus made a ſpeech concerning the true knowledge of God and his Son, wherein he declared, “ *that* they who aſſert three ſubſtantial perſons in the Godhead, inſinuate that there are three Gods by nature equal: and, although in words they tell us there is only one God; yet, in effect, they repre-

Lubienjecius's hiſtoria reformationis Polonicæ, l. 2, c. 5.

Bayle, v. 3. p. 13.

Lubienjecius.

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[a] A ſmall eminence, about a muſket-ſhot from the city.

“ ſent three to our underſtanding. *That* no man could ever explain, or inform us, how he underſtood that theſe three, of which each is a God, were only one God: therefore, there remains, both on the mind and underſtanding, this inſuperable perplexity, and inexplicable confuſion, that three are one, and one is three; which is the iſſue of the Greek *Trias*. *That* God alone is the Father and Creator of all things: but if taken in a limited ſenſe, it may alſo agree with the creatures; as whoever has a power and ſuperiority from God, over another, he may be ſtiled his God: as Moſes, Exod. vii. 1. is called, the God of Pharoah. *That* theſe are not gods, but by the grace and gift of God: for to make three gods by nature equal, is the maſter piece of blaſphemy, and a curſed impiety; becauſe we cannot eſtabliſh three gods by nature equal, without ſetting up three Creators, or Almighties, and three Fathers. *That* the Son is God from the Father; and that, as God of all, conſtituted by the Father, he acknowledges the divinity and ſuperiority of the Father over himſelf. *That* this diſtinction of divine names is not found among the Greeks and Latins; yet by nature there is of himſelf but one eternal, moſt excellent, ſupreme, immortal, inviſible, incomprehenſible God, dwelling in inacceſſible light, who created and governs all things, from whom all things are, and on whom all things depend: this is the God of Gods, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; *Jehovah*, the Father, who alone, in the holy Scripture, is ſimply and abſolutely ſtiled God and Father: he is indeed the univerſal Father of all things; but, in a proper and more limited ſenſe, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as St. Paul moſt elegantly expreſſes it, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. *That* this plurality of ſubordinate Gods can bring no confuſion; nor is it repugnant to the unity of the divine nature: but the divinity of Chriſt Jeſus is widely different from that of other gods; for which reaſon, God the Father deified and ſanctified others by meaſure, as adopted Sons: thus Moſes and Cyrus were the particular gods of Pharaoh and Iſrael; but God ſanctified Chriſt the bleſſed, as his proper Son, and poured out his holy Spirit upon him without meaſure, and filled him with the whole divinity, of whoſe fulneſs we all receive. *That* the Almighty Father conſtituted a God and Lord to be worſhipped by all creatures: in ſhort, he conferred on his moſt beloved Son as much might, power, grace, bleſſing, glory, and Godhead, as poſſible; and he beſtowed as much honour on the Son, both in his equality, and in his throne, as the Son could poſſibly deſire, Acts iv. 12: but in the name of the Son of God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the true Lord, and our God, as Thomas, Paul, and John, have moſt truly confeſt. To whom therefore, with God the Father, the moſt high and moſt merciful God, be praiſe, honour, and glory, to everlaſting ages.”

Bib. Ang. p. 189.
Doctor Wotton's ancient and modern learning, p. 229.
Bibliographiæ anatomicæ Specimen.
Page 107.
Bib. Ang.

Thus Servetus expired in the flames, without ſpeaking or ſhewing any ſigns of repentance; which, ſays Lubienjecius, “ was a cruel act, and directly repugnant to the gentle and humble ſpirit of Chriſt.” Servetus was the firſt who mentioned the circulation of the blood. “ The firſt that I could ever find who had a diſtinct idea of this matter, was Michael Servetus, a Spaniſh phyſician, who was burnt for Arianiſm at Geneva. Well had it been for the church of Chriſt, if he wholly confined himſelf to his own profeſſion! His ſagacity in this particular, before ſo much in the dark, gives us great reaſon to believe, that the world might then have had juſt cauſe to have bleſſed his memory.” Doctor Douglas alſo obſerves, that Servetus, in the fifth book of his “ Reſtitution of Chriſtianity,” ſhews that he was apprized of the circulation of the blood. However, it muſt be owned, that his knowledge therein was very imperfect, and greatly ſhort of the clear and full diſcovery made by the learned Harvey. Servetus might have great merit as a phyſician: but it has been mentioned, in the life of Melanchthon, that he was more extravagant than Arius in his opinion; and a great prelate thought him “ fitter to have been chained up as a madman, than burnt as a heretic.” He condemned the doctrine of Geneva; but he was no Atheiſt, which was a name, that, in his turn, he gave to the Trinitarians.

Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, p. 120.

Many people were not diſpleaſed at the rooting out of a man who had ſowed his wicked doctrine about thirty years among Chriſtians. Others thought he was puniſhed too ſeverely; his fact being only a matter of opinion, which, at the bottom, was a mixture of Judaiſm and Anabaptiſm; and that it had been better to have expected his repentance. But the magiſtrates of Geneva and Switzerland conſidered him as an apoſtate, a ſeducer, and an Atheiſtical perſon.

Life of Servet. p. 213.
Spon. 120.

Calvin publiſhed a book, wherein he confuted the hereſies of Servetus, and expoſed all the proceedings againſt him. That book was intitled, “ Fidelis expoſitio errorum Michaelis Serveti:” or, “ a faithful Expoſition of the Errors of Michael Servetus, and a ſhort Refutation of the ſame; in which is ſhewn, that heretics are to be puniſhed with fire and ſword.” Another book was publiſhed, called, “ De non puniendis hæreticis gladio;” which was thought to be wrote by Caſtalio, under the name of Martin Bellius. This was anſwered by Theodore Beza, in a piece with this title, “ De hæreticis a civili magiſtratu puniendis.”

Calvin, in his Fidelis Expoſitio, acknowledges that the form of the indictment againſt Servetus was drawn up by his advice, and ſays, “ He was not ſo mortally enraged againſt him, but “ that, if he had not been loſt to all ſenſe, it was in his power to have ſaved his life, by his “ modeſty alone. Nor do I know, continues Calvin, what to ſay, unleſs it be this, that he “ precipitated himſelf to his end by his own fatal madneſs.”

When Calvin drew up the confeſſion of faith, he took care to inſert the following article: “ We deteſt all the hereſies which have anciently diſturbed the churches, and eſpecially the “ diabolical imaginations of Servetus, who attributes to the Lord Jeſus a fantaſtical divinity; “ foraſmuch as he calls him the idea and pattern of all things, and names him perſonal or “ figurative Son of God; and finally forges for him a body of three elements uncreated, and “ thus mixes and deſtroys the two natures.” It is ſaid, that all the candidates for the miniſtry in Switzerland, and alſo in the French reformed churches abroad, are bound, before their ordination, to ſubſcribe that article of the confeſſion. Beſides, in the form of confeſſion of faith, which all the ſtudents of the public ſchool of Geneva are to make before the rector, there is this article: “ Although God is one ſimple eſſence, yet there is in him three diſtinct perſons; “ wherefore I deteſt all the hereſies condemned by the firſt council of Nice, as likewiſe thoſe “ condemned in the councils of Epheſus and Calcedon: together with all thoſe errors that “ have been revived by Servetus and his followers.” It has been wiſhed that thoſe articles were omitted by the preſent magiſtrates and divines of Geneva, who are ſo far from approving the conduct of their fathers, that they expreſs their abhorrence for all manner of perſecutions, upon all occaſions.

Calvin's Theol. Tract. p. 148. Bib. Ang.

The next year, Mathew Grybalde, lord of Farges, ſpread the ſame errors as Servetus had done: but he would not enter into a public conference with Calvin, and retired to Bern, where he made his recantation. Thoſe errors alſo ſpread into Poland, Hungary, and Tranſylvania, where a great controverſy aroſe about the puniſhing of heretics.

Spon. 120.

Farel, about this time, was indicted as a criminal at Geneva, and was obliged to appear before the judges. He had ſharply reproved the enemies of Calvin in a ſermon, and they complained he had done them a great injury. The ſenate of Geneva wrote to the magiſtrates of Neufchatel, to deſire that Farel might come and anſwer the charge that was brought againſt him. Relying upon his innocence, his age, and that ancient authority which he had over them, Farel readily came to Geneva. As ſoon as the ſenate had notice that he was arrived, they let Calvin know that Farel ſhould not be ſuffered to aſcend the pulpit. “ I ſhall proceed no farther, ſays Calvin; let it ſuffice to give you a taſte of “ their ingratitude, which will raiſe a juſt averſion in all men of honour and probity. “ But becauſe I have many reaſons which hinder me from publickly deploring our cala- “ mity, take it briefly thus: unleſs Satan be chained up by you, he muſt be let looſe.” Farel was heard, and his adverſaries defeated.

Calvinus Epiſt. 16. ad Tigurinos miniſtro.

Calvin wrote his commentaries upon the goſpel of St. John, when all the reformed churches received a great wound by the death of king Edward VI. Great numbers of Engliſh exiles fled for protection to Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, who found unexpected encouragement and aſſiſtance from Calvin. The Engliſh fugitives had ſettled a church at Frankfort, where they were greatly influenced by Knox, a Scotch preacher, who maimed the Engliſh liturgy, and formed a ſcheme of parity in church government. This was reſented by the Engliſh who ſettled at Zurick, and ſome thoughts were entertained of ſettling the Geneva form at Straſburg. Calvin was conſulted on that head; and they ſent him the Engliſh common-prayer-book in Latin, accompanied with many miſrepreſentations and criticiſms upon the Engliſh worſhip: ſo that Calvin, in his anſwer, ſhewed a diſlike to the Engliſh ſervice. A liturgy was then made uſe of at Frankfort, partly extracted from that of England, and that of Geneva: but Dr. Cox obliged Knox to quit Frankfort, and retire to Geneva. Cox then applied to give Calvin a favourable opinion of the Engliſh liturgy; for he perceived he was under invincible prejudices againſt it. Cox went to Straſburg, and left Horn at Frankfort, where new differences aroſe, and the new modelled diſcipline of Geneva was introduced. Moſt of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians date the riſe of the diſſenting principles in England from this ſchiſm: but Calvin appears only to be an occaſional auxiliary; for it is eaſy to perceive, that Knox, and his party, carried thoſe principles with them from England.

Guthrie, v. 3. p. 612.

Ib. 613.

The number of ſtrangers viſibly increaſed in Geneva, and the Engliſh were allowed to found a church of their own nation in the city, as the Italians had done before them in 1551, and the Spaniards ſome time afterwards: but when queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and revived the Proteſtant religion, the Engliſh thanked the magiſtrates for their protection, and returned to their own country.

In 1555, a conſpiracy was formed againſt the miniſters of Geneva: but it was ſeaſonably diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed; ſome being beheaded, and others baniſhed. Calvin went to Bern, and defended himſelf againſt Bolſec, who was baniſhed for accuſing him of falſe doctrine. Calvin regulated the church of Poland; he comforted the perſecuted in England, and encouraged the afflicted in France. But, in 1556, a tertian ague ſeized upon him as he was preaching, which obliged him to quit the pulpit, and it was rumoured abroad that he was dead. He recovered, and went to Frankfort to pacify ſome controverſies which had lately ſprung up in the French church.

In 1557, he publiſhed his commentaries upon the pſalms, to which he prefixed a very curious preface. He prevailed on the German princes to intercede for the French Proteſtants, and allayed the tempeſt of perſecution in France.

In 1558, a new league was made between Geneva and Bern; but a diſturbance happened in the former church. Valentine Gentilis, and ſome Italians, collected from the books of Servetus more than he had advanced againſt the trinity. They were enjoined by the council to ſubſcribe to the general confeſſion of the church, which ſeven of them abſolutely refuſed, among whom was Gentilis, who was committed to priſon, from whence he was brought to diſpute againſt Calvin before the council. He charged Calvin with oppreſſing the truth, and run himſelf into arianiſm; his drift being to ſhew, that the divine eſſence belonged properly to none but the Father. Calvin, in a full aſſembly of the ſenators, miniſters, and elders, ſo fully confuted him out of the ſcripture, that all the Italians immediately ſubſcribed to the eſtabliſhed faith. It was the opinion of ſome lawyers, that the hereſy of Gentilis deſerved death: but he thought to eſcape all puniſhment by a ſeeming repentance, and retracting his opinion by a formal writing made for that purpoſe. The magiſtrates took notice of this, and inflicted no other puniſhment on him than the burning of his writings, and a command not to ſtir out of the city without their leave, which he ſubmiſſively obeyed till he had an opportunity of making his eſcape. The bailiff of Gex obliged him to make a new recantation; and Calvin wrote a book againſt him, wherein he excellently confuted this hereſy. But Gentilis returned to his old error, and was beheaded as an heretic at Bern, in 1566.

Spon. 121.

This year Calvin was ſeized with a quartan ague, which preyed greatly upon his weak body, already debilitated and worn out with his inceſſant labours and ſtudy: but he publiſhed his Commentary upon Iſaiah, and the laſt edition of his Inſtitutions in French and Latin.

Ibid.

The number of youth, who came from all parts to ſtudy at Geneva, increaſed ſo much, that the old ſchool was not large enough to contain them. The council therefore reſolved to erect a new college for ſeven claſſes; and three profeſſors of Hebrew, Greek, and Philoſophy; beſides Divinity Lectures, which Calvin read himſelf, to whom was joined Theodore Beza, who preached the following week after Calvin. The ſtatutes of this college were firſt publiſhed in St. Peter's church, before the magiſtrates, miniſters, and ſcholars, by Calvin, who ſeemed to conſecrate ſo holy and profitable a foundation.

In 1560, Calvin confuted Sancarus, who aſſerted, that Chriſt was mediator only according to his human nature. Calvin was conſulted by the Bohemian Waldenſes, whom he exhorted to enter into a nearer conjunction with other reformed churches. He ſent Galacius to plant a French church in England, where queen Elizabeth gave protection to the refugees: and he publiſhed his lectures upon Daniel, which he dedicated to the French churches. Francis II. was then upon the throne of France, where the public affairs were conducted by the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal de Lorrain, whoſe adminiſtration offended the Proteſtants, and occaſioned the celebrated conſpiracy of Amboiſe, which was formed againſt the princes of the houſe of Guiſe, by the prince of Conde, brother to the king of Navarre. The conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the prince ordered for execution, which was prevented by the death of the king. He was ſucceeded by Charles IX. who honourably pardoned the prince of Conde; and he ordered the Catholics and Proteſtants to live in peace with each other: but both parties began to call themſelves by the invidious names of *Papiſts* and *Hugonots*, in 1561. The origin of the word *Hugonot* is not certainly known: ſome believe it took its riſe from certain deputies of the Proteſtants coming to addreſs the king in Latin; when he who was to ſpeak ſtopped ſhort at the beginning of what he ſhould have ſaid, and having repeated the words, "huc nos, huc "venimus," could proceed no farther: though others are of opinion, that this name was given them at Tours, becauſe they aſſembled late to teach in a part of the town, where ſuperſtitious people believed the apparition of king Hugo appeared every night.

Rolt's Hiſt. of France, p. 187.

Ib. 190.

The duke of Guiſe, the king of Navarre, and Catherine de Medicis the mother of Charles IX. formed an union, which was called the triumphirate, and governed the kingdom during the minority of the king. In 1562, the prince of Conde appeared in arms, for their conſciences who had embraced the reformed religion, and the French Proteſtants received aſſiſtance from the queen of England. The duke of Guiſe was aſſaſſinated by Poltrot, a Proteſtant gentleman; and the queen concluded a peace with the prince of Conde; whereby the Proteſtants were granted the liberty of aſſembling publickly for the exerciſe of their religion. But the war was renewed in 1564; and when peace was again concluded in 1568, the Proteſtants ſoon found the accompliſhments of what had been foretold by the admiral de Coligny; "That peace had "been offered only to diſarm them, and thereby deſtroy them, with greater eaſe." The great Coligny was aſſaſſinated, and the bloody maſſacre of Paris was put in execution, which was extended all over the kingdom, and the war was carried on againſt the Proteſtants till 1573.

Calvin lived only to ſee the beginning of this civil and religious war in his native country, which ſo much affected him, that it encreaſed his diſeaſe. In 1562, he publiſhed that excellent Confeſſion of Faith, which was ſent to the ſtates of the empire at Frankfort, in the name of the prince of Conde, and alſo the Proteſtants of France. The year following, he publiſhed his Commentaries upon the four books of Moſes, which he alſo tranſlated out of Latin into French; and he began his Commentary upon Joſhua, which he finiſhed a little before his death.

On the 6th of February, 1564, Calvin preached his laſt ſermon. He was faint, thin, and conſumptive. He had for ten years together abſtained from dinners; for he was frequently troubled with the head-ach, which his abſtinence only could cure. By ſtraining his voice, and uſing of aloes, he brought on the hemorrhoids, which at laſt proved ulcerous; and he had alſo a ſpitting of blood. When his ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg; then the cholic, and laſtly the ſtone, which he never perceived till a few months before his death.

Though he was tormented with ſo many violent diſeaſes, he never uttered a word unbecoming a good Chriſtian, and a firm philoſopher; only lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he uſed to ſay, "How long, Lord!" On the 27th of March, he was carried in his chair to the ſenate, when he preſented to them a new rector for the ſchool; then uncovered his head, and thanked them for all their favours, and particularly for their great care of him in his ſickneſs: "For I "perceive, ſaid he, this is the laſt time I ſhall come into this place." His voice failed him as he ſpoke, and the aſſembly took leave of him in tears.

On the ſecond of April, which was Eaſter-day, he was carried to the church, where Beza adminiſtered to him the ſacrament. He made his will on the 25th, and on the 27th died, "having, by much over-ſtudy, brought upon him ſeveral diſtempers." He died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried the next morning, in the common church-yard of the large palace, according as he had deſired in his will, without any pomp or epitaph. Simon Goulard, of Senlis, who came to Geneva awhile after, was choſe in his place: and Theodore Beza wrote a diſcourſe of his life and death, which was publiſhed in the ſame year, together with his teſtament.

Beza.

Spon. 122.

Joſeph Scaliger, who ſcarce thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring Calvin; and he praiſed him, among other things, for not commenting on the Revelations; while he owned him, for the happieſt of all the commentators, in apprehending the ſenſe of the prophets. And Paſquier ſays, "Calvin was a good writer both in Latin and French, "and our French tongue is highly obliged to him for enriching it with ſo great a number of "fine expreſſions."

In Scaligeranis, p. 41.

Paſquier Recher, l. 8. p. 768.

Calvin had ſuch a retentive memory, that he remembered people he had ſeen but once, ſeveral years after. Whenever he was dictating any thing, and happened to be interrupted for ſome hours, he renewed the thread of the diſcourſe, without having occaſion to be reminded where it was he left off: and he never forgot any thing that was entruſted to his memory.

Beza in vita Calv. p. 386.

His memory, indeed, has been greatly calumniated: but the ſtory of his devotion for St. Hubert is ridiculous; and nothing more apparently ſhews the ill effects that zeal has upon the judgment, than to ſee authors of reputation affirm, with all the ſeriouſneſs imaginable, that Calvin had a mind to make the world believe that he could raiſe the dead. Claudius Eſpencæus was a very learned divine, and yet was ſo weak as to take upon himſelf the publiſhing of this ſilly ſtory. Varillas was clear-ſighted enough to ſee the abſurdity of this ſtory, but too cautious to publiſh his own ſentiments of what Bolſec had infamouſly advanced. Varillas omitted what he wrote upon that ſubject in his hiſtory of Francis I. but, as there were copies of his manuſcript abroad, it was eaſy to know his thoughts, and to publiſh them to the world in the Holland edition. Here are his words, which he durſt not publiſh: "Calvin "was very far from pretending to raiſe the dead, having maintained, that all real miracles "became uſeleſs after the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion: and as far from putting "money out to uſury, being contented with a penſion of one hundred crowns a year for the "maintenance of his family."

Papyrius Maſſo in vita Calvini, p. 432.

There are a great many among the Roman Catholics, who would do juſtice to Calvin, if they durſt ſpeak their thoughts. Guy Patin has taught us to make this judgment; for he obſerves, that Joſeph Scaliger ſaid, that Calvin was the greateſt wit the world had ſeen ſince the apoſtles. He acknowledged that no man ever underſtood eccleſiaſtical hiſtory like Calvin, who, at the age of twenty-two, was the moſt learned man in Europe. And he tells us, that John de Monluc, biſhop of Valence, uſed to ſay, that Calvin was the greateſt divine in the world. Patin cauſed the life of Calvin, wrote by Papyrius Maſſo, to be made public. This life has done a great deal of miſchief to the copies of Bolſec; for who can read it, without laughing at thoſe who accuſe this miniſter of loving good wine, and chearful company? I have given ſome view of his character in p. 122. and 127. The Papiſts, at laſt, have been obliged to acknowledge the falſity of thoſe infamous calumnies publiſhed againſt the morals of Calvin. Their beſt pens have been contented to ſay, that, though he was free from corporeal vices, he was not ſo from ſpiritual ones, ſuch as ſlander, paſſion, avarice, and pride. Some cunning ſatiriſts might have ſaid, that Calvin was naturally ſober, and not at all ſollicitous to heap up riches.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 268.

Patin, letter 24.

Bayle v. 2, p. 265.

Calvin has left behind him many who imitate him in his active life; his zeal and affection for the cauſe of religion. They employ their voices, their pens, their ſteps, and ſollicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of God: but then they take care not to forget themſelves;

Ib. 269.

and are, generally ſpeaking, a demonſtration that the church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is loſt in her ſervice. But for a man, who had acquired ſo great a reputation and authority, to content himſelf with a hundred crowns a year ſalary, and to leave behind him no more than three hundred crowns, is ſomething ſo heroical, that it muſt be ſtupidity itſelf not to admire it. "It is a ſtrong proof of his not having ſtudied to heap up riches, that all his effects, notwithſtanding his library was ſold very dear, ſcarce amounted to three hundred crowns; ſo that he might very juſtly, as well as elegantly, in order to wipe off this monſtrous calumny, uſe theſe words, in the preface to his commentary on the Pſalms; *If I cannot in my life time perſuade ſome people that I am no hoarder of money, I ſhall convince them at my death.* The ſenate certainly can witneſs for him, that, though his ſtipend was very ſmall, he was ſo far from being unſatisfied with it, that he poſitively refuſed the offer of increaſing it." This is one of the moſt extraordinary victories, virtue and magnanimity can obtain over nature, even in thoſe who are miniſters of the goſpel. Such a diſintereſtedneſs is a thing ſo extraordinary, as might make even thoſe, who caſt their eyes on the philoſophers of antient Greece, ſay of him, "I have not found ſo great faith, no not in Iſrael."

Beza. 387.

The works of Calvin, publiſhed at Geneva, comprehended twelve volumes in folio; which the edition of Amſterdam, 1607, has reduced to nine. His Commentaries upon the Bible are the moſt conſiderable part of his works: but he gained moſt honour by his "*Chriſtian Inſtitution*," which was wrote in defence of the Proteſtant religion, and has been always eſteemed as an incomparable work. An obſervation has been made, which ſhews that this book of Calvin has been ſifted, ſcanned, anatomiſed, in all the different manners poſſible, by the Romaniſts. They have taken notice, that the firſt word is *all*, and the laſt *impiety*; which they think appears very myſterious. The fact is certain in the French tranſlation; but not in the original Latin. The inquiſition at Rome, and in Spain, condemned this piece, as being Calvin's work, falſely inſcribed to Alcuin. Nor has it been thought ſufficient to criticiſe Calvin's Inſtitution, as a pſeudonymous piece; but the very cut they pretend he ordered to be engraven for the title page, has been commented on, and the work itſelf affirmed to be only a collection of plagiariſms. This cut, ſay they, was a ſword in the middle of flames, with this motto, "Non veni mittere pacem, ſed gladium." Mr. Drelincourt ſays it is falſe, and that their proofs are impertinent: "for it is, continues he, as if any one ſhould object to me the ſymbolical figures, which are placed without my knowledge on the frontiſpiece of ſome of my works, and pretend them to be my proper device." Spondanus ſays, that "this Inſtitution may be called the Alcoran, or rather the Talmud, of hereſy." But there appears ſuch a maſterly hand, and ſuperiority of genius, throughout the whole work, that the accuſation of plagiariſm muſt be eſteemed ridiculous by all good judges. Time has not leſſened the eſteem of Calvin's *Inſtitution*; and Cornelius Schultingius, a canon of St. Andrew at Cologne, has been looked upon as a carping Zoilus for attacking this book, which he thought would be attacking the Proteſtants in their chief fortreſs. It may be affirmed with reaſon, that this book of Schultingius is no more than an indigeſted heap of collections, and a laborious rhapſody; being little more than a piece compoſed of borrowed paſſages, and an index of the authors who have confuted Calvin on the matters in controverſy. Yet he obſerves, that this Inſtitution has gained great credit among the Proteſtants. He quotes Caſper Olerianus, miniſter of the Elector Palatine, who has given an abridgment of it in the German tongue, and who obſerves, "that, ſince the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, there has not appeared a more pious, nor a more uſeful book than this *Inſtitution*. He ſays, that Piſcator, in his epitome of the ſame book, and Beza, in the preface to his Confeſſion of Faith, make the ſame judgment of it. That in England the biſhops order all the miniſters to get that book almoſt by heart. That in Scotland they make the ſtudy of divinity begin with the reading of this Inſtitution. That at Heidelberg, Geneva, Herborn, and in the Calviniſt univerſities, they expound it publicly. And that in Holland, the laymen as well as miniſters, have it always in their hands, curiouſly bound." But it is eaſy to perceive, that there are too many hyperboles, and childiſh exaggerations, in this paſſage. We learn, even from Schultingius, that "the method of this book is wonderful; and that it may be compared to the Inſtitutes of Juſtinian, which, as the lawyers juſtly acknowledge, have been formed with ſo much order and ſymmetry, that nothing can go beyond them." This Inſtitution has not only appeared in French, but alſo in High Dutch, Low Dutch, Italian, Spaniſh, and Engliſh. Calvin intended it as a complete ſyſtem, and a perfect idea of his theology.

Schultingius, v 2. p. 2.

See p. 121.

Baronius

Drelinc. Triumphe de l'Egloiſe, part 2. p. 428.

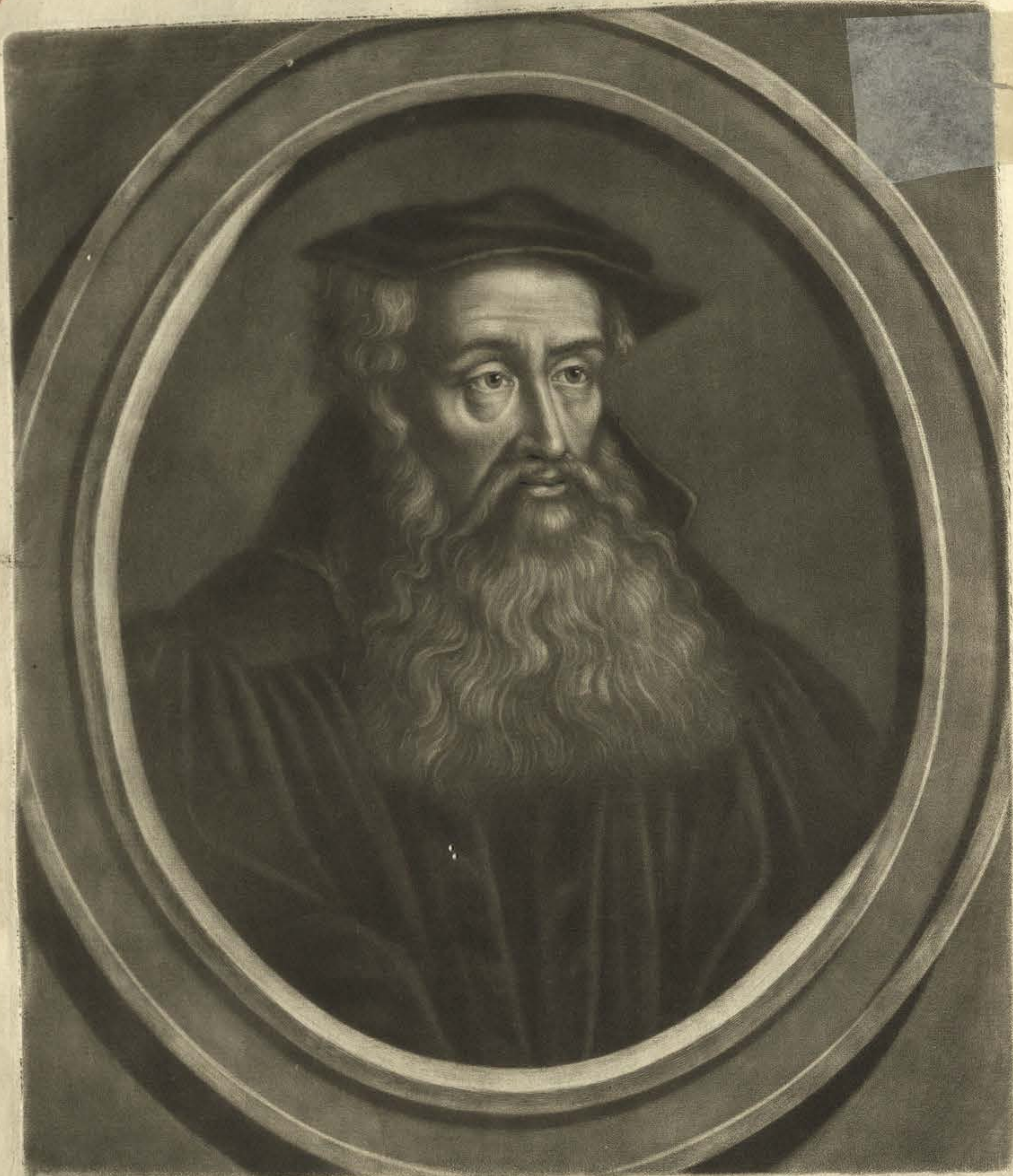
Spondan. ad annal. 1534. n. 11. p. 424.

Bayle, v. 5, p. 86.

Schulting. Bib. Cath. p. 6.

Ib. v. 2, p. 487.

ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston Fecit.

Henricus Bullingerus

Natus Aº 1504 Obijt Aº 1576.

Printed for H. Parker & E. Bakewell, in Cornhill, London.

The LIFE of HENRY BULLINGER;

From 1504, to 1576.

THIS reformer was born the eighteenth of July 1504, at Bremgarten, a ſmall town on the frontiers of the canton of Zurick, in Switzerland. His father was a man of conſiderable fortune; but brought up his children as if he had been in indigent circumſtances. He ſent this ſon, at twelve years of age, to a good ſchool at Emmeric, in the duchy of Cleves, where he ſtudied the claſſics under Moſellanus. His father only gave him a ſuit of Cloaths, when he ſent him to this ſchool, where he continued three years, and maintained himſelf by what he got in ſinging from door to door. He was put to ſuch ſtreights by his father, to make him one day more ſenſible of the prayers of the poor.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 194. Simler.

Bullinger had a mind to turn Carthuſian when he went to Emmeric. Teiſſier ſays, he reſolved to turn Carthuſian when he had made an end of his ſtudies. He would have been of that order, but his elder brother diſſuaded him from it.

Simler in vita Bullingeri, p. 5.

At fifteen years of age he was ſent to Cologne, where he applied himſelf more earneſtly to claſſical learning, becauſe he began to perceive the barbarous manner in which philoſophy was then taught. In 1520, he even wrote five dialogues againſt the ſchool-divines. The two firſt attacked thoſe divines directly: the two following were an apology for Reuchlin againſt Pipericorne, a converted Jew; and the title of the fifth was Promorotes: but they were not printed.

Teiſſier Eloq. v. 1, p 476. Bayle. Simler, p. 6. See Melanchthon's life, p. 98.

Bullinger continued at Cologne till 1522, and the nature of his ſtudies there diſpoſed him to forſake the Romiſh communion as ſoon as occaſion offered. In 1523, he paſſed ſome months at his father's houſe, and was invited by the abbot of Cappel to teach in his convent. It was an abbey of the Ciſtercian order near Zurick; and that order was founded, in 1098, by Robert, abbot of Citeaux in France. Bullinger diſcharged his duty with great reputation, till 1527, at this convent, when he became the chief inſtrument of eſtabliſhing the reformation of Zuinglius there. It does not appear that Bullinger was a clergyman in the communion of the ſee of Rome: and it is expreſsly remarked, that he performed no manner of Roman-catholic function in the abbey of La Cappel. "His religion was entirely pure; nor had he any ſhare in the monaſtic vows, or order, habit, "ſinging, choir, or any other Popiſh ſuperſtition."

Simler, p. 7.

Zuinglius, aſſiſted by Oecolampadius and Bucer, had eſtabliſhed the doctrine of *evangelical truth*, at Zurick, in 1523, as mentioned in his life, page 55, and 57. Bullinger attended the lectures of Zuinglius at Zurick, five months, in 1527; which occaſioned him to renew his ſtudy of the Greek language, and to begin that of the Hebrew. He preached publickly by a miſſion from the ſynod; and, in 1528, he accompanied Zuinglius at the famous diſpute that was held at Bern.

Dupin's Eccleſ. Hiſtory of the ſixteenth Cent. b. 2, ch. 16, p. 84.

In 1529, when he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, he was made paſtor of the reformed at Bremgarten. He was ſcarce quietly ſettled in his church with regard to thoſe of the Romiſh communion, when he was engaged in diſputes with the Anabaptiſts: but he diſputed publickly againſt them, and wrote ſeveral books in which he confuted their erroneous opinions. The ſame year, he married Anne Adliſchwiler, by whom he had many children.

Bayle. See the life of Zuinglius, p. 57. Ibid. 58. See the life of Oecolampadius, p. 50.

The victory obtained by the Catholic cantons over the reformed, in 1531, obliged Bullinger to forſake his country, together with his father, brother, and colleague. He retired to Zurick, and there had the honour to fill the place vacant by the death of Zuinglius.

Bayle, p. 194.

Bullinger has been rudely called an apoſtate, and a married prieſt; which is falſe, and Simler has ſhewn the contrary. He edified the church of Zurick, by his preaching and writings. He was obliged to refute the boaſts and impertinencies of John Faber, who had

See Zuinglius's life, p. 58. Spondanus Anna. 1531, n.

been the principal antagoniſt of Zuinglius: but Bullinger ſhewed him, that the goodneſs of a religion was not to be judged by the good or bad ſucceſs of a battle.

Spondanus Anna. 57.

From that time, Bullinger was employed in ſeveral eccleſiaſtical negociations, by which Bucer laboured to reconcile the Zuinglians and the Lutherans. Bullinger conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that no ſuſpicion was entertained of him; and, in 1536, he ſhewed, that the love of concord ſhould never bring him to promote a *formulary*, that was captious and contrary to ſound words.

Dupin ubi ſupra, p. 107.
See Bucer's life, p. 88, 90. 93.

It has been obſerved, that Eraſmus may be juſtly cenſured, "for his weakneſs in flattering a party, whoſe ſentiments and conduct he in many things diſapproved; and in "finding fault with thoſe, whom upon the whole he reſembled much more than he did "their adverſaries. But he died in a friendly and charitable diſpoſition towards Pellicanus "and Bullinger, two Proteſtant divines." He had been at variance with the former: but he makes honourable mention of the latter. We are told this by Rodolph Hoſpinian, one of the greateſt authors of Switzerland, who, in 1576, formed the hiſtory of the errors of popery, to ſhew the Romaniſts, that they vainly boaſt of the conformity of their doctrines with antiquity.

Ibid. 95.
Doctor Jortin's life of Eraſmus, p. 578.
Melchior Adam.

Bullinger wrote ſome books every year, and particularly one againſt Luther in 1545. The Switz churches had kept a long ſilence, notwithſtanding Luther wrote in a very paſſionate manner againſt their doctrine concerning the Sacrament: at laſt it was thought fit to anſwer him in his life-time, leſt, if it was deferred till after his death, occaſion might be given to ſome diſadvantageous ſurmiſes. Beſides, it was thought, that a very vigorous anſwer would make Luther more moderate for the future, and prevent his abuſing that reſpect which was ſhewn him. Bullinger, who adviſed ſilence, was the man charged with the buſineſs of anſwering him, and he acquited himſelf worthily: for the Switzers thought, that though Luther had deſerved exceeding well of the church, he wanted moderation in his writings. But it is an idle tale, that Luther, who died about this time, ſhould break his heart with vexation, becauſe he could not anſwer Bullinger's apology. The landgrave of Heſſe, who knew that people complained of the church of Zurick on account of theſe inſults, informed Bullinger of it, who wrote an apologetic letter to him in the name of his colleagues. In 1549, Bullinger and Calvin drew up a formulary of the conformity of faith between the church of Zurick, and that of Geneva.

See Luther's life, p. 82, 84.
Bayle, v. 2, p. 195.
See Luther's life, p. 86.

The ſame year Bullinger alledged ſo many reaſons againſt renewing the alliance to which Henry II. of France courted the Switz, that the propoſition was rejected. One of his reaſons was, that it was not juſt for a man to let himſelf to hire, to kill thoſe who have done him no injury. "I ſhall not examine, ſays Bayle, whether Bullinger was in "the wrong or no, as to the republic of Switzerland: I ſhall only ſay, that I do not "ſee what anſwer can be made him, as to private perſons who enliſt themſelves volun"tarily to kill the allies of their country." The Switz cantons ſacrifice the lives of their ſubjects in the quarrels of other nations, and hire their troops to both parties, one of which muſt have an unjuſt cauſe. It may agree with ſtate policy; but it is contradictory to moral honeſty. The government of this country, which in many cantons lodges the ſupreme power in the hands of men of little underſtanding and ſmall experience, is calculated entirely for mutual defence and union, and unequal to any great undertaking. The difference of religion is another obſtacle to the extending their dominions. Beſides, every canton and ally are in ſome ſort conſtitutionally an independent ſtate; from whence it is obvious, that the councils of the republic muſt be weak, ſlow, and divided. And to this it may be imputed, that, although the Swiſs are numerous and brave, they have made little other uſe of their valour, than to let it out to foreign princes and ſtates. The Switzers, as at this day, preſerved their liberty without attempting the oppreſſion of any. They ſold their troops to their moſt opulent neighbours. They were themſelves poor, ignorant of the ſciences, and of all the arts which luxury introduces; but they were wiſe and happy. Zuinglius, and the other reformers of that country, had the ſame ſcruples as Bullinger.

Simler, p. 24.
Bayle, v. 2, p. 196.
See the life of Zuinglius, p. 53.
Puffendorf, v. 1. p. 411.
Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. ch. 1, p. 30.

In 1551, Bullinger wrote a book to ſhew that the council of Trent had no other deſign than to oppreſs the truth; and that no regard ſhould be had to the pope's invitation to the cantons, to ſend deputies there. In 1553, he wrote to Calvin about Servetus, and ſaid, "the Lord has given the magiſtrates of Geneva a fair opportunity of clearing them"ſelves and the church from hereſy, by delivering Servetus into their hands." And in 1555, he proved a very good friend to Bernard Ochinus, who ſubſcribed the confeſſion of faith of the church of Zurick, and was called to be miniſter of the Italian church that was formed there, where he officiated till 1563, when he was expelled for publiſhing ſome dialogues which favoured polygamy.

Hottinger in methodo legendi hiſtor. Helvet. p. 603.
See Luther's life, p. 85.
Bib. Ang. p. 175.

Bullinger afterwards diligently employed himſelf in defending the reformation for ſeveral years; and, in 1561, his diſpute began with Brentius, about the doctrine of Ubiquity. Bullinger publiſhed a book, wherein he ſhewed, that Jeſus Chriſt, as to his human nature, is no where but in heaven, at the right-hand of God. Brentius anſwered it, like a zealous Ubiquitarian;

See the life of Oecolampadius, p. 51.

Ubiquitarian; and the conteſt continued two years. The ſteadineſs of Bullinger in this diſpute was not an effect of a promiſe made to Zuinglius, as mentioned by Moreri; for Bayle, p. their diſpute ran upon the doctrine of Ubiquity, which was not ſtarted till after the death 197. of Zuinglius. Would any one be ſo unreaſonable as to ſay, that Bullinger made a general promiſe to oppoſe the Lutherans, whatever doctrine they ſhould invent? There is no more truth in it, than in another report, that the Calviniſts wrote againſt Bullinger.

In 1564, Bullinger loſt his wife, by whom he had ſix ſons, and five daughters. She died of the plague; as alſo did three of their daughters, who were all married to miniſters of Zurick; to Hulric Zuinglius, ſon of the reformer Zuinglius; to Lewis Lavator; and to Joſias Simler: Simler, p. 12. the ſecond died the ſame year as her mother, and the other two in 1565. As for the ſons, three of them died young; two were miniſters; and another died in France, in the troops of the prince of Orange, in 1569. Their father would never marry a ſecond wife, for which he was blamed. He was ſixty years of age when his wife died: was not that a ſufficient excuſe for not marrying again? He made no doubt that God permitted the miniſters of the goſpel to marry a ſecond time; but he always ſaid, the firſt was ſtill living in his heart. It is ſaid, "he would have taken a better courſe to preſerve his health, if he had married another wife: ridiculous! As if married people were Ibid. not equally ſubject to nephritic pains, and the ſtranguary, with ſingle perſons."

In 1571, Bullinger wrote againſt the laſt will and teſtament of Brentius, which was publiſhed Ibid. 43. at Wittenberg, and fore-warned all ſtates not to allow the Zuinglians a toleration.

The ſame year, the national ſynod of Rochel condemned thoſe who rejected the words *ſubſtance*, and *ſubſtantially*, in ſpeaking of the Euchariſt. The miniſters of Zurick were of Bayle, v. opinion, they were condemned by that canon; and they wrote to Beza concerning it, who 2, p. 196. anſwered, by order of the ſynod, it did not point at them. However, Bullinger repre- Simler, p. 44. ſented to Beza, that the expreſſions of the decree ought to be ſo altered, that no one Beza, v. might think there was any difference of opinion between the churches. That letter of 3, p. 279. Bullinger was effectual; for, in 1572, the ſynod of Niſmes gave all the explications that the church of Zurick could require.

The miniſters of Zurick took upon them what concerned the fundamentals of doctrine, Bayle. and left Bullinger only the trouble of anſwering what related to himſelf. His laſt work was an anſwer, which he made in 1575, to the apology for the will of Brentius, compoſed by James Andrews. He exceeded his uſual bounds of modeſty in this piece, and ſeverely ridiculed his adverſary. As that was the laſt piece of his works, this was the laſt year of his life. He died, on the ſeventeenth of September 1575, in an exalted ſtrain of Simler. piety, and like a good Chriſtian, as he had always lived. He was ſeventy-one years of Thuanus. age at his death, and had exerciſed his miniſtry during forty-three years. His funeral oration was made by John Stuccius: his life was wrote by Joſias Simler: and his memory Fuller's was celebrated, in different kinds of verſe, by ſeveral hands. He was beloved by all good Church Hiſtory, men, and particularly by doctor Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, who was martyred in p. 402. 1555.

Bullinger was author of a great many books: his printed works make ten volumes: Hottinger in Bib. Tigurin, and he wrote ſeveral others that are preſerved in manuſcript. p. 75.

The LIFE of THEODORE BEZA.

From 1519, to 1605.

Collier. Bayle, v. 2, p. 790. Beza's Ded. of his Confeſſion of Faith to Wolmar. Beza ad Claud. de Xaintes. Collier. Bayle, 791. Beza epiſt. ad Wolmar. Collier.

THIS miniſter of Geneva was one of the chief pillars of the reformed church. He was born the 24th of June, 1519, at Vezelay, a city of Burgundy in France, where his family was in great eſteem, and he was nobly deſcended by both parents. His father was called Peter de Beza, and was bailiff of the town. His mother's name was Mary Bourdelot. Beza tells us this himſelf; as alſo, that he was not the offspring of monks; and that his family, if it could recover what it had ſuperſtitiouſly beſtowed on monks for two hundred years, would be very wealthy. He was ſent to Paris very young, where he was tenderly educated under the care of his uncle Nicholas Beza, counſellor of the parliament, till 1528, when he was ſent to Orleans, to ſtudy under Melchior Wolmar, a German, and profeſſor of the Greek tongue. Wolmar was invited by the queen of Navarre to teach the Greek language at Bourges; but he left that employment, and returned to Germany in 1535. Beza lodged ſeven years at Wolmar's houſe, who improved him wonderfully in claſſical learning, and inſtructed him in the Proteſtant religion. Beza then began to ſtudy the law at Orleans; but he ſpent the beſt part of his time in compoſing verſes, and reading the claſſics. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner by his poetry, which made him careſſed by the moſt learned men of the univerſity, and highly extolled by the beſt poets of that time.

650 l. ſter. Bayle. Beza ad Wolmar.

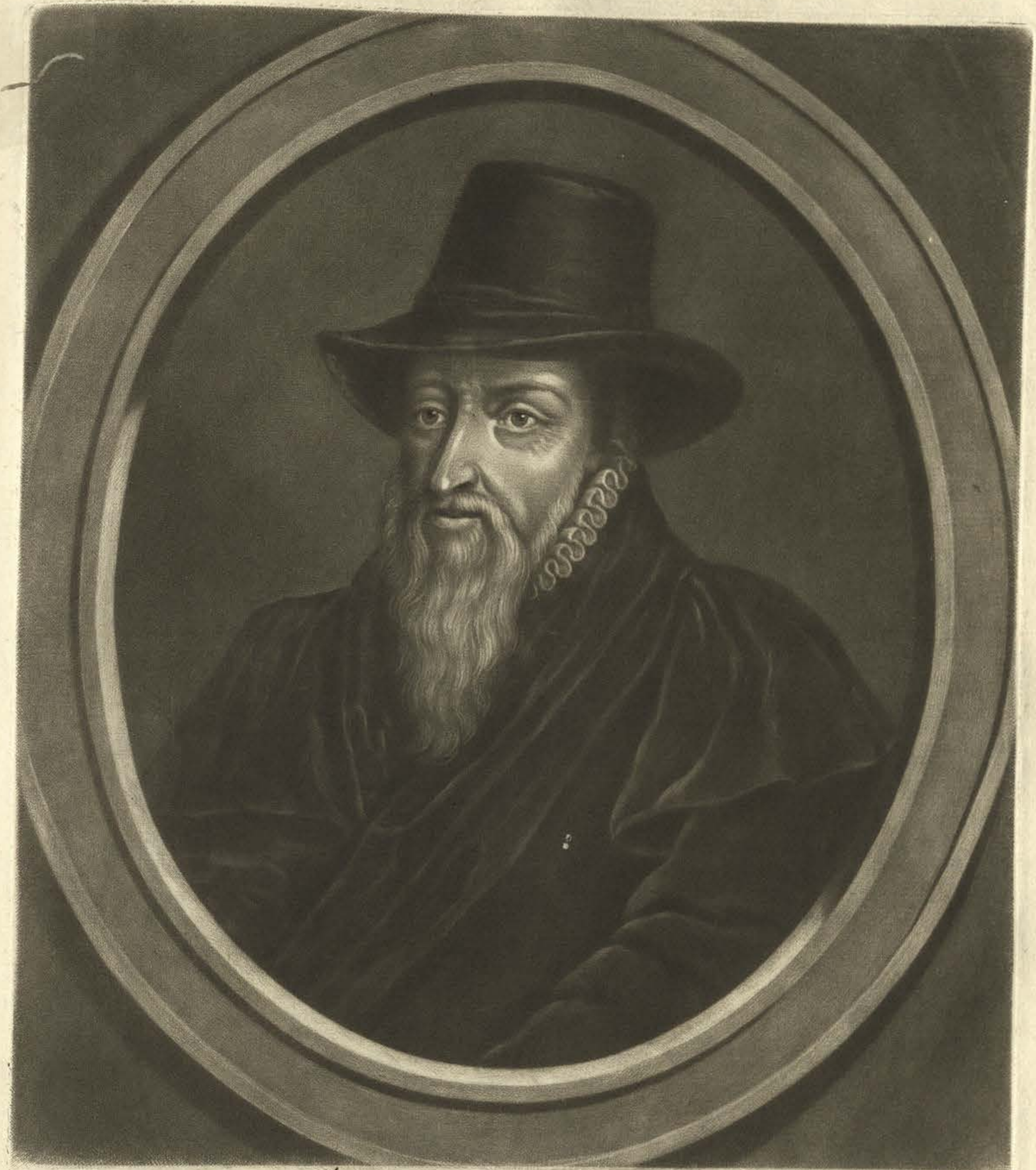
His uncle the counſellor, who deſigned him for the church, died in 1532: but another uncle, abbot of Froidmont, had the ſame kindneſs for this nephew, and intended to reſign his abbey to him, which was worth fifteen thouſand livres a year. Beza took his licentiate's degree in 1539, when he was in his twenty-firſt year, and then went to Paris, where ſome good preferments were provided for him, which he might well expect from the intereſt of his friends, his great talents, and uncommon reputation. "The allurements of pleaſure, the ſweets of fame, and the hopes of the greateſt honours," gave him very pleaſing ſenſations, and combated for ſome time the reſolution he had taken to follow Wolmar, and make a public profeſſion of the reformation.

Bayle. Ancillon melange critique tom. 1, p. 379. Bayle. Beza ad Wolmar.

The temptations of the world made him irreſolute about renouncing popery; but he provided againſt the temptations of the fleſh by a marriage of conſcience. He was handſome and polite, as well as witty and learned; and he paid his addreſſes to Claudia Denoſſa, who was a very amiable woman, and of noble extraction, if Ancillon is to be credited: but he ſays her name was Frances de St. Marcel d'Avençon, ſiſter of a biſhop of Grenoble; in which he was greatly miſtaken. Her name was Denoſſa, and Scaliger ſays, ſhe was the daughter of an advocate. He made this lady a ſolemn promiſe to marry her publickly, as ſoon as the obſtacles which hindered him at that time ſhould be removed; and not to engage himſelf in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate till after the celebration of their nuptials. He faithfully performed theſe two promiſes; and ſays himſelf, that "he entered into a contract of marriage, but ſecretly; yet with the privacy of one or two of his pious friends, partly that he might not offend the reſt, and partly becauſe of his eccleſiaſtical benefices."

Collier. Bayle 2, 795.

Beza publiſhed ſome poetical pieces which were eſteemed worthy even of the Auguſtan age: "But afterwards ſome new pieces of his, eſpecially a witty epigram that he compoſed, being cenſured as licentious and too free; and ſome envious perſons calumniating his life, he quitted his priory of Lonjemeau, and retired to Geneva in 1548." His poems entitled *Juvenilia*, have raiſed great clamours. They were printed at Paris in 1548, by Conrad Badius, with a licence of the parliament for three years. The author was then twenty-nine years of age, and dedicated theſe poems to his profeſſor Melchior Wolmar. They conſiſt of Silvæ, Elegies, pictures, Icones, and Epigrams. It cannot be denied that they contained verſes too licentious, and little becoming the chaſtity of Chriſtian muſes; but if the author's enemies had been reaſonable, they would rather have praiſed him for the grief he expreſſed for them, than have put an ill conſtruction upon the epigram on Candida and Audebert. Theſe poems of Beza ſhould be placed among the ſins of his youth, for which he aſked pardon both of God and



R. Houston Fecit.

Theodorus Beza, Vesetius.

Natus Aº 1519 Obijt Aº 1605.

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the world. Mezerai treats Beza very ill: he adopts the ſtory for truth, which had been ſpread, of an accuſation of ſodomy entered againſt that miniſter before the parliament of Paris; and another ſtory of his running away with Candida, his taylor's wife. This appears unworthy of a judicious hiſtorian; for he warrants the thing, and can bring no proof. He charges Beza with ſimony and adultery, which is moſt ſhameful in ſo famous and illuſtrious an hiſtorian, who has greatly injured himſelf with perſons of judgment, for leaving ſuch ſlanders, unſupported by authentic acts. Maimbourg only paraphraſed Mezerai when he drew an horrible picture of Beza; except that he quotes Bolſec, Spondanus, Florimond de Remond, and Claudius de Xaintes. Beza has publicly maintained that thoſe ſtories were two enormous calumnies; that he had lived an unblameable life at Paris; and that he left it, neither out of fear, nor for debt, but for his religion: and that he had never attempted his neighbour's wife any more than the Indies. If the fact in queſtion is of ſuch a nature that it may be proved authentically; and if the accuſers want neither good-will, nor induſtry, it muſt be concluded, if they do not prove it, they are calumniators; and this is ſufficient to convict Beza's accuſers of calumny. The glory which Beza afterwards acquired in zealouſly maintaining the reformation, cauſed his poems to be remarked, without which they had never been exclaimed againſt. Cardinal Richelieu has charged Beza with imitating the lewdneſs of Ovid and Catullus in his poems: but this proceeded from his negligence in tranſcribing ſome of the rhapſodies which were thrown out againſt Beza by his inveterate enemies. We can never ſufficiently deplore the malice or ignorance of men, when we remember that Beza was accuſed of an abominable crime, on ſo frivolous a ground as his epigram, " de ſua in Candidam et Audebertum benevo- " lentia." Maimbourg renewed this accuſation in his hiſtory of Calviniſm: but he is very fully refuted by an examination of the piece itſelf, without ſtrengthing the apology from the great merit of Audebert, who was a worthy man, a good Latin poet, and preſident in the court of aſſeſſors of ſubſidies in Orleans. Audebert juſtified Beza, who made uſe of the ſame argument, and ſays to one of his enemies; " What, when you are tranſported to ſuch a pitch, as even to " conſtrue my moſt intimate friendſhip and familiarity, with a man of the higheſt honour, into " ſo wicked and abominable a crime as I cannot ſo much as mention without horror; though " it ſerves you in your cells for jeſt and ſport, muſt you not be deteſted by all good men!" Audebert died in 1598; and his epitaph, in the church of the holy croſs at Orleans, ſays, that he was enobled, with all his poſterity, and knighted by Henry III. for his virtue only. " Such an authentic piece alone, ſays a learned miniſter, ſeems to me capable of putting an " end to the abominable calumny which has hitherto been charged on the memory of that " excellent and religious man." He meant Beza, of whom he wrote a ſmall Latin apology.

Beza's Notes on Matthew i. 19.
Bayle 794.
Mezerai's Hiſtory of France, v. 3, p. 64.
Maimb. Hiſt. of Calviniſm p. 217.
Beza apol. altera ad Claud. de Xaintes, opera, tom. 2, p. 359.
Method. ch. 10. p. 321.
Bayle, v. 1, p. 546.
Jurieu's Apol. part 1, p. 141.
Second Apology againſt Claude de Xaintes, opera tom. 1, p. 360.
Graverol.

Beza was of opinion, that the equality of paſtors is of divine right, and that the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy is a fundamental corruption. He fled to Geneva, with his intended bride, and arrived there the 24th of October, 1548. He was accompanied by John Criſpin, a particular friend; and they reſolved to ſet up a preſs to render it famous by their works. But Beza went to ſee Melchior Wolmar, at Tubingen, where he altered his reſolution; and the following year, he accepted the profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue at Lauſanne, a city in the canton of Bern. He then married Claudia Denoſſa, with whom he lived forty years lovingly and honourably: for ſhe was a lady of great merit; diligent, frugal, and particularly careful of her huſband.

Beza in iconib.
Bayle, v. 3. p. 666.
Collier.
Bayle, v. 1, p. 791.
An Fayus in vita Bezæ, p. 54.

Beza ſoon became very famous for his tragi-comedy of Abraham ſacrificing Iſaac. He begun his tranſlation of the Pſalms of David in verſe. And he wrote a treatiſe of the rights that magiſtrates have to puniſh heretics. The laſt was upon the occaſion of Michael Servetus, whom the ſenate of Geneva had ordered to be burnt, as mentioned in Calvin's life, p. 142.

Collier.

He publiſhed ſeveral other books at Lauſanne, particularly " a ſhort explanation of Chriſ- " tianity; an anſwer to Joachim Weſtphalus concerning the Lord's Supper; two dialogues " on the ſame ſubject againſt Heſhuſius; and an anſwer to Caſtalio concerning the doc- " trine of predeſtination." Beza, at this time, had not tempered his fire, and moderated his gay diſpoſition, which made him let fall many railleries in his works: it is true, he called them " pious railleries;" but they expoſed him to the cenſure of his adverſaries.

Bayle, v. 1, p. 789.

Beza went frequently to Geneva, to viſit Calvin, during the vacations. Calvin was delighted with his poetry; but exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the ſervice of the church; and particularly adviſed him to finiſh what Marot had begun. Beza followed this advice, and tranſlated, into French verſe, the hundred pſalms, which remained undone by Marot. " The tranſlation of the remainder of David's Pſalms ſhews what Beza could " do; though he has not ſo happily ſucceeded as Clement Marot in his fifty."

Reginaldus in Calvino Turciſmo, l. 3, c. 19, p. 671.
Paſquier recherches de la France, l. 7, p. 615.

During the nine years that Beza continued at Lauſanne, he would not confine himſelf to Greek lectures. He read ſome alſo in French on the New Teſtament, which were for the inſtruction and conſolation of ſeveral refugees of both ſexes, who lived at Lauſanne: but they have been conſidered as the ſeeds of his Latin tranſlation of the New Teſtament with notes, which he firſt publiſhed in 1556: a ſecond edition was publiſhed ten years after, and dedicated to Elizabeth queen of England: the fifth edition came out in 1598, which he dedicated again to the ſame queen by a new epiſtle, and ſuppreſſed the firſt wherein he had largely explained his method and deſign. He reviſed this work ſeveral

Bayle, 1. 792.

times,

Colomies in icone Preſbyter. p. ult. La Faye, p. 15.

times, and made many corrections in it, for which he has been cruelly reproached. It was ſaid, that "many at Cambridge diſregarded religion; being induced by Beza to believe that the New Teſtament was corrupt; as they had been, by Edward Livilejus, that the Old one was very much ſo." But no man, who is ſenſible of the difficulty of ſuch a work, will think it ſtrange, that Beza ſhould make ſome alterations in each edition.

Collier.

Calvin had a thorough knowledge of men, and intended Beza for his ſucceſſor. He often commiſſioned him to confer with the Lutherans; and at laſt invited him to Geneva. Before Beza quitted the profeſſorſhip which he exerciſed at Lauſanne, he made a journey into Germany, with the character of a deputy, and had the pleaſure of conferring with Melanchthon as he paſſed through Frankfort in 1557, when he went with Farel and John Budæus to the courts of the elector Palatine, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wirtemberg, to deſire the interceſſion of thoſe princes for the vallies of Piedmont, which were then in poſſeſſion of the French king.

Beza ad de Xaintes apol. 1, op. t. 2, p. 295.

Beza taught Greek about ten years at Lauſanne, and returned and ſettled at Geneva in 1559. His enemies gave out that he was expelled the former city; and Reboul, that ſatyrical writer, who was beheaded at Rome for his Paſquinades, ſays it was becauſe Beza got his maid with child. This is falſe: if it had been true, it would have been known at Geneva as well as at Lauſanne; and he would not have gone away honourably, as he tells his preceptor Wolmar. He would not have come every year, as he did, to Lauſanne, and have been ſo well received: "they ſhewed him ſo much reſpect, that they uſed to go out and meet him, as their public memoirs teſtify." Beza himſelf ſays, that he returned from Lauſanne to Geneva, that he might dedicate himſelf wholly to divinity. Viret, and other learned men, alſo went to Geneva for certain reaſons which it was not thought proper to declare; but we may conjecture, that it was owing ſolely to conſiſtorial or academic factions.

Rebecque to Bayle.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 274 Ib. v. 5, p. 480.

Ib. v. 1, p. 789. Collier.

Beza ſtrongly attached himſelf to Calvin at Geneva, where he ſoon became his colleague in the church, and univerſity. He ſucceeded Claudius Pontanus as miniſter; and compoſed his "Confeſſion of faith" in Latin, which he had formerly wrote in French, to juſtify himſelf to his father, and with a view of converting the old man. He publiſhed this Latin confeſſion in 1560, dedicated to Wolmar.

Bayle. See Calvin's life, p. 144. Faye, p. 21.

Bayle, v. 2, p 789. Collier.

Chalon's Hiſtory of France, v. 2, p. 220. See Calvin's life, p. 120.

Chalon, v. 2, p. 221.

The Guiſes had invaded the royal authority under the reign of Francis II. to the prejudice of the princes of the blood. Beza was ſent to Nerac, at the inſtigation of ſome great perſons of the kingdom, to convert Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and to confer with him about matters of conſequence. That king ſignified, both by letters and deputies to the ſenate of Geneva, that he deſired Beza ſhould aſſiſt at the conference of Poiſſi, to which the ſenate readily conſented. No better choice could have been made for the good of the cauſe; and Beza went to the conference that was held there in 1561. "The king of Navarre had been engaged in the ſect of the Proteſtants by Jane d'Albret his wife. She had received the chief ſectaries of Luther, who were come into France, in hatred of Julius II. which furniſhed Ferdinand of Arragon with a pretence to ſeize upon Navarre." Queen Catharine of Medicis ſometimes cruelly perſecuted the Proteſtants, and ſometimes favoured them; for ſhe made all things ſubſervient to her paſſion for dominion. There were then at the French court ſeveral ambaſſadors from the German princes, who came to congratulate Charles IX. upon his acceſſion. The king of Navarre began to take meaſures with them to engage the Proteſtant princes to defend and promote the pure doctrine of reformation. The ambaſſadors repreſented to him, on the part of their maſters, that he ought to eſtabliſh, and cauſe to be received, the doctrine, which was, according to the confeſſion of Augſburg, compoſed in part of that of Luther, and not of Calvin, which was according to the confeſſion of the Switzers. The prince replied, "that, this latter being already eſtabliſhed in France, it muſt be ſuffered to continue in the ſtate it was in: that it was of ſmall import, whether the doctrine of Luther or Calvin was followed, ſince they were both equally oppoſite to the pope in all things, and differed from each other but in very few points: and that the two confeſſions ought to be conſidered as containing the ſame doctrine, ſince they were equally contrary to the common enemy, the pope." The continual diſputes ſubſiſting among the French ſubjects about religion, at laſt determined the biſhops to appoint a conference between the French ſubjects and the Proteſtant miniſters. It was held at Poiſſi, where the princes, the cardinals, and the greateſt lords of the kingdom aſſiſted, and the king himſelf preſided. It was opened on the ninth of September 1561. The chancellor de l'Hopital declared, that the king's intention in aſſembling them was, to diſcover, from their ſentiments, a remedy for the diſorders which aroſe in his kingdom on the ſubject of religion; that they ſhould therefore endeavour to correct ſuch things as required it; and that they ſhould not ſeparate, till they had put an end to all differences by a ſincere reconciliation. The chancellor, in his harangue, made no ſcruple to give the title of *National Council* to this conference; and compared it to the provincial ſynods of Orleans, Arles, and Aix, which the emperor Charlemagne had cauſed to be held. This conference continued near two months: great diſputes aroſe upon the conteſted points: and a ſecretary was always preſent to take down minutes of every thing that was ſaid or done. The Proteſtant doctors, and particularly Beza, ſpoke with great freedom. He had a ready wit, and much learning: he knew the world, and ſpoke well. His ſpeech was heard with great attention, till he touched upon the real preſence, when an expreſſion which he made uſe of cauſed a murmuring. The expreſſion was this: "We ſay, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is as far from the bread and wine, as the higheſt heaven is remote from the earth." It is ſurprizing, that ſuch a grave hiſtorian as Mezerai, durſt ſay, that this propoſition of Beza was paſſionate and offenſive; that Beza was aſhamed of it himſelf; that it ſtrangely offended the ears of the Catholics; and that the prelates trembled with horror at it. Mezerai might think theſe tremblings reaſonable; but he made himſelf ridiculous by it; for it is the ſame thing to ſay, "the body of Jeſus Chriſt is not preſent in the holy Sacrament;" and to ſay, "it is at an infinite diſtance from it." Beza obſerves, that "this ſingle expreſſion, though many others as contrary and repugnant to the doctrine of the church of Rome had been ſaid by him, was the cauſe that the prelates began to ſtir, and to murmur. Some cried out, *blaſphemavit*; others aroſe to be gone, not being able to do any thing worſe, becauſe of the king's preſence. The cardinal de Tournon, dean of the cardinals, who was ſeated in the chief place, required of the king and the queen, that ſilence might be impoſed on Beza; or that he, and his whole company, might be permitted to retire. Neither the king, nor any of the princes, ſtirred; and audience was given to proceed. Silence being made, Beza ſaid; I deſire you, ſirs, to hear the concluſion, which will ſatisfy you: and then he returned to his diſcourſe, which he continued to the end." Nothing will better diſcover the weakneſs of the human mind. An old cardinal, and many biſhops, are ſcandalized, are going away, and cry out *blaſphemy*: for what? Becauſe they heard a miniſter ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt is not corporeally preſent in the ſymbols of the bread and wine of the Euchariſt. Can there be a worſe grounded, or more childiſh, cauſe of offence? When people teach, that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is preſent but in one place at one time, and that it is always ſeated in Paradiſe at the right-hand of God, they plainly maintain, that it is as remote from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, as Paradiſe is from the earth. Now the prelates of the conference at Poiſſi could not be ignorant, that the Proteſtants taught, that the humanity of Jeſus Chriſt is always in heaven, at the right-hand of God; and that it can be preſent but in one place at one time; and they could not expect that Beza would neglect to explain the doctrine of his party: therefore, they ſhould not have been offended with this expreſſion; or elſe they went to the aſſembly with this perſuaſion, that the Proteſtant miniſters would betray their opinions, and only endeavour to deceive the king. Catherine de Medicis ſaid, in her letter to M. de Rennes, embaſſador of France at the emperor's court, that "Beza, ſpeaking of the ſacrament, forgot himſelf, in a compariſon, ſo abſurd and offenſive to the ears of all the aſſiſtants, that ſhe was near ſilencing him, and ſending all the miniſters away, without ſuffering them to proceed any farther."

Bayle v. 1, p. 790.
Beza hiſt. eccleſiaſt. lib. 4, p. 516.
Mezerai abridg. chron. ad an. 1561.
Beza ut ſupra, p. 521.
Bayle, v. 1, p. 790.
Maimbourg. hiſt. Calv. p. 223.
Bayle.

In the remaining part of this conference, Beza behaved like a man of great capacity, and never ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the artifices of the cardinal of Lorrain. But they at laſt ſeparated, without coming to any concluſion; the catholics not being diſpoſed to make conceſſions in any one article.

Chalons, v. 2, p. 222.

Beza did not return to Geneva when the conference was ended; for, being a Frenchman, Catherine de Medicis would have him ſtay in his own country. He preached frequently before the queen of Navarre, the prince of Conde, and in the ſuburbs of Paris. The king of Navarre, though of the religion of the Proteſtants, declared himſelf againſt them, to preſerve the title of viceroy: but the prince of Conde, the Coligny's, and ſeveral others, being diſcontented at the abſolute government of the triumphirate, and incenſed by the ill treatment of the Proteſtants, whoſe doctrine they had embraced, retired from court, and began to make the Proteſtants take up arms in their own defence. The pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the Catholic Swiſs Cantons, entered into a league againſt the prince of Conde, and undertook to prevent the Proteſtant princes from raiſing troops to ſuccour his party. This league made very ſtrong impreſſions upon the minds of the people in France, Germany, and all the northern nations, where they were ſo highly diſpoſed in favour of the Proteſtants, that they furniſhed them with one hundred thouſand crowns to carry on the war; and the prince of Conde obtained leave to raiſe troops among all the Proteſtant princes. The prince took Orleans, Roan, Lyons, and ſeveral other places, in 1562, without effuſion of blood, except Tours, which was taken by aſſault. The victorious ſoldiers broke open the churches, and pulled down the images and ſtatues of the ſaints: but the veſſels of gold and ſilver, and the ſacred ornaments, which were very numerous, were ſaved. The king of Navarre took Roan, but was mortally wounded at the ſiege, and died when he was no more than twenty-five years of age. Some hours before his death he received the ſacrament, according to the ancient cuſtom of the church; but he declared, that if God was pleaſed to reſtore him to his health, he would publickly embrace the confeſſion of Augſburg.

See Calvin's life, p. 144.
Chalons, v. 2, p. 226.
Ibid. 228.
De Thou.
Chalons, v. 2, p. 233.

Bayle, p. 791. Collier. Rolt's Hiſtory of France, p. 192.

Beza attended the prince of Conde during this civil war, and was at the battle of Dreux, in 1562, as a miniſter. The fortune of this engagement was very uncommon; for the generals of both parties were taken priſoners. The conſtable Montmorency was carried to Orleans; and the prince of Conde to the camp of the king's troops: after which, the duke of Guiſe commanded the Royaliſts, and Coligny commanded the Proteſtants.

Beza, tom. 2, p. 362.

Claudius de Xaintes reproached Beza for being in arms: but Beza anſwered him, that he was preſent at the battle in the habit of his order, not armed; nor could he be juſtly charged with the ſlaughter of one man, or with flight.

Bayle, v. 1, p 791. Chalons, v. 2, p. 235.

Bayle, v. 2, p. 796.

Chalons, p. 237.

During the impriſonment of the prince of Conde, Beza always kept with admiral Coligny, and did not return to Geneva, till after the peace of 1563. The duke of Guiſe was piſtoled before Orleans by Poltrot, a Proteſtant gentleman, who was taken, and brought before the queen. He was interrogated in her preſence, and anſwered like a madman; ſometimes declaring that he had committed this action at the ſolicitation of Coligny, Soubize, and Beza; at other times denying this; and again ſaying things contradictory to both theſe. The duke of Guiſe was eſteemed one of the greateſt men of his time; and his party accuſed Beza of having a hand in the murder. The great and univerſally acknowledged probity of admiral Coligny did not ſuffer the public to believe he had any concern in ſo deteſtable an action, nor even that he had the leaſt knowledge of it: but the princes of the houſe of Guiſe were of another opinion; and looked upon him as the author of the murder. Poltrot was condemned to be torn in pieces by four horſes. Before the execution he was put to the rack, and denied that Coligny, Soubize, and Beza were privy to his crime. The conſtable Montmorency, and the prince of Conde, were afterwards both killed in battle.—Coligny was aſſaſſinated, and the Proteſtants were maſſacred throughout all France.

See Calvin's life, p. 144. Collier. Beza in vita Calv. p 377. Ib. Epiſt. 6, tom. 3, p. 206.

When Beza returned to Geneva, he ſucceeded Calvin. He wrote an apology for his Latin tranſlation of the New Teſtament, which had been cenſured by Sebaſtian Caſtalio, whom Beza charges with openly endeavouring, in a preface on the perverſion of the ſacred books, to deſtroy the ſufficiently evident authority of the divine word. Sainte Aldegonde wrote to Beza, that "there was a new kind of enthuſiaſts, who from the German theology, tranſlated into Latin by Caſtalio, from Taulerus a crazy monk, and from the ravings of "other heretics both ancient and modern, patch together thoſe rhapſodies which are ſo very "agreeable, not only to the ſuperſtitious and ignorant vulgar, but to men of moderate learning and no contemptible piety, that they all preſs to the books of theſe men, as to ſome "hidden treaſure. It would be tedious to reckon up all their wild notions; nor can you "be ignorant of moſt of them, who have often been obliged to encounter theſe monſters, "among whom I reckon Caſtalio not the leaſt conſiderable." Beza was perſuaded, that Caſtalio had tranſlated that book into Latin; yet he would not affirm it in a public work, before he had informed himſelf whether it could be poſſible to produce good proofs of it, if Caſtalio ſhould deny it. A wiſe precaution; for Caſtalio denied, before the miniſters of Baſil, that he had any ſhare in that book. But I have made particular mention of Caſtalio in the life of Calvin, page 131.

Beza, tom. 1, p. 451. Collier.

La Faye, p. 48.

Nicholas Beza, who was bailiff of Vezelai, fled to Geneva, on account of his religion, in 1568, and died there ſoon after of the plague, at the houſe of Theodore Beza, his brother by the father's ſide. Theodore took a journey to Vezelai, to ſettle the affairs of the family of the deceaſed. He endeavoured to perſuade a ſiſter which he had in a nunnery, to forſake the church of Rome: but ſhe was an old nun, very obſtinate in her religion, and would not liſten to his remonſtrances.

On Beza's return to Geneva from Vezelai, he attacked Brentius, and James Adreas, upon their doctrine of ubiquity. He alſo attacked the errors of Flacius Illyricus; and wrote his book "De Divortiis et Repudiis," againſt Ochinus, who had written in favour of polygamy. He anſwered Selneccerus and Pappus. He turned the Pſalms of David into all ſorts of Latin verſes; and tranſlated the Canticle of Canticles into lyric verſe. He publiſhed a treatiſe of the ſacrament; and ſome ſermons on the paſſion of Chriſt.

Chalons, v. 2, p. 279 Puffendorf's introd. to the hiſt. of Europe, v. 1. p. 261. Rolt's Hiſtory of France, p. 199. Bayle. v. 1, p. 791.

The religious war in France deſtroyed many thouſands on both ſides, and Beza returned again to that kingdom in 1571, to aſſiſt at the national ſynod of Rochelle, of which he was elected moderator. The Papiſts broke the peace of 1568, by the maſſacre of Paris in 1571, which was called the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. Above thirty-thouſand Proteſtants were murdered; and the king of Navarre, with the young prince of Conde, the only two perſons ſaved, were compelled to abjure the reformed religion. This horrid buſineſs, commonly called the wedding of Paris, has been ſcandalouſly repreſented by Gabriel Naude as a maſter-piece in policy. But all the Europeans looked upon this action with the utmoſt abhorrence; ſaying, that in the accounts of the moſt barbarous nations, there was not an example of ſuch horrid cruelty.

The Huguenots recommenced the war with great animoſity; and Beza, in 1572, aſſiſted at the ſynod of Niſmes, where he oppoſed the faction of John Morel, who deſigned to introduce a new diſcipline. The royal army beſieged Rochelle, which was ſo gallantly defended by the Proteſtants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when Charles IX. died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Henry III. The prince of Conde at that time ſent for Beza to Straſburg, that he might carry on a negociation with prince John Caſimir, adminiſtrator of the Palatinate; which ſhews, it was well known, that Beza underſtood other things beſides lectures and books. He ſucceeded ſo well, that Caſimir brought an army from Germany to aſſiſt the Huguenots, who obtained a peace upon more advantageous terms than any of the former.

Chalôns, p. 296. Bayle. Puffendorf, p. 262.

Beza returned to Geneva, where James Arminius was ſent in 1582, to perfect his ſtudies, at the expence of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam. He chiefly followed the lectures of Beza, who at that time expounded the epiſtle to the Romans. Arminius was afterwards, profeſſor of divinity at Leyden; and formed a ſeparate ſect, which was condemned in a national ſynod; for he oppoſed Beza as a Supralapſarian; and acknowledged no other election, but that which was grounded on the obedience of ſinners to the call of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

Bayle, v. 1, p. 48.

Beza wrote his "De cœna Domini," againſt Harchius; and afterwards continued quietly at Geneva till 1586, in which time there had been three other civil wars in France about religion. The duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, were aſſaſſinated by order of the king, who, in 1589, was ſtabbed by James Clement, a monk, and died of the wound. The line of Valois ended in this prince, who was ſucceeded by Henry IV. a Proteſtant of the Bourbon branch, and king of Navarre.

Ib. v. 3, p. 352. Puffend. p. 264. Chalons, p. 340.

Some gentlemen had left France for religion, and fled to Mombelliard, in the Franche-Comte. The count of that country, in compliance with the deſire of theſe refugees, deſired the canton of Bern to name deputies, to confer with the divines of Wirtemberg; and he alſo deſired the republic of Geneva to ſend Beza to the conference. Beza, and Anthony la Faye, came as deputies from Geneva; Muſculus, and Huberus, were the Swiſs deputies; and James Andreas, and Luke Oſiander, were the chief deputies of Wirtemberg. The diſpute was left to Beza and Andreas. The former would have the diſpute managed ſyllogiſtically; but he was obliged to yield to the deſires of his adverſary, who would not be confined to ſuch rules. Andreas uſed a long and declamatory way of ſpeaking, which obliged Beza to do the ſame; and the diſpute was not cleared up, though it laſted many days. Each party boaſted to have gained the victory, and publiſhed an account accordingly. This conference was held more for political than theological reaſons. The count of Mombelliard had been an Ubiquitarian, till he heard Beza's ſermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the refugees: but his aim in holding this conference was to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicion of Calviniſm, that the emperor might favour his ſucceſſion to the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Bayle, v. 1, p. 792. *La Faye*, p. 48. Scultetus. narrat. apol. p. 26.

Beza loſt his wife in 1588; but this domeſtic affliction did not prevent him from going to the ſynod at Bern, where the doctrine of Samuel Huberus, concerning our juſtification, which, he ſaid, conſiſted in an inherent quality, was condemned. Beza grieved for his wife, who has been praiſed for ſeveral good qualities, and chiefly for her conjugal affection. He was now near ſeventy; yet, the ſame year, he was married again to a widow, who ſurvived him. The name of this ſecond wife was Catharine de la Plane, who alſo took great care of him as long as he lived.

Bayle, v. 1, p. 792. La Faye, p. 54.

The inconveniencies of old age began to come upon him in 1597, and obliged him to ſpeak but ſeldom in public. In that year a report was ſpread throughout Italy, Germany, and Holland, that Beza had renounced his religion before the ſenate, and had exhorted the magiſtrates to reconcile themſelves to the church of Rome; and that, by a ſpecial order from the pope, the biſhop had abſolved him before his death. They who invented and ſpread this ſtory were little acquainted with the true intereſt of their church. The falſehood was eaſily confuted by the miniſters of Geneva, who publiſhed two pieces, one in Latin and the other in French, attended with all the authenticity neceſſary to refute this fooliſh lie. Beza confuted it in a letter to William Stuckius; and the jeſuit Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, drew a ſhower of ſatirical verſes on himſelf in particular, and on his own order in general, which Beza's muſes, old as they were, made very formidable.

Spon. La Faye, p. 59.

The laſt time that Beza preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the eighty-fifth Pſalm, "Thou haſt made peace, Lord, with thy "people." The laſt verſes which he compoſed were a "Votiva Gratulatio," to Henry IV. after he had been kindly received by that monarch near Geneva, in the month of December 1600. The king had been obliged to embrace the Romiſh religion in 1593: but, in 1598, he publiſhed an edict at Nantz, to quiet the minds of the Proteſtants, by ſecuring to them the free exerciſe of their religion. He concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins, and then attacked the duke of Savoy, whoſe dominions he had almoſt conquered, and lay encamped at St. Catharine's-fort, about two leagues diſtant from Geneva, when he received the deputies at Luyſel, a quarter of a league from the fort. Doctor Spon reports the ſpeech which Beza made to that prince, and the king's anſwer. Beza praiſed the piety of Henry, in reſcuing the churches of God from oppreſſion; and contented himſelf in

Spon, p. 165. La Faye, p. 61. Puffendorf, v. 2, p. 266. See Calvin's life, p. 120. Spon, p. 147. Mathieu's Hiſtory of the Peace, lib. 4, p. 661.

Spon, 148. “ ſaying and applying to human things, what Simeon ſaid of divine, *Now Lord, let thy*
“ *ſervant depart in peace, according to thy word*; ſeeing that mine eyes have ſeen, before
“ I die, not only the deliverer of us, but of all France, and of the faithful in general.”
The king anſwered, “ Father, theſe few words, which ſignify much, are worthy the re-
“ putation you have acquired.” He then granted the deputies what they deſired, which
Thuan. was the demolition of St. Catharine's-fort: and Thuanus ſays, that the king made Beza a
lib. 125. preſent of five hundred crowns: but Collier ſays five hundred piſtoles, for the good ſer-
p. 229. Collier. vices he had done his father and mother.

Beza preſerved his good ſenſe to the laſt day of his life. His memory was very good
as to things which he had learnt during the vigor of his mind; for he could repeat all
the Pſalms in Hebrew, and all St. Paul's Epiſtles in Greek, by heart: but it was very
Thuan. bad as to things preſent; for he ſoon forgot many things of which he had been ſpeaking.
lib. 134, p. 1082. He continued in this condition almoſt two years, if we may believe Thuanus: and Caſau-
Collier. bon affirms, that, in point of erudition, Beza ſhewed himſelf, in the latter years of his
Caſaubon Epiſt. 297. life, ſuch as he had appeared twenty years before. He diſcourſed ſo clearly upon ancient
hiſtory, that it ſeemed as if he had juſt been reading Plutarch, and the like authors: but, after
having amply diſcourſed on the ſubject of the new king of England, he would often aſk,
in the ſame converſation, whether it was true, that queen Elizabeth was dead? His ſtrength
La Faye, viſibly declined for ſome weeks, and there was nothing ſudden or unexpected in his death,
p. 66. which happened on the thirteenth of October 1605, and he expreſſed great ſentiments of
piety with his laſt breath. He was eighty-ſix years, three months, and nineteen days old.
He never had any children; and he left Catharine de la Plane, his wife, who ſupported
Ibid. 74. his old age, and placed all her glory in taking the greateſt care of him, for ſeventeen
years, ſole heireſs of his eſtate at Geneva. He was interred in St. Peter's cloiſter, and not
Spon, p. in the burying-place of the Plein-palaix; becauſe the Savoyards gave out, that they would
165. take up his corps, and ſend it to Rome.

Bayle, p. Beza was a man of an extraordinary merit, and very inſtrumental in conducting the
793. reformation. He was looked upon as the chief of the Proteſtants of France, and Swit-
Spon, ib. Leti vita zerland. The Romanſts commonly called him “ the Huguenot pope:” and pope Sixtus V.
di Siſto V. cauſed two conferences to be held, at which he was preſent, to deliberate about the means
p. 262. Beza oper. of depriving the Proteſtant party of the great ſupport they had in the perſon of Beza. They
tom. 2, p. would have aſſaſſinated, or poiſoned him, if it had been poſſible that any enterprize againſt
362. his perſon could ſucceed. What could be ſaid more to the honour of this miniſter, than
the repreſenting him as a man who made the pope and cardinals uneaſy, as to affairs of
ſtate; for there was no controverſy in the caſe?

Beza wrote a great number of books, beſides thoſe already mentioned, particularly the
Icones of illuſtrious perſons, who aſſiſted in the reformation; and the “ Eccleſiaſtical
“ hiſtory of the reformed churches.” This laſt work is very curious, and extends from
1521, to the peace of the thirteenth of March 1563.

Puffen- Henry IV. ſurvived Beza but a few years; for he was ſtabbed in his coach by Francis
dorf, v. 2, Ravillac in 1610. Thus this hero, after having ſurmounted innumerable difficulties in his
p 269. way to the crown, and ſtifled above fifty conſpiracies, moſt of them formed by church-
men, againſt his life, died by the hands of a pitiful ſcoundrel. Hoſtilities were recom-
menced againſt the Huguenots in 1625, when their ſtrength was entirely broke, and an end
was put to the wars which had ſo long ravaged France on a religious account. Hiſtorians
ſay, that theſe wars coſt above a million of lives, in which two kings were murdered,
7,500,000 and above one hundred and fifty millions of livres were ſpent: and that nine cities, four
l. ſterling. hundred villages, twenty thouſand churches, two thouſand monaſteries, and ten thouſand
Puffend. houſes were burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, during their continuance. Lewis XIV. revoked
p. 270. the edict of Nantz in 1685, whereby the Proteſtants were prohibited the exerciſe of their
Voltaire's religion, and their churches demoliſhed. The conſequence was, that France loſt above five
Lewis hundred thouſand inhabitants; a prodigious quantity of ſpecie; and, above all, the arts
XIV. ch. 32, p. 235. with which her enemies enriched themſelves.

I ſhall now add the following obſervations, by way of appendix to theſe lives of the
German reformers.

See Lu- Wickliffitiſm began in England in 1360; Lutheraniſm began in Saxony in 1517; Zu-
ther's life, inglianiſm began in Switzerland in 1523; and Calviniſm began in Geneva in 1536. Olaus
p. 65 Puffend. Petri ſettled Lutheraniſm in Sweden under Guſtavus Ericſon in 1529; and it was ſettled
v. 2, p. in Denmark by Pomeranus in 1535. The Proteſtants have been miſerably divided in ſects
218. and opinions: but their main body now conſiſts of Lutherans and Calviniſts, many of whom
Dupin, p 162. have as great an averſion for each other, as they have to the Papiſts. The form of church
Puffend. government is different in almoſt all the Proteſtant ſtates, where it is regulated by civil
v. 2, p. 117. magiſtrates. However, the Proteſtant religion is ſecure againſt open force. The Papiſts
have Italy, Spain, and Portugal; almoſt all Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Auſtrian
ſtates; France, and ſome of the Swiſs cantons: above two thirds of the Germans are Pa-
piſts; there are a great many in Holland; the Britiſh dominions are not without them,

and they form the general body of the people in Ireland. On the Proteſtant ſide may be reckoned Great-Britain, Sweden, Denmark, the United Provinces, and part of Germany. The Huguenots in France are diſarmed; the Proteſtants in Poland are diſperſed; thoſe of Pruſſia, and Courland, are but juſt able to ſupport themſelves in the exerciſe of their religion; nor are they of Hungary, or Tranſylvania, able to give much aſſiſtance to the Proteſtant party.

The Chriſtians of the Greek church inhabit the Ruſſian dominions. The princes of Moldavia, and Wallachia, are alſo of this religion; and ſo are the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſubject to the Grand Turk; beſides multitudes that are ſcattered through Hungary, Poland, Tranſylvania, and ſome parts of Germany: ſo that the people of this perſuaſion are thought to be equal in number to the Papiſts. The crown of Ruſſia is conſidered as the remnant of the old Conſtantinopolitan empire, and the ancient and natural head of the Greek church, which allows the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; but does not believe that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son. They deny the ſupremacy of the pope; and abhor the worſhip of images: their prieſts are allowed to marry, but not their biſhops; and they tolerate monaſteries and nunneries.

Preſent State of Europe, p. 14.

The ſtrength and power of the Romaniſts is principally owing to their having a viſible head, in the pope, inveſted with that ſort of authority which is fitteſt to ſupport and extend the tenets of religion. The reformation has much weakened the ſpiritual power and temporal ſtrength of the pope: but the policy of the church of Rome hath turned the views of Proteſtants to her advantage, by affecting a paternal care for the princes and ſtates of her communion. It may be looked upon as a thing certain, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours that have been uſed, during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, to weaken the Proteſtant intereſt, it is ſtill able to ſupport itſelf, againſt the force, at leaſt, if not the the frauds of all its enemies: neither, after all, is it ſo much weakened as ſome out of fear, and others from worſe intentions have aſſerted; for we are to conſider, that the countries in which the reformed religion is profeſſed, are moſt of them very populous, carry on a great trade, and have many colonies, by which means they propagate their religious ſentiments almoſt without attending to it. According to the neareſt computation that can be made with reſpect to territory in Germany, the proportion between Papiſts and Proteſtants may be as ten to eight; but in point of number of people the Proteſtants are equal: and throughout the reſt of Europe, the proportion in point of territory may be as eight to ſeven; but as to people, there is good reaſon to believe that the Proteſtants are more numerous than the Papiſts, becauſe the Proteſtant countries are inconteſtibly much fuller of people. In the North, for example, though Poland is very populous, one half of the people are not Papiſts, and one third at leaſt are Proteſtants: whereas in Sweden and Denmark there are few or no Papiſts. In Germany again, all the great trading cities, though crouded with inhabitants, are Proteſtants. In Italy, indeed, the Papiſts are in a manner without mixture; but this is ballanced by the number of people in Great-Britain.

The chief difference between the Lutherans and Calviniſts is, that the Lutherans have biſhops and ſuperintendents for the government of the church; whereas, the Calviniſt clergy are all equal, and govern their churches by a Preſbytery. They alſo differ about the corporeal preſence, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: the Lutherans hold conſubſtantiation; but the Calviniſts eſteem this ſacrament only a commemoration of our Saviour's death. The Lutherans look upon man as a free agent; but the Calviniſts maintain that all his actions are decreed, and that he has no freedom of choice.

Salmon, p. 171.

The Lutheran religion is profeſſed in ſeveral parts of Germany, as in Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, Holſtein, and alſo at Thorn and the towns near the Baltic in Poland, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. It is the eſtabliſhed religion in Sweden, and Denmark, where no other is tolerated; and the archbiſhop of Upſal, in this kingdom, is the only archbiſhop in any Lutheran country.

The Calviniſt religion in Germany prevails among the Heſſians, and in the South of Franconia: but there is a mixture of Lutheraniſm and Calviniſm in Suabia, Weſtphalia, and the Lower Rhine. The ſix Proteſtant cantons in Switzerland, and their allies, are all Calviniſts; and ſo are the reformed in France. The Preſbyterian or Calviniſt religion is eſtabliſhed in the United Provinces, where all religions are tolerated, but only Preſbyterians are admitted into any employment under the government. Calviniſm was introduced into Scotland by Knox, in the reign of Mary, whoſe ſon James VI. when he was ſettled in the throne of England, eſtabliſhed epiſcopacy in Scotland, which continued till 1688, when epiſcopacy was aboliſhed, and Preſbytery re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom, without ſo much as a toleration for the members of the church until the reign of queen Anne.

The Diſſenters of all perſuaſions are very numerous in Ireland: but the Engliſh, whom nature has tinctured with a ſtrong ſpirit of independence, have adopted, ſoftened, and formed theſe new opinions into a religion for themſelves. An epiſcopal church is ſaid to be eſtabliſhed in England; but every one is allowed to diſſent from it, and ſtrike out what religion he pleaſes.

Voltaire's Lewis XIV. v. 2, p. 213. Salmon, p. 318.

Voltaire, p. 230. Puffend. v. 2, p. 118. Ibid. 119.

It has appeared in England, in Holland, in Germany, towards the end of the ſeventeenth century, that many different ſects, who had torn one another to pieces during the laſt age, then lived peaceably together within the walls of the ſame city. It is undoubtedly true, that a reconciliation of the Lutherans and Calviniſts would ſtrengthen the Proteſtant cauſe, particularly in Germany; and ſome think it might be brought about. But it will appear impoſſible, to any one who underſtands the paſſions and prejudices of mankind, and who has read the writings of both parties impartially. Others have thought, that a ſyſtem, of ſuch articles as are abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation, might be agreed upon by both parties; and that each might be left at liberty as to matters of leſſer conſequence. No good judgment can be formed of the ſucceſs of this expedient, till a ſyſtem, compoſed with the utmoſt art and caution, is offered to the public: “Yet in my opinion, ſays Puffendorf, as there would be danger of reviving ancient quarrels, and of creating new diviſions, it is better to leave this matter to the providence of God. In the mean time, it greatly concerns Proteſtants to wave private differences, and unite againſt their common enemy: for, although one party may be ſometimes cajoled, to play it off againſt the reſt, it is for the intereſt of Rome to ruin them all.”

See Rolt's Hiſtory of the War, v. 3, p. 201, 223. Puffend. v. 2, p. 117. Preſent State of Europe, p. 16.

This was ſeen in the German war that began in 1740, when the king of Pruſſia attacked the queen of Hungary; and when he renewed the war in 1744. A maxim has prevailed, that the German Proteſtants are able to ſupport themſelves; and that the elector of Brandenburgh is the moſt proper perſon to be truſted with the direction of their affairs. He that imagines any emperor would not be glad of ruining the Proteſtant intereſt, and making himſelf abſolute in Germany, muſt be quite unacquainted with the hiſtory of paſt times. The famous Guſtavus[a] Adolphus, king of Sweden, owed all his power and grandeur to his aſſuming the character of *Protector of the Proteſtant Intereſt in Germany*: and when he comes thoroughly to conſider his ſituation, there is great reaſon to believe, that the preſent king of Pruſſia will fix alſo on that character at laſt, as the moſt proper to preſerve the dominions and power he has already obtained, as well as to extend them: and while the Proteſtant intereſt is effectually ſecured in Germany, it is certain that it never can decline in other parts of Europe.

Salmon, p. 123.

It is ſaid, the king of Pruſſia and his court are Calviniſts; though his ſubjects are generally Lutherans. The religion of this glorious monarch is beſt known from “his confeſſion of faith,” which he cauſed to be addreſſed to all the Proteſtant miniſters in the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon, in 1744, as follows: “1. I do not believe in the ordinances of the pope; nor even in the writings of Luther, Beza, or Calvin: but I believe in the adorable Trinity, and I make his holy word the foundation of my faith; nor ſhall I ever believe any thing that claſhes with it, even though an angel from heaven ſhould reveal it. 2. I believe alſo that I ſhall be ſaved, together with all true Chriſtians, by the blood, and by the death of Jeſus Chriſt, by his wounds, and holy merit. 3. And becauſe there is no ſalvation in any other name, than the ſaving name of Jeſus Chriſt, I would not be ſtiled a Lutheran, a Calviniſt, or a Papiſt; but I am, and chooſe to be ſtiled, a Chriſtian. 4. With regard to eternal election, or predeſtination, this is my private opinion, that the merciful God hath called all men to ſalvation, and it is not for want of being called that they are not ſaved, but by their wickedneſs and obſtinacy in oppoſing divine grace, and by reaſon of their corrupt hearts, and their ſins, that they are condemned through the juſt judgment of God. 5. As to good works, it is my opinion, that there muſt neceſſarily be good works where there is a true and ſincere faith; for faith and good works can no more be ſeparated than light from fire. Nevertheleſs, it is an error, to believe, that man can merit heaven by good works, or that we can be ſaved but by true faith. How then can the merit of good works ſave us? 6. With regard to Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, it is my private opinion, that as I have been waſhed from ſin in baptiſm, not by the water, but by the real blood of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and have been, by it, received into the eternal covenant of grace with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; ſo I am nouriſhed in the Holy Supper, at the table of grace of Jeſus Chriſt; and, in virtue of this ſacrament, am rendered partaker of all the benefits which my Saviour has purchaſed by his wounds, and by his ſufferings, and become an inheritor of live everlaſting: whence I conclude, that who believeth in God, and ſeeketh his ſalvation in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and leadeth a true Chriſtian life, may die the death of the righteous, and ſhall be ſaved. 7. I leave to every one liberty of faith and conſcience; proteſting, before the face of God, that I am determined to live and die in this plain confeſſion of faith; nevertheleſs, I leave to all good people to judge whether I am cold, hot, or lukewarm. I am very far from believing, that the ſervice of Catholic prieſts aims at the ſalvation of ſouls, having learned by the experience which I

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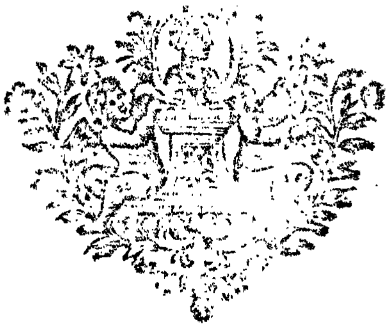
[a] An hiſtorical diſcourſe of the life of this prince has been wrote by Mr. Bayle: but Mr. Hart's life of Guſtavus Adolphus, is a more finiſhed, judicious, and elegant work.

“ have had, that all their actions tend, not to the honour of God, and the ſalvation of men, but ſolely to their own honour, and to be reſpected among men. 9. It is with reaſon, that I ſcruple to be called a Papiſt, Lutheran, or Calviniſt; becauſe, according to the cuſtom and opinion of the world, it is not ſufficient to take the name of a Chriſtian, but we muſt be engaged to ſome particular church, and make profeſſion of its faith; and as the pure reformed religion beſt agrees with my religion, I think it not improper to call myſelf a reformed, although I ſee no cauſe to ſay there is the leaſt difference between my confeſſion of faith and the pure Lutheran religion. I would not however be called a Calviniſt; but I am, and ſhall always be, a reformed Chriſtian, that is to ſay, one that is diſengaged from all error in the doctrine of faith, and who believes all which I have before mentioned. But a Calviniſt is one who makes the doctrine of Calvin the rule of his faith. 10. As Calvin was a man, he might therefore be miſtaken. I regard Calvin, Luther, and others, as choſen inſtruments of God, drawn by virtue of the Holy Ghoſt, from the darkneſs of popery, and that they ſhewed the true way to life; but as they were men, they were all liable to error; therefore I do not believe in any doctrine which is not agreeable to the true word of God: for St. Paul ſays, *Try all things; and hold faſt to that which is good.*”



THE

LIVES

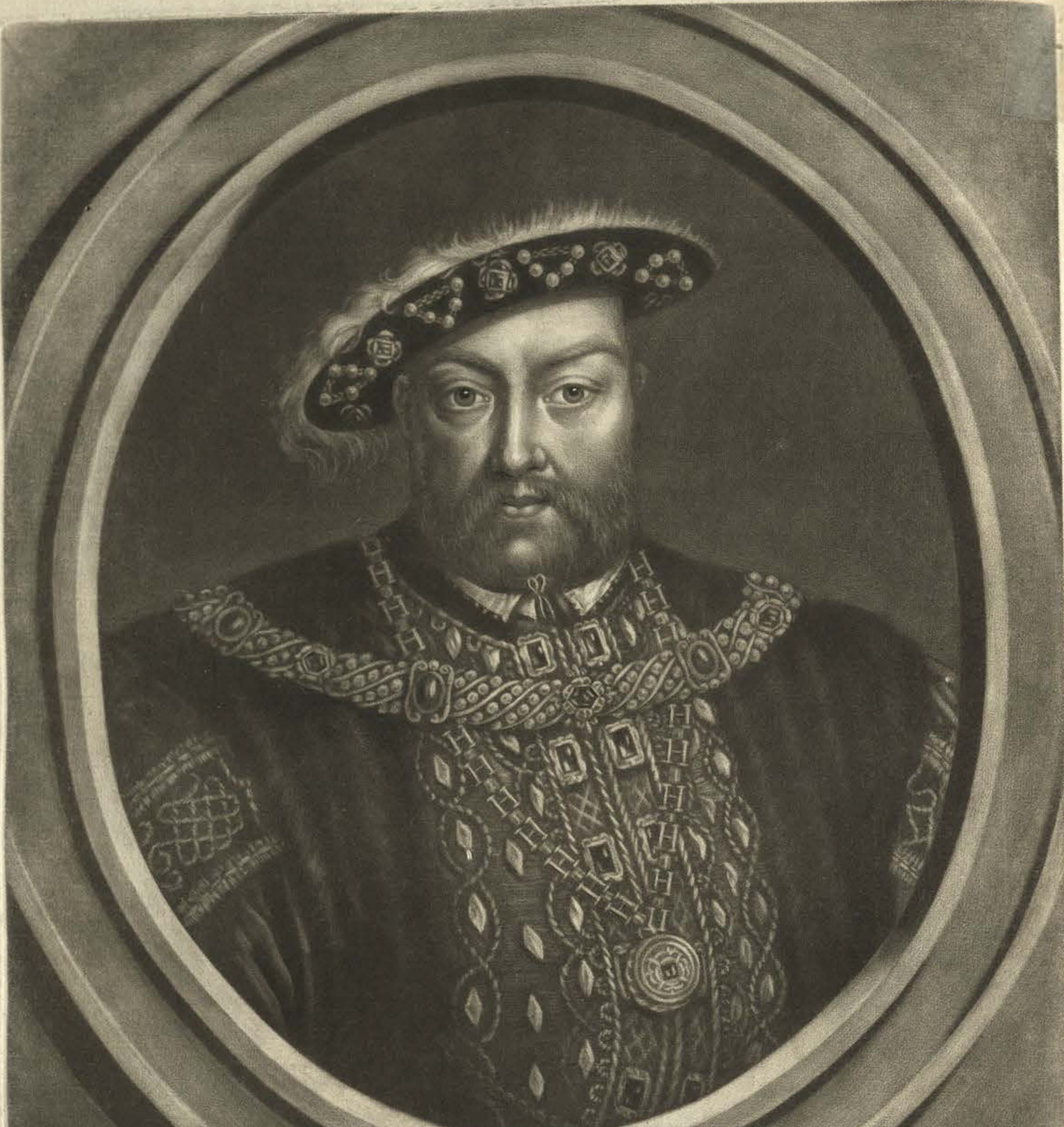
OF THE

REFORMERS.

PART III.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of HENRY VIII. and EDWARD VI. kings of England; NICHOLAS RIDLEY, biſhop of London; HUGH LATIMER, biſhop of Worceſter; JOHN HOOPER, biſhop of Glouceſter; THOMAS CRANMER, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and queen ELIZABETH.



R. Houston fecit

Henricus. VIII.

D. G. Ang. Fr. & Hiberniæ, REX, F. D.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker, in Cornhill London.

THE LIVES OF THE REFORMERS.

PART III.

The LIFE of HENRY VIII. king of England.

From 1509, to 1547.

ENGLAND had long felt the ſeverity of the ſee of Rome, whoſe power in that kingdom was now to be aboliſhed. The indolence and devotion of Henry VI. was very detrimental to the church of England. Edward IV. found the friendſhip of the court of Rome and the clergy neceſſary for eſtabliſhing his diſputed title to the crown. Richard III. was ſerved by the higher clergy: and Henry VII. was obliged to wink at ſeveral extraordinary methods, practiſed by the pope, to ſqueeze money out of the Engliſh. But they are miſtaken who date the reformation of the church of England only from the reign of Henry VIII. The kings and parliaments of England had given many dreadful blows to the papal powers in England; and the doctrines of Wickliffe, Colet, and other reformers, even before a general reformation was thought of, had diſpoſed the minds of the people to what followed.

See Wickliffe's life, p. 2, and Luther's life, p. 61. Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 582.

Henry VIII. was born at Greenwich, on the twenty-eighth of June 1491. His father Henry VII. was the deſcendant of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of king Edward III. His mother was the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and heireſs of the houſe of York. So that Henry VIII. came to the crown by an undubitable right of ſucceſſion, as heir to both houſes, whoſe contentions for the crown had produced diſmal revolutions, and caſt England into frequent and terrible convulſions.

Rapin.

Henry VII. at firſt deſigned his ſon Henry for an eccleſiaſtic, to fill the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury; becauſe, while prince Arthur was living, there was little likelihood that prince Henry would be king; therefore, care was taken to inſtruct him in all the parts of learning neceſſary for his intended function: and, after the death of his brother, which happened in 1501, his father kept him to his ſtudies, for fear his active and fiery ſpirit ſhould carry him to more dangerous employments. The prince had great learning, particularly in the abſtruſe points of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which was chiefly adopted

Burnet's Abridg. of the Reformation, v. 1, p. 1. Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 31.

in thoſe days; but this gave him ſuch an opinion of himſelf, that it had too much influence on all the actions of his life.

Burnet, p. 9.

Henry VII. died in 1509; and Henry VIII. at the age of eighteen, ſucceeded him with all the advantages he could have deſired. He began his reign with an equal mixture of juſtice and generoſity: but Charles V. and Francis I. ſaw that vanity was his weak ſide. Thomas Wolſey became his favourite, and was promoted to the ſee of York, made a cardinal, and empowered to diſpoſe of all the eccleſiaſtical preferments in England; ſo that, in effect, he was the pope of this other world, as was ſaid anciently of an archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had all the qualities neceſſary for a great miniſter, and all the vices ordinary in a great favourite.

Lord Herbert.

A noble hiſtorian has wrote the life of Henry VIII. and the general hiſtories of England contain a full account of his reign; therefore, it is only neceſſary for me to ſhew how far he went in conducting the reformation.

King Henry VII. had affianced prince Henry to the princeſs Catharine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella. She had been married to Arthur prince of Wales in 1500: but as that prince was only ſixteen years of age, and died five months after his marriage, it was queſtioned whether it was ever conſummated. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, remonſtrated againſt the intended marriage of Henry and Catharine; however, it was reſolved in council that it might be conſummated, and it was accordingly celebrated in the firſt year of his reign.

The king had three children by his queen, one of whom, the princeſs Mary, ſucceeded to the crown. He lived with Catharine till 1525, without declaring any ſcruple about his marriage: but the appearance of Anne Bullen at court, in 1527, made him ſeriouſly think of a divorce from his queen, for which he had the example of Lewis XII.

Dupin's ſixteenth Cent. b. 2, c. 26, p. 141.

Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. v. 2, b. 9, ch. 16, p. 31. Ibid. 33.

The biſhop of Tarbes, ambaſſador from France, repreſented to king Henry, that ſeveral perſons condemned his marriage with Catharine; and that it was for the intereſt of his conſcience to make a nice enquiry about ſo delicate an affair. The king ſent agents to Rome to proſecute the divorce; and the pope ſent cardinal Campegius with a commiſſion for him and Wolſey to judge of the cauſe in England as his legates *a latere*. The king granted them a licence to execute the commiſſion granted by the pope; and the legates ſummoned the king and queen to appear perſonally in court, which was held, in 1527, in the parliament chamber, in Black Friars, in London. The king aſſured the court, that his deſire for a divorce, aroſe only from a motive of religion and conſcience. "But what "were his ſecret motives, and the grounds upon which he deſired a divorce, is known "only to God; and, till the diſcovery of all ſecrets at the day of judgment, muſt lie "hid." The Spaniſh nation firſt, and then the French, when a treaty of marriage for his daughter was propoſed to them, queſtioned her legitimacy; which gave him a ſpecious pretence for calling it in queſtion likewiſe, and ſo for getting rid of his queen, and taking another younger, and more agreeable to him: and hence aroſe this famous divorce.

Burnet, v. 1, p. 49.

The queen proteſted againſt the legates as incompetent judges; and ſhe was a woman of ſo reſolute a mind, that no threatnings could daunt her. She appealed to the king for her conjugal fidelity, went out of court, and would never return to it any more. The legates went on according to the forms of the law; though the queen appealed to them from the pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers. The king would not ſuffer the cauſe to be removed to Rome; and Campegius left England.

Ibid. 53.

At this time, doctor Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus College in Cambridge, propoſed a new method, which was, that the king ſhould engage the chief univerſities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulneſs of his marriage. The king ſaid, "he had the ſow by "the right ear;" and Cranmer was ſent for, who ſoon gave the king a high opinion of his learning and prudence, his probity and ſincerity.

See Melanchthon's life, p. 107. Burnet, p. 61.

The univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge gave their opinions, that the marriage of a brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. The univerſities of Bononia, Padua, and Ferrara; the Sorbonne at Paris, and other foreign ſeminaries, concurred in the ſame opinion. Calvin thought the marriage was null; and other foreign reformers agreed, that the pope's diſpenſation was of no force. The pope offered the king a diſpenſation for another wife: but the king had fortified his cauſe by ſo many reſolutions in his favour, and ſet out a proclamation againſt the papal bulls in 1530. The queen perſiſted in abiding by the deciſion of the pope, and the king reſolved never to ſee her more.

Lord Herbert.

Cardinal Wolſey was diſgraced, which occaſioned his death, "though few ever fell "from ſo high a place, that had leſſer crimes objected againſt him."

Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 48.

A jeſt made by Sir Thomas Wiat began the reformation, which the ſeriouſneſs of all Chriſtendom could not commence; for he ſaid, on the delay of the divorce, "Lord! that "a man cannot repent him of his ſin, without leave from the pope." Wiat hinted, Cranmer opened, and the univerſities of Europe made the way to reformation.

The people were very deſirous of ſhaking off all obedience to the pope, which encouraged the king to have his cauſe tried by the parliament and convocation; both of which determined it in his favour. He married Anne Bullen in 1532; and the ſame year doctor Cranmer ſucceeded Warham as archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he refuſed to take the uſual oath to the pope, and diſannulled the marriage of Catharine, who was a virtuous and unfortunate lady.

Rapin. Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 539. Warner, p. 116.

Henry had wrote a book againſt Luther *concerning the ſeven ſacraments*; for which the pope honoured him with the title of "*Defender of the Faith.*" Eraſmus ſaid, that Henry was certainly the author of that book; and Burnet was of the ſame opinion. The king affected to be thought learned, to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them; but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations, In 1533, there came forth a book in Latin, called *the King's Book*, intitled, *The Difference between the kingly and eccleſiaſtical Power*, reported to be made by Fox, the king's almoner: which was tranſlated into Engliſh by Edward lord Stafford in the following reign.

See Luther's life, p. 77. Eraſmus's Epiſt. p. 635, 645. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, v. 1, p 356.

An act of parliament was paſſed againſt annats, and another condemning all appeals to Rome, which occaſioned Sir Thomas More to lay down his office of lord chancellor with a greatneſs of mind equal to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The pope threatened to excommunicate Henry for not appearing at Rome, after he was cited; and declared his marriage with Catharine good and lawful: by which means, the church of Rome loſt the kingdom of England. It appears, that many learned men gave their opinion in favour of the king's divorce according to their conſciences without any bias; and that many more were practiſed upon to ſubſcribe to ſuch an opinion whether they really held it or not. All the reſt of the world looked on aſtoniſhed, to ſee the court of Rome throw off England with ſo much ſcorn, as if they had been weary of the obedience and profits of ſo great a kingdom; and their proceedings looked as if they had been ſecretly directed by a Divine Providence, that deſigned to draw great conſequences from this rupture, and ſo far infatuated thoſe that were moſt concerned to prevent it, that they needleſsly drew it on themſelves.

Strype's life of Cranmer, p. 545. Bayle. Warner, p. 96. Burnet's Abridg. v. 1, p. 87. Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 51. Warner, p. 125. Ibid. v. 2, p. 37, 117.

The foundations on which the papal authority was built, had been examining in England, with extraordinary care for ſome years; and ſeveral books were wrote on that ſubject, of which Burnet has made an abſtract. It was from thence concluded, that the conteſts which the kings of England had with the popes concerning the inveſtitures, biſhops doing the king homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and proviſions, ſhewed that the pope's power was believed ſubject to laws and cuſtom, and ſo not derived from Chriſt and St. Peter: and as laws had given them ſome power, and princes had been forced in ignorant ages to ſubmit to their uſurpation: ſo they might, as they ſaw cauſe, change thoſe laws, and reſume their rights. They alſo found, that the kings of England had aſſumed an authority in eccleſiaſtical matters in all times; therefore it was concluded, that the pope had no power in England; and that the king had an entire dominion over all his ſubjects, which extended even to the regulating of eccleſiaſtical matters.

Burnet, p. 100. Warner, p. 127. Ib. 106.

Clement VII. was elected pope in 1523, and was of the houſe of Medicis: but, under the ſacred character of religion, and of the repreſentative of Chriſt, he put on the cloke of religion, and the maſk of piety, to cover tranſactions, for the aggrandiſement of his family, which had no religion nor piety in them. Thus "the revenues of the greateſt dig-"nities in the church, are much oftener made uſe of to raiſe and aggrandize a family, "at any rate, than employed in the church's ſervice." When the pope heard that the marriage of Catharine was diſannulled in England, he was as loud in his threatenings as he was fierce and violent in his reſentments. The king, in return, had ſeveral biſhops preach at St. Paul's, who declared, that the pope had no authority in England; though, before this, they only ſaid, that a general council was above him. He alſo got the ſanction of parliament to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown on the iſſue of his ſecond marriage. And an act was paſſed for regulating the proceedings againſt heretics, which was a great check to the biſhop's tyranny, and gave no ſmall comfort to all that favoured the reformation.

Ib. 64, 115. Ib. 78. Ib. 119. Burnet, p. 107. Ib. 110. Warner, p. 132.

The clergy made a ſubmiſſion to the king in convocation; and the parliament reſolved, to take this opportunity of aboliſhing the papal power in England, and to tear it up by the roots. The king was declared ſupreme head of the church: but though archbiſhop Cranmer, and lord Thomas Cromwell, ſupported the reformation, it could not be accompliſhed in this reign; for the king only renounced the papal power, and ordered thoſe to be burnt who would have carried the reformation farther. Henry was no longer the ſame prince. He became fierce, cruel, inſenſible of the calamities of his people, and executed without mercy the laws dictated by himſelf to his parliament. He put to death ſeveral friars and monks; as alſo a great number of Proteſtants, for ſpeaking too freely about the new ſtatutes. He even brought Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, who was a cardinal; and Sir

Ib. 135. Rapin. Dupin, p. 154. Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 52. Burnet, p. 120.

Thomas More, who had been lord chancellor, to the ſcaffold, for refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy,

Tindall, and ſome others at Antwerp, were every year either tranſlating or writing books againſt ſome of the received errors, and ſending them over to England: but his tranſlation of the New Teſtament gave the greateſt wound, and was much complained of by the clergy, as full of errors. The pope excommunicated Henry, who ſuppreſſed all the religious houſes in England, which were 653; beſides ninety colleges, 2374 chantries, and free chapels, with 110 hoſpitals; the real value of which amounted to 1,600,000 l. and the lands and revenues belonging to them were worth upwards of thirty millions of the preſent money. Out of the ſpoils of theſe monaſteries, the king founded the biſhoprics of Briſtol, Cheſter, Oxford, Glouceſter, and Peterborough; though at firſt he intended to found twelve more.

Many pious frauds were detected, and counterfeit relics publickly burnt. The rich ſhrine of Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, was ſeized for the royal uſe, and his bones burnt. The parliament ſuppreſſed the orders of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem: and the clergy undertook an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, which was ordered to be read in all churches; for Cranmer looked upon putting the Bible in the hands of the people, as the moſt effectual means for promoting the reformation.

Queen Catharine died in 1536, leaving iſſue by the king, a princeſs, named Mary: and queen Anne was beheaded the ſame year on a wicked charge of incontinence, leaving a daughter by the king named Elizabeth, whom he declared illegitimate, as he had done Mary. The king was then in love with Jane Seymour, whoſe humour was tempered in a mean, between the gravity of queen Catharine, and the pleaſantneſs of queen Anne. Queen Jane died in child-bed the next year, of a prince named Edward, who ſurvived his father, and ſucceeded to the crown, as both Mary and Elizabeth did after the death of Edward. The lord-vicegerent Cromwell was the faithful friend of Cranmer, and violently hated by the all popiſh clergy. The king ſuſpected he ſecretly encouraged thoſe who oppoſed the ſix articles; and he was condemned and beheaded as a traitor and heretic, in whom fell the office of the king's vice-gerent. The king married Anne of Cleves, and was divorced from her in 1540; when he married Catharine Howard, whom he ſoon after cauſed to be beheaded for incontinency; and he then married Catharine Parr, who was a friend to the reformers.

The ruin of Cranmer was the chief thing aimed at by the whole popiſh party: but the king protected him from all his enemies. The great act of ſucceſſion to the crown was paſſed in 1544; whereby an oath was appointed againſt the pope's ſupremacy; and another act was paſſed for qualifying the ſeverity of the act of the ſix articles: but the reformation was far from being brought to perfection; and a general pardon was granted, out of which hereſy was excepted. The univerſities were in danger of having their colleges ſuppreſſed; but, upon their application to the king, they were delivered from their fears.

Henry was always ſtern and ſevere, which increaſed with his years. He grew prodigious corpulent; and an old ſore in his leg made him ſo peeviſh that no perſon could approach him without awe. The chancellor Wriotheſley, the duke of Norfolk, and the other ſupporters of the old religion, endeavoured to incenſe the king againſt his queen, who was known to love the *new learning*, which was the common phraſe for the reformation: but they were unable to ſucceed, and endangered themſelves, particularly the duke of Norfolk, whoſe excellent ſon, the earl of Surry, was beheaded, and the duke's life was only preſerved by the king's death.

His majeſty on his death-bed finiſhed the foundation of Trinity-College in Cambridge, and became ſpeechleſs, through a complication of diſorders, and expired in the night between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of January 1547. He was fifty-ſix years of age, and had reigned almoſt thirty-eight.

It has been obſerved of this king, that, as he had perverted law to the deſtruction of humanity; ſo he eſtabliſhed religion upon the ruins of reaſon. He wanted to ſeem ſuperior to human nature: the conſequence of which was, that he became a ſtranger to its virtuous weakneſſes, and a ſlave to its impetuous paſſions. The ſeverities he uſed againſt many of his ſubjects, in matters of religion, made both ſides write with great ſharpneſs of him: and it was no wonder, if, after the pope depoſed him, he proceeded to great ſeverities againſt all thoſe which ſupported that authority. Burnet does not deny, that Henry is to be numbered among the ill princes; yet he could not rank him with the worſt. Guthrie ſays, his reading was laborious; his learning intoxicating; and his knowledge ſuperficial. Hence, his ſtudies were ſo far from mending his heart, that they turned his head; they rendered him gloomy, but not ſedate. However, conſidering him as a ſtubborn ſtock, he was ſtill fortuitouſly valuable: for from the ſtubbornneſs of this root have aroſe thoſe fair branches, which now afford ſhelter to the civil and religious liberties of mankind. It pleaſed God to make him an inſtrument of letting in the truth of the goſ-

Warner's life of Sir Thomas More, p. 135, 148.
Burnet, p. 123.
Ibid. 225.
Engliſh-man's hiſt. p. 55.
Burnet, p. 218.
Rapin.
Burnet, p. 197.
Warner, p. 179.
Burnet, p. 231, 256.
Warner, p. 153, 158.
Burnet, p. 153.
Ibid. 233, 241.
Rapin.
Burnet, p. 266, 278.
Ibid. 280, 282, 293.
Rapin.
Burnet, p. 290.
Engliſh-man's hiſt. p. 62.
Burnet, p. 297.
Ibid. 300.
Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 1128.
Burnet, p. 301.
Warner, p. 229.
Ibid. 312.
Guthrie, v. 3, p. 1130.
Warner, p. 232.

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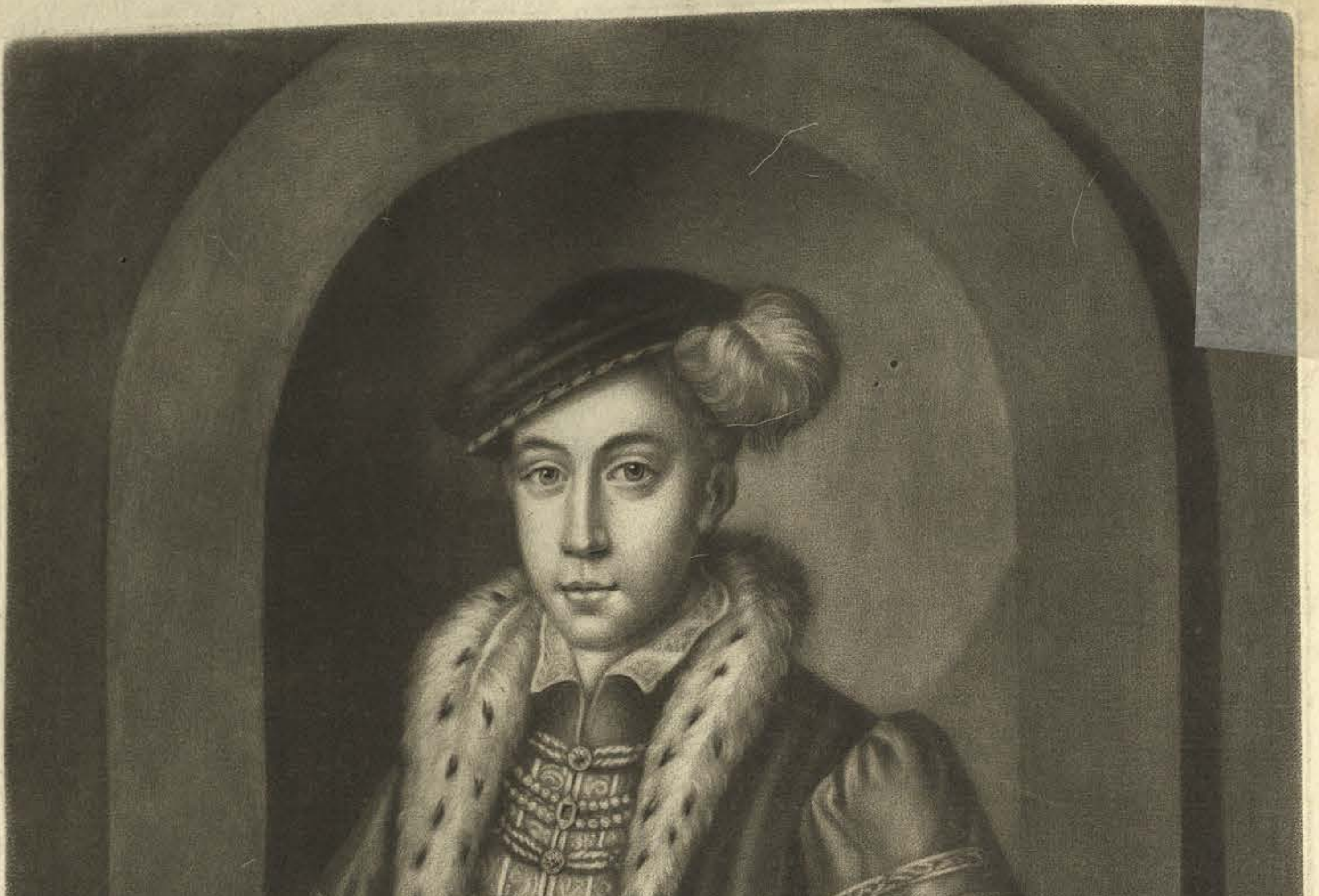


R. Houston fecit

Edvardus. VI.
Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Rex, &c.
Printed for H. Parker & E. Bakewell, in Cornhill London.

pel upon this nation, and for clearing the way to that bleſſed work of eſtabliſhing his religion in its original plainneſs and ſimplicity.

The LIFE of King EDWARD VI.

From 1547, to 1553.

ON the death of Henry VIII. his ſon Edward, who was only nine years and three months old, aſcended the throne. His mother, Jane Seymour, was daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf-hall, in Wiltſhire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettleſted in Suffolk.

Henry VIII. was the Romulus, and Edward VI. the Numa Pompilius of Engliſh reformation. The former laid its foundations in blood and rapine; the latter reared its fabric by juſtice and moderation. Henry by his will had ſettled a council for Edward in ſixteen great officers of ſtate, who ſhould be regents of the kingdom, and governers of his ſon, till he was eighteen: but they choſe the earl of Hertford to be governor of the king's perſon, and protector of the kingdom. This was Edward Seymour, uncle to the king, who alſo created him duke of Somerſet, and made him lord-treaſurer and earl-marſhal. His brother, Thomas lord Seymour, was appointed high-admiral of England, and married the queen dowager Catharine Parr; whereby the Seymour family was exalted to the higheſt grandeur. Their deſcent was high, but their nobility new; and the two brothers fell into ſuch diſſentions between themſelves, that it occaſioned the deſtruction of them both.

Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 55. Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 1. Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 233. Burnet, v. 2, p. 7. Camden's Britannia, p. 240.

Henry VIII. ſteered a middle courſe with reſpect to religion, reforming ſome things, and leaving others untouched: but the new protector was ſincere in his devotions, which were reformed; and, happily for the reformation, he was an irreconcileable enemy to all fopperies in religion. He had been bred in the field, where he was a great and ſucceſsful commander: but he was deſtitute of experience, rather than capacity, for the affairs of government. The chief ſupporters of his party were archbiſhop Cranmer; Holgate, archbiſhop of York; Holbeach, biſhop of Lincoln; Goodrich, biſhop of Ely; doctor Ridley; and Latimer, who was releaſed from his confinement. They were oppoſed by the Romiſh party, who were headed by the princeſs Mary; the earl of Southampton; Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham; Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Wincheſter. The protector was firmly united to Cranmer, who was reſolved to ſet about a farther reformation. The majority of the biſhops were weak and ignorant men, who underſtood little religion, and valued it ſtill leſs: "but though they liked the old ſuperſtition beſt, becauſe it moſt encouraged ignorance and ſecured their wealth and power; yet they intended to ſwim with the ſtream." Every thing done in favour of religion, under Edward VI. is properly due to the protector and Cranmer; for which the former fell a ſacrifice to popery in the preſent reign, and the latter in that which ſucceeded.

Rapin. Guthrie, p. 5. Rapin. Guthrie, p. 5. Rapin. Warner, p. 240.

Edward had been educated under the care of doctor Richard Cox, and Sir John Cheeke, and no ſooner was he come to the crown, but a peaceable dew refreſhed God's inheritance in England, formerly parched with perſecution. Hooper, and other confeſſors, who, had fled abroad, joyfully returned home; and all the Proteſtants, who, for fear, had formerly diſſembled their religion, now publickly profeſſed the ſame. The friends of the reformation were for preſſing it forward as faſt as poſſible, and were carried by their heat into great diſorders: whereas Cranmer was reſolved to proceed by ſlow degrees, and to open the reaſon for every advance which he had made in the reformation. The firſt thing which he ſet about, was, after the method began by the late king, to ſend viſitors over England with articles and inſtructions for rooting out ſuperſtition. The change of the times, and the inclinations of the court, which were very well underſtood, had a great effect upon the leading clergy, many of whom paid the higheſt regard to the book of homilies compoſed by archbiſhop Cranmer. The viſitors met with little or no oppoſition to the homilies and injunctions, except from Bonner and Gardiner; who were ſent priſoners to the Fleet for their obſtinacy.

Fuller's Church Hiſtory of Britain, b. 7. p. 371. Sanders de Schiſ. Anglic. l. 2, p. 230. Warner, p. 242. Fuller, p. 372. Rapin. Warner, p. 247.

The

Engliſh-man's Hiſt. p. 70. Warner 252. Burnet's abridgm. v. 2. p. 39. Warner, 255.

The parliament met in November, and paſſed ſome material acts relating to religion; whereby private maſſes were aboliſhed, and the cup was given to the people in communion. The parliament gave the king all the lands deſigned for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, unpoſſeſſed by his father. There were 2374 of theſe chantries and chapels in the kingdom, which were ſold for 46,249l. but the whole was converted to the maintenance of Proteſtant preachers and grammar ſchools. The two ſtatutes againſt the Lollards, and the law of the ſix articles, were repealed: but the act againſt vagabonds, though levelled at the monks and friars, was contrary to the conſtitution.

Ib. 251. Ib. 258. Burnet, 56. Fuller, 417. Warner, 248. Ib. 263.

In 1548, the council ordered, that all images in general ſhould be removed from the churches; and Gardiner was ſent to the Tower for oppoſing it, on the maxim that no alteration could be made in religion till the king was of age. A new liturgy was compoſed, and commiſſioners were appointed to eſtabliſh it in all the churches. It is the ſame made uſe of at this day, except a few alterations: but the princeſs Mary refuſed to ſubmit to the change, eſpecially as the two principal champions of the old religion were ſilenced with an impriſonment. However, the new office of the communion was received and ſubmitted to all over England without any oppoſition.

Burnet, 86. Warner, 270. Warner, 271. Engliſh-man's Hiſt. v. 2. p. 81. Fuller, 406. Burnet, p. 109--124. Rapin.

In 1549, the monks inflamed the minds of the people, and raiſed inſurrections in ſeveral counties, which were ſoon ſuppreſſed. The parliament paſſed an act for the marriage of prieſts; which was alſo paſſed in both houſes of convocation: but it was rather a connivance or permiſſion of clergymen to marry, than any immediate and and authoritative allowance. The new liturgy was confirmed, and all divine offices were to be performed according to this book. A proviſo was added to countenance the ſinging pſalms, which had been turned into verſe, and were much ſung by thoſe who loved the reformation. But as our language and poetry have been ſince much improved, and this work, which then might paſs for a tolerable compoſition, has not been reviewed or altered: hence it is, that this part of divine worſhip has not preſerved its due eſteem. The work was performed by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, who had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon.

In the two following years, a farther progreſs was made in the reformation, by putting out the book of ordinations, making ſome Proteſtant biſhops, reviewing the common-prayer book, and putting down altars. But the enemies of the reformation had now occaſion to glory in the fall of the protector; while choſen commiſſioners were preparing a confeſſion of faith, which was the laſt mortal wound to be given to the old religion.

Rapin. Guthrie, 83. Burnet's Ref. v. 2. p. 180. Guthrie, 85. Fuller, 410. Warner, 300. Guthrie, 87. Ib. p. 5. Fuller, 425.

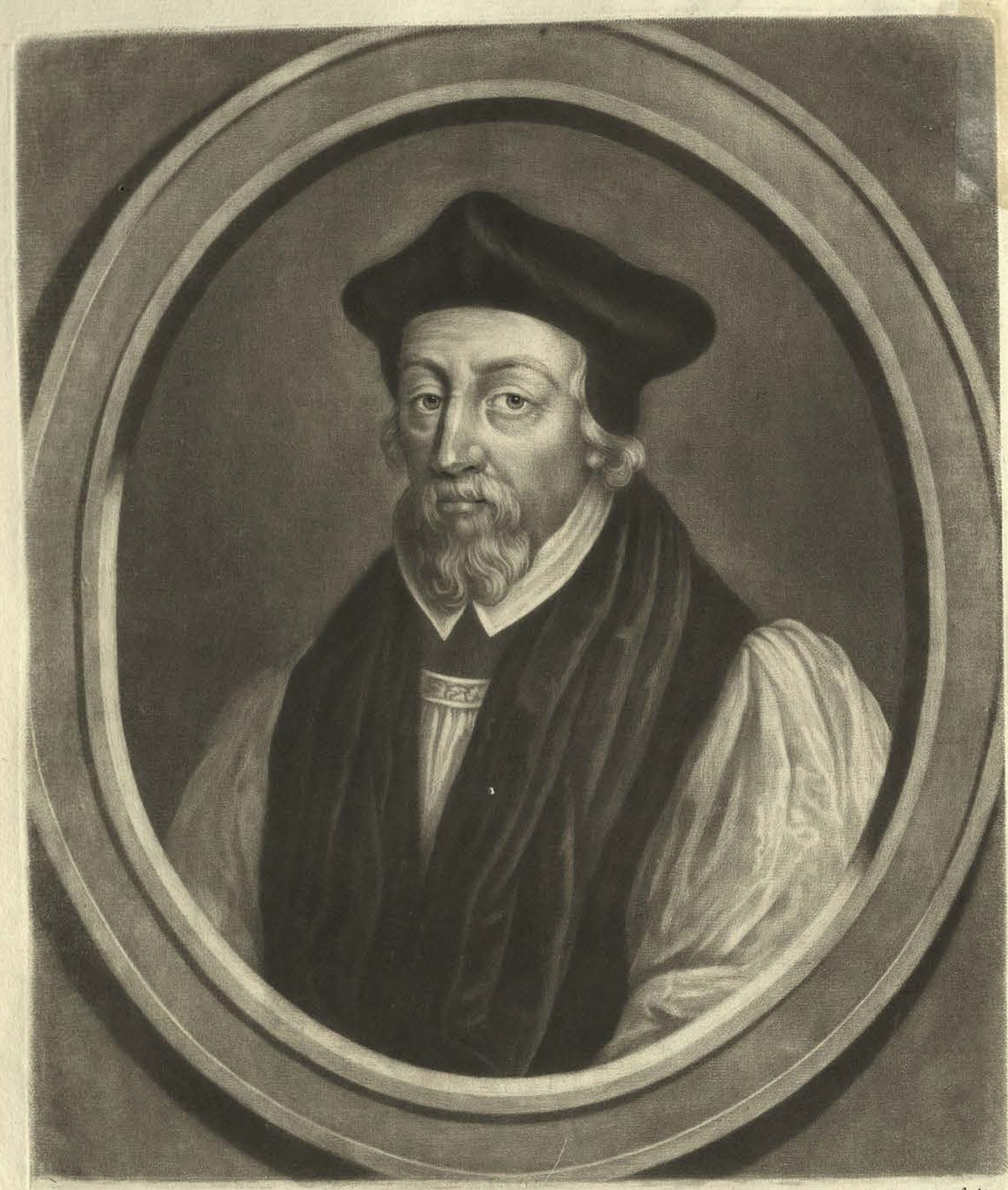
The earls of Warwick and Southampton were the declared enemies of the protector, and attempted every thing in their power to bring on his ruin. His brother, the high-admiral, was beheaded in 1549, by their artifices; and the protector was ſent to the Tower, but received a pardon, without committing a crime. In 1551, the protector was again committed to the Tower, by the means of the earl of Warwick, and Henry Grey, marquiſs of Northampton; the former of whom had been created duke of Northumberland, and the latter duke of Suffolk. Northumberland had the ambitious project of excluding the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, from the ſucceſſion, and of marrying his ſon to the lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Suffolk and of Frances Brandon, who was the next in ſucceſſion after thoſe princeſſes; while his eldeſt ſon was married to the duke of Somerſet's daughter. The duke of Somerſet was tried by his peers, who acquitted him of treaſon, and condemned him for felony, on a charge that he intended to impriſon the duke of Northumberland. The protector petitioned the king, who was prevailed on to ſhut the gates of mercy againſt his uncle, and great care was taken to divert him with pleaſing amuſements, that he might not reflect upon this ſtrange condemnation. This illuſtrious nobleman was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d of January, 1551, when he declared his innocence towards the king, and his fidelity towards his country: he profeſſed his zeal and affection for the Proteſtant religion, and a great ſatisfaction in what he had done to promote its eſtabliſhment. The people, who are ſeldom miſtaken in their judgment of great men, were ſo generally perſuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, conſidering him as a ſort of martyr. Religion, ſince his days, has ſeen few friends ſo ſincere, and England fewer patriots ſo honeſt, as this duke of Somerſet. Upon the whole, never ſhall it be forgotten, that he was a noble inſtrument of reformation in the hand of Providence; that he was a father to the poor, who ſtiled him the "Good duke;" and that his virtues are yet enjoyed by his country. It is generally believed that grief for his death cauſed the king's conſumption.

Engliſh-man's Hiſt. p. 81. Warner, 301. Ib. 305.

In 1552, Heath and Day, biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, were deprived for too openly oppoſing the reformation; and the biſhopric of Weſtminſter was ſuppreſſed, but the collegiate church, with its exempted juriſdiction, was ſtill continued.

The young king was ill of a conſumptive cough when his parliament met in March 1553: but this parliament ſeems to have been called for no other purpoſe than to give the ſubſidies to the king; and to enable Northumberland to poſſeſs himſelf of the greateſt part of the temporalities of the biſhopric of Durham. About this time, a catechiſm was publiſhed, compiled, as it is believed, by Poinet biſhop of Wincheſter, and authoriſed by the king's letters patent. Cranmer was ſtill buſily employed in perfecting the reformation; and its progreſs will be farther related in his life.

The



R. Houston fecit

Nicolaus Ridleius,

Episc.^{s} Londin.^{s} Martirio Coronatus A.^{o} 1555.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker; in Cornhill London.

The king bore his indiſpoſition with great patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of God; and ſeemed concerned about nothing but the danger which religion and the church would be brought in at his death, when his ſiſter Mary ſhould come to the crown. He therefore drew up a ſcheme for the ſucceſſion with his own hand; and then applied himſelf to draw up certain memorials in favour of religion, particularly for an uniformity of doctrine, which gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the thirty nine articles of the church of England's, religion.

Warner, 308.
Guthrie, p. 107.

Northumberland found the king was paſt all hopes of recovery, and married the lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth ſon, to the lady Jane Grey, who was a moſt accompliſhed perſon both in mind and body. The young king had a great eſteem and affection for this lady; and, as he only thought of ſaving the reformation from impending deſtruction, he appointed her his ſucceſſor, by an aſſignment of the crown, drawn up by the judges, and atteſted by the privy-counſellors. He beſtowed a moſt magnificent charity on the city of London, by granting to it his houſe and place of Bridewell, the Grey-Friars to be an hoſpital for orphans, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's in Southwark. His pious diſpoſition, and ruling paſſion never left him. With his lateſt breath, he prayed for the good of England, and againſt her return to popery, in theſe words: "Oh my Lord God, defend this realm from Papiſtry, and maintain thy true religion:" and then he returned to heaven as pure a ſoul as ever it received. He died on the ſixth of July 1553, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

Engliſh-man's hiſt. p. 83.
Guthrie, p. 119.
Fuller, p. 421.
Guthrie, p. 121.
Warner, p. 311.
Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 1395.

This young king was a prodigy for his years, and the wonder of the age; ſo that if he had lived he would have been in England, what Titus was in Rome, *the delight of mankind*. He ſeems to have been born and deſigned for the advancement of civil and eccleſiaſtical polity. He kept private regiſters, wherein he marked down the characters of his greateſt ſubjects, their way of living, and their zeal or negligence, about religion. He alſo wrote a diary of the tranſactions in his reign from the time his uncle loſt the protectorſhip. Long after his death, he was commonly called by the people "their Joſiah;" and by many "Edward the Saint." Edward could, with great propriety, ſay of religion, as the emperor ſaid of Rome, "I received it of brick, and I leave it of marble."

Burnet, p. 184.
Warner.
Fuller, p. 397, 425.
Warner, p. 313.
Guthrie, p. 122.

The LIFE of Doctor NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP of LONDON.

THIS pious and learned martyr was born, of an ancient and worthy family, at Willymondſwyke in Northumberland. He was educated in grammatical learning at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; and in academical at Cambridge, till he was batchelor of arts. He afterwards went to Oxford, where he was elected fellow of Univerſity College in 1521: but he ſoon returned to Cambridge, where he became doctor of divinity, and maſter of Pembroke-hall.

Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, v. 1, p. 78.

He was made chaplain to king Edward VI. conſecrated biſhop of Rocheſter in 1547, and tranſlated to London on the deprivation of Bonner in 1549: but he died in the flames at Oxford in 1555.

Ibid. 582.

Ridley, of all the reforming divines of that time, approached the neareſt to the church of England in her preſent purity of doctrines and diſcipline. His notions of eccleſiaſtical polity were high, but in general juſt; and, in the œconomy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the ſtate. He ſaw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modeſty of his behaviour, gave him a general eſteem with all ranks of men.

Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 8.

The church of Rome had laid ſuch a ſtreſs on the indiſpenſible neceſſity of the ſacraments, that the people were thought to believe, that by the very action itſelf, without the inward grace and diſpoſition of the mind, they were ſufficient to juſtification, unleſs the receiver himſelf prevented it; and this ſeems to have given riſe to the homilies about juſtification. If the reformers who oppoſed this notion, and who thought that men were

Warner's Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. v. 2, p. 268.

juſtified by the internal acts of the mind, had ſtopped at this, the controverſy would have been managed with much more advantage, which was in a great meaſure loſt by deſcending to unſcriptural and minuter ſubtleties. Public diſputations were held in both univerſities, between the reformers and the Papiſts, concerning the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. Ridley was ſent to Cambridge, with ſome other delegates, where a diſputation was held for three days together, to prove, that tranſubſtantiation was not to be found in the plain and manifeſt words of Scripture, nor could neceſſarily be collected from it, nor confirmed by the conſent of the ancient fathers; and that there is no other ſacrifice and oblation in the Lord's Supper, than of a remembrance of Chriſt's death, and of thankſgiving. The debate was ſummed up with a great deal of temper and learning by biſhop Ridley, in a ſtrong determination againſt the corporal preſence. The truth is, he was then maſter of that ſubject more than any man of the age; for having met with a book of Bertram's in the ninth century, in which he, who was much eſteemed, had confuted this notion of the preſence of Chriſt's real fleſh and blood in the Sacrament, the biſhop concluded that it was not the ancient doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors and ſuperſtitions in the later centuries. He communicated this diſcovery to his friend archbiſhop Cranmer, and they ſet themſelves to examine it with more than common care; making great collections out of the fathers, and other ancient writers, to prove the novelty and the abſurdity of the opinion. They ſhewed, that all the high expreſſions which were to be found in Chryſoſtom, and other ancient writers on this ſubject, were only ſtrains and figures of eloquence, to raiſe the devotion of the people in this holy ceremony; though the following ages had built their opinion on theſe expreſſions, and were diſpoſed to believe every thing the more readily as it appeared void of all belief. But this opinion of the real preſence having been ſo generally received in England above three hundred years, theſe eminent reformers proceeded gradually in diſcuſſing it, that the people might be better diſpoſed to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh.

See Peter Martyr's life.
Warner, p. 276.

Fuller, p. 386.
Ibid. 414.
Guthrie, p. 607.

Ridley aſſiſted Cranmer in the firſt edition of the Liturgy, or Common-Prayer, which was publiſhed in 1548. He was ranked with Cranmer, Hooper, and Ferrars, among thoſe called the zealous Proteſtants, in oppoſition to Gardiner, Tunſtal, and Bonner, who were called *zealous Papiſts.*

Strype's Memoirs, v. 2, p. 255.

Ridley printed the injunctions which he had ſet forth for the viſitation of his dioceſe; and they clearly ſhew the progreſs that the reformation had made in England. They particularly injoined, that none ſhould receive the Communion, but ſuch as ſhould be ready with meekneſs to confeſs the articles of the Creed upon requeſt of the curate. That the Homilies ſhould be read orderly, without omiſſion of any part thereof; and that the Common-Prayer be read in every church upon Wedneſdays and Fridays. That none ſhould maintain purgatory, invocation of ſaints, the ſix articles, bead-rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primers, juſtification of man by his own works, holy bread, pſalms, aſhes, candles, creeping to the croſs, hallowing of fire, or altars, or ſuch like abuſes.

Warner, p. 307.

The king was under a viſible decay, and biſhop Ridley preached before him towards the latter end of his ſickneſs. The biſhop enlarged much in his ſermon on the good effects of charity; and the king was ſo moved with what he ſaid, that immediately after the ſermon he ſent for the biſhop, whom he commanded to ſit down and be covered. His majeſty reſumed the heads of the diſcourſe, and ſaid his lordſhip muſt give ſome directions how he might acquit himſelf of his duty. The biſhop, aſtoniſhed at ſo much tenderneſs and ſenſibility in ſo young a prince, burſt forth into tears; but deſired time to conſider of the particular channel in which the royal charity ſhould be directed; and that the king would give him leave to conſult with the lord-mayor and aldermen about it. His majeſty accordingly wrote them a letter by the biſhop, who returned to him with a ſcheme of three foundations; one for the ſick and wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans: and his majeſty endowed St. Bartholomew's hoſpital for the firſt, Bridewell for the ſecond, and the Grey-Friars church for the third.

Guthrie, p. 119.

Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, p. 92.
Ibid. 99.
Burnet's Abridg. b. 3, p. 199, 226.
Rapin.

The king died in 1553, and was ſucceeded by his ſiſter Mary, whoſe reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs, of whom Ridley was one of the chief. The queen was a rigid Papiſt, and cauſed lady Jane Grey to be beheaded, who openly profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, and to whom Edward had conveyed the crown by his will. The duke of Northumberland and his ſon, and the duke of Norfolk and his brother, were alſo beheaded for attempting to place that moſt excellent lady on the throne; and biſhop Ridley was ſent to the Tower, among others, whom Mary was determined to ſacrifice to her ſafety or vengeance.

Burnet, p. 244.
Ibid. 230.

The queen releaſed Gardiner and Bonner out of the Tower, and employed them to pull down the reformation. The maſs was reſtored, the Proteſtants inhumanly perſecuted, and ſeveral laws enacted for re-eſtabliſhing popery. The parliament revived the ſtatutes againſt hereſy; and the queen commiſſioned Gardiner as her bloody inſtrument, for the extirpation of what ſhe called hereſy. He was particularly ordered to purge the churches of all married biſhops and prieſts; in conſequence of which, four biſhops were deprived for marriage, as alſo three for preaching erroneous doctrines; and of 16,000 of the inferior clergy then in England, 12,000 were turned out for having wives.

As Gardiner was for forcing the Proteſtants into the pale of the Romiſh church, he began with exerting his rage againſt the biſhops, and the moſt eminent divines. The biſhops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Ferrars, were all impriſoned, and all ſuffered martyrdom; which cauſed an univerſal conſternation, and the popiſh biſhops themſelves ſeemed aſhamed of theſe barbarities.

The convocation was adjourned, and removed to Oxford, that the diſpute with the Proteſtant divines might be held before the whole univerſity. To give a colour of juſtice to this conference, archbiſhop Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were ſent from the Tower of London to the priſon at Oxford, where they were ill accommodated, denied the convenience of their books and papers, the converſation of each other, and any mutual aſſiſtance in the conference; for each was to have his day ſeparate from the others. To theſe three prelates, under ſuch diſadvantages, a committee from the convocation and the two univerſities were to be oppoſed. The queen ſent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, to bring the priſoners into the public ſchools at the times appointed for the diſputations; calling Ridley a doctor, and Latimer only clerk. It was intended to expoſe theſe three great prelates to inſolence and abuſe. “This diſputation was intended as a preparative or “prologue to the tragedy of theſe biſhops deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more “afore-hand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter and clearer for the ſame.”

Warner, p. 350.
Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 470.
Fuller, p. 50.

The government and clergy are charged with the moſt infernal proceedings. The queen was married to Philip of Spain, and imagined herſelf pregnant: but ſhe declared, ſhe could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled all the jails about London, were burnt; while the clergy and council of England were to be the executioners of the bloody purpoſe. “All the nation ſeemed to be in a blaze from perſecuting flames;” and three martyrs deſerve particular mention, thoſe of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

Guthrie, p. 155.

Commiſſions for trying them were directed to three biſhops and ſeveral others: but the impriſoned prelates, at their different appearances, refuſed to acknowledge the papal authority. Cranmer was brought out firſt before the committee, as will be ſhewn in his life. The next was Ridley; who began with a ſolemn declaration, that though he was once of another opinion than what he was of at preſent, yet he had not changed it upon any worldly conſiderations, but meerly for love of truth: and ſince it was the cauſe of God he was now to maintain, he proteſted that he would have leave to add to, or alter, any argument, as he ſhould ſee cauſe for it; and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak without interruption. All this was promiſed him; but not complied with; and, though all the committee aſſailed him by turns, even ſometimes four or five at once, he maintained his ground, till the prolocutor put an end, by ſaying, “You ſee the obſtinate, vain-glo“rious, crafty, and inconſtant mind of this man; but you alſo ſee the force of truth cannot “be ſhaken; therefore, cry out with me, truth has the victory.”

Warner, p. 351.

The three biſhops were adjudged to be obſtinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. Ridley told the commiſſioners, “that “although he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written “in another place, whither this ſentence would ſend him ſooner than by the courſe of “nature he ſhould have gone.”

The priſoners were then parted, and conducted to their ſeparate priſons; where Ridley wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noiſy and irregular manner with which the diſpute was carried on; wherein he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamour; and the indecent abuſe of four or five opponents at a time: he deſired, however, that he might have a copy of what the notaries had ſet down; which was not granted.

Ridley and Latimer refuſed to recant, or to renounce their reaſon upon the unintelligible jargon of a popiſh Euchariſt, the common watch-word for murder in thoſe days, and they were to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. The biſhops of Glouceſter, Lincoln, and Briſtol, were ſent to Oxford, to proceed againſt them. When the commiſſion was read, and it appeared that the judges proceeded in the name of the pope, Ridley put on his cap, and refuſed to pay any reverence to thoſe who acted by ſuch a commiſſion. Latimer alſo proteſted againſt the papal authority; and being both accuſed of the opinions which they had maintained in the public ſchools a year and a half before, were allowed till the next morning to conſider, whether they would retract, or perſevere in them. Both adhered to the anſwers they had already made, and the next morning they were pronounced guilty of hereſy, degraded from prieſts orders, and conſigned over to the ſecular magiſtrate to be puniſhed.

Guthrie, p. 155.
Warner, p. 378.

Great attempts were made on Ridley to perſuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, which he refuſed, and a warrant was ſent down for the execution of him and Latimer. They ſuffered on the ſixteenth of October 1555, on the North-ſide of Oxford, in the ditch oppoſite Balliol-College. When they came up to the ſtake, they embraced each other

Burnet, p. 265.
Guthrie, p. 155.

Warner, p. 380.

Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 488.

with great affection; and Ridley, with an air of pleaſure, ſaid to Latimer, “Be of good “ heart brother; for God will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or elſe enable us to “ abide it.” They were not permitted to ſpeak in anſwer to a long ſermon preached by Smith, unleſs they would recant. To this Ridley replied, that he would never deny his Lord, nor the truths of which he was perſuaded, but “God's will be done.” He ſaid, he had received fines when he was biſhop of London for leaſes which were now voided, and deſired that the queen might give order, either that the leaſes might be made good, or the fines reſtored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than ſufficient for that purpoſe. After this, they were ordered to fit themſelves for the ſtake; ſome gunpowder was hanged about their bodies to haſten their deaths; and the fire was put to the wood. The powder took fire with the firſt flame, which inſtantly put Latimer out of his pain: but there was ſo much wood thrown on the fire where Ridley was, that the flame could not break through it; ſo that his legs were almoſt conſumed before it was obſerved; and then, a paſſage being made to the flame, it put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The ſtation which both theſe martyrs had held, the regularity of their lives, the peaceableneſs of their tempers, their age, and their behaviour at the ſtake, raiſed great commiſeration in the ſpectators, and ſent them home greatly diſpleaſed with thoſe who had brought them to this end.

Warner, p. 381.

Guthrie, p. 155.

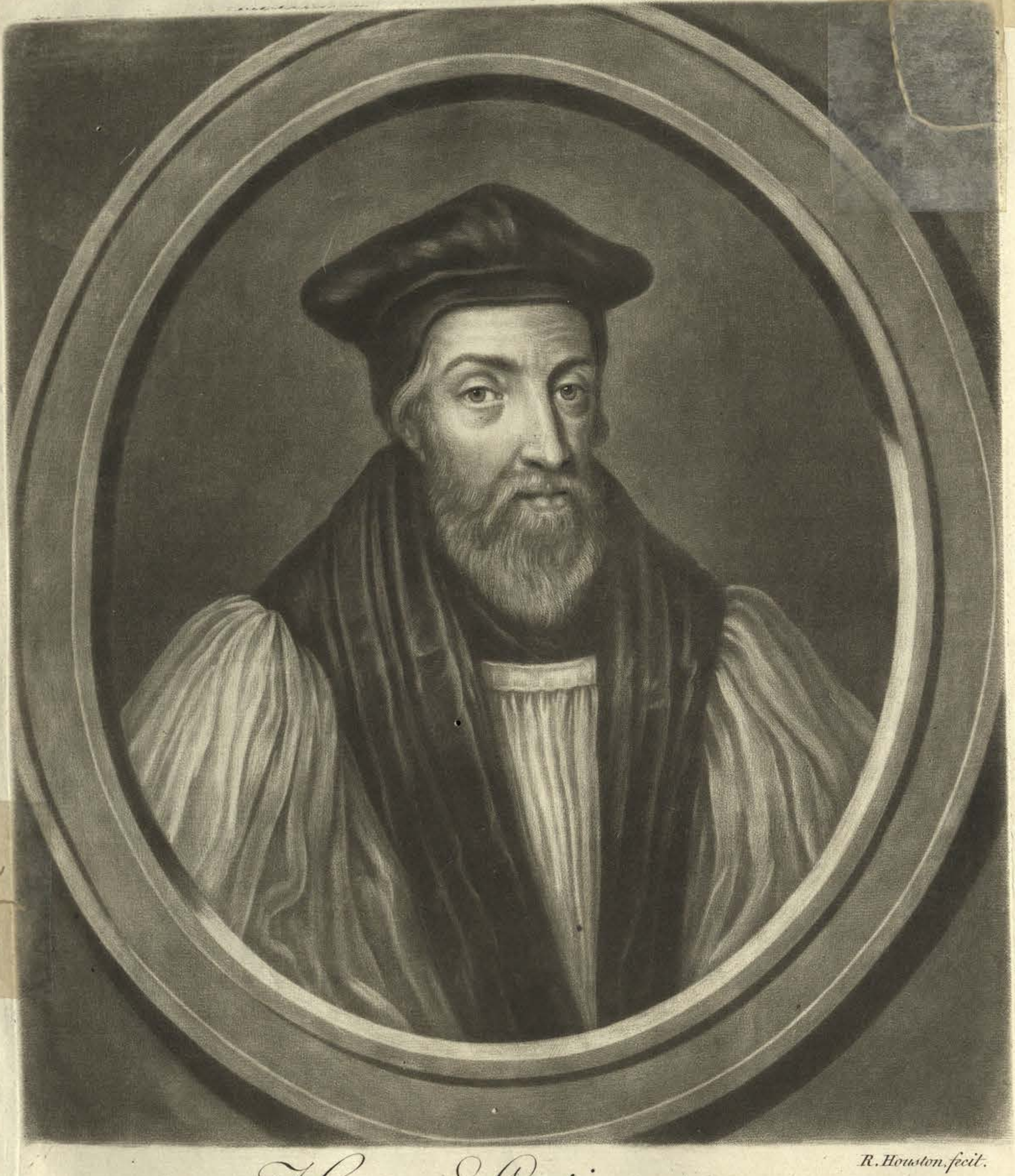
Ridley's fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature neceſſary to a divine, gave him the firſt rank in his profeſſion; and his life was anſwerable to his knowledge. He was of an eaſy obliging temper; and though he wanted not a proper ſpirit to ſupport his character, or to do himſelf juſtice againſt the great and powerful; yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries, or offences. His zeal for religion did not ſhew itſelf in promoting ſeverities againſt thoſe who differed from it; but in diligently explaining the parts that were miſunderſtood, and ſhewing their foundation in Scripture and antiquity. The greatneſs of his mind was not only ſhewn in the candour and charity of his ſentiments; he did good offices for thoſe who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a biſhop; he maintained and treated Heath, the deprived biſhop of Worceſter, for a year and half, in the ſame ſplendor as though Fulham-houſe had been his own; and Bonner's mother, who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilſt her ſon was in the Tower. The reformation was greatly indebted to his zeal and learning while he lived, as well as to his courage and conſtancy at his death: for of all who ſerved the altar of the church of England, he bore, perhaps, the moſt uſeful teſtimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine.

Ibid.

Wood, p. 78.

Fox's Acts and Mon. 1554.

He received his learning at Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain. He was a perſon ſmall in ſtature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in divinity. Among ſeveral things that he wrote, were theſe. “A Treatiſe concerning Images, not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped “ in Churches. A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper. A Treatiſe of the bleſſed Sacrament. A piteous Lamentation of the miſerable State of the Church of England, at “ the Time of the late revolt from the Goſpel. A Compariſon between the comfortable “ Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the traditions of popiſh religion.” He had a hand in compiling the Common Prayer-Book; as alſo diſputations and conferences about matters of religion.



R. Houston, fecit.

Hugo Latimerus

Episc^{us} Vigorniensis, Martyrio Coronatus A^{o} D^{ni} 1555.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker, in Cornhill London.

The LIFE of Doctor HUGH LATIMER[a],

BISHOP of WORCESTER.

THIS eminent man was bred up at Chriſt's-College at Cambridge; and, at his firſt ſetting out in the world, had a ſtrong opinion of a monaſtic life. He had always been in earneſt with his religion: but having been diſengaged from the prejudices of education, by ſome of thoſe who were burnt for hereſy in the reign of Henry, he made further advances in the doctrines which were not then eſtabliſhed.

Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 155. Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 380.

Latimer was croſs-keeper in the univerſity of Cambridge, and carried it on proceſſion-days, till he was converted by Thomas Bilney, fellow of Trinity-Hall, who was martyred in 1531. Latimer himſelf ſays, “Maſter Bilney, or rather St. Bilney, that ſuffered death “for God's word's ſake, the ſame Bilney was the inſtrument whereby God called me to “knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in “the word of God: for I was as obſtinate a Papiſt as any was in England; inſomuch, “that when I ſhould be made batchelor of divinity, my whole oration went againſt Philip “Melanchthon, and againſt his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived “that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my ſtudy, and “deſired me, for God's ſake, to hear his confeſſion. I did ſo; and I learned more than “afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to ſmell the word of God, “and forſake the ſchool-doctors, and ſuch fooleries.”

Fox's Acts and Mon. v. 2, p. 211, 222, Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambrid. p. 102. Latimer's firſt Sermon before the dutcheſs of Suffolk, p. 5.

Bilney ſo wrought on Latimer, that of almoſt a perſecutor, he became a zealous promoter of the truth; and, in 1527, he preached his ſermon “Of Cards,” on the queſtion of the prieſts to the Baptiſt, “Who art thou?” Theſe words were part of the goſpel appointed for the day, and he ſuited his ſermon rather to the time than the text; for it was the Sunday before Chriſtmas, and he conformed his diſcourſe to the playing at Cards, making the heart triumph, and exhorting all to ſerve God in ſincerity and truth, not in the glittering ſhew of ceremonies, traditions, pardons, pilgrimages, vows, devotions, and other ſuperſtitions. The whole was a blunt reproof againſt the friars, who felt the wound, which was afterwards embittered, when they ſaw Latimer promoted to the biſhopric of Worceſter, in 1533, by the intereſt of queen Anne Boleyn, who had made him her chaplain.

Fuller, p. 103. John i, 19. Burnet's abridgm. v. 1, p. 133. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 5, p. 207.

Latimer preached the Latin ſermon before the convocation in 1536; and his text was, “The children of this world are in their generation wiſer than the children of light.” He was the moſt celebrated preacher of that time; the ſimplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expreſſing it, being preferred to more elaborate compoſers. The lower houſe complained of ſome biſhops, who were wanting in their duty to ſuppreſs abuſes; which was underſtood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer.

Luke xvi. 8. Burnet's Abridg. v. 1, p. 166. Fox, v. 2, p. 331.

In 1538, biſhop Latimer preached a ſermon, near the gallows, when John Foreſt was executed for denying the king's ſupremacy. When the great monaſteries were reſigned to his majeſty, Latimer preſſed Cromwell earneſtly, that two or three houſes in each county, might be reſerved, for preaching, ſtudy, and prayer. But when the act of the ſix bloody articles was put in execution, Latimer had the ſpecial favour to ſave himſelf by loſing his biſhopric, which he reſigned in 1540, inſtead of complying with an act, that, by extenſive interpretations, was made commenſurate to the whole body of popery. He was preſented for ſome words ſpoken againſt the ſix articles, and was then impriſoned in the Tower with biſhop Shaxton, where he lay till the king's death ſet him at liberty in 1547; and, in 1550, he preached at court before Edward VI.

Wood's Athenæ, v. 1, p. 43. Stow's Annals, und. 1538. Burnet's Abridg. v. 1, p. 191. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 5, p. 230, 231 Burnet, v. 1, p. 223. Warner, p. 193. Guthrie, v. 2, p. 1083.

Y y When

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[a] The word *Latimer* ſignifies an interpreter between the Engliſh and Welch. Camden's Britannia, p. 598.—— But there is a town of this name in Buckinghamſhire, ſo called from the lords thereof, who were the ancient barons Latimer, ibid. p. 394.

Warner, p. 380. Ib. 240.

When Henry VIII. capriciouſly intended to force his own religion upon his ſubjects, Latimer found that he could not have the freedom of his conſcience, and the poſſeſſion of his ſee; therefore, he reſigned the latter voluntarily, without being required ſo to do. He might have been reſtored in the time of Edward: but he choſe to live in a private ſtation with archbiſhop Cranmer at Lambeth, and to lay out all his time in preaching in different places.

Guthrie, v 3, p. 6.

Latimer may be called the Demoſthenes of the pulpit. His zeal and ſincerity inſpired him with figures of ſpeech, to which learning and ſtudy cannot riſe. An honeſt enthuſiaſm gave his tongue eloquence; a primitive freedom gave his eloquence conviction. His ſermons were plain, but pointed; no vice was placed ſo high, that he would not attack. He was ſarcaſtic, but the times required it: he had vehemence, but it was well conducted. His diſcourſes were directed rather to the reformation of manners, than to the controverſies of religion. He practiſed all he preached. In his reproofs he knew no reſerve; in his reproaches he indulged no ſpleen; for he never uſed the former, but where vice was corrigible; nor the latter, but where it was pernicious. He was a friend to the crown and the people, averſe to the tyranny of the nobles, and indifferent about the claims of of the clergy. "In ſhort, he could have lived quiet and content under any conſtitution either of church or ſtate, where the adminiſtration was veſted in a man of virtue."

Warner, p 380. Burnet, v. 2, p. 117. Warner, p. 381.

He arraigned the vices of the great, in a ſermon at court before king Edward, with a freedom which became his character. He had nothing to fear from that religious prince; and, as he had nothing to loſe, the power of the courtiers had no terrors. He took great care of his dioceſe, while he exerciſed the epiſcopal office; giving a noble example of hoſpitality, benevolence, and a contempt of riches; for which much greater churchmen, both in his own days and ſince, have not been ſo eminent. "In ſhort, Latimer, with a moderate ſhare of learning and abilities, was a much greater man, a much better Chriſtian, and a much worthier biſhop, than many of his order, who have ſhone with a more conſpicuous figure."

Fuller, b. 7, p. 426. Latimer's Sermons printed in 1607, p. 83. Warner, p. 314.

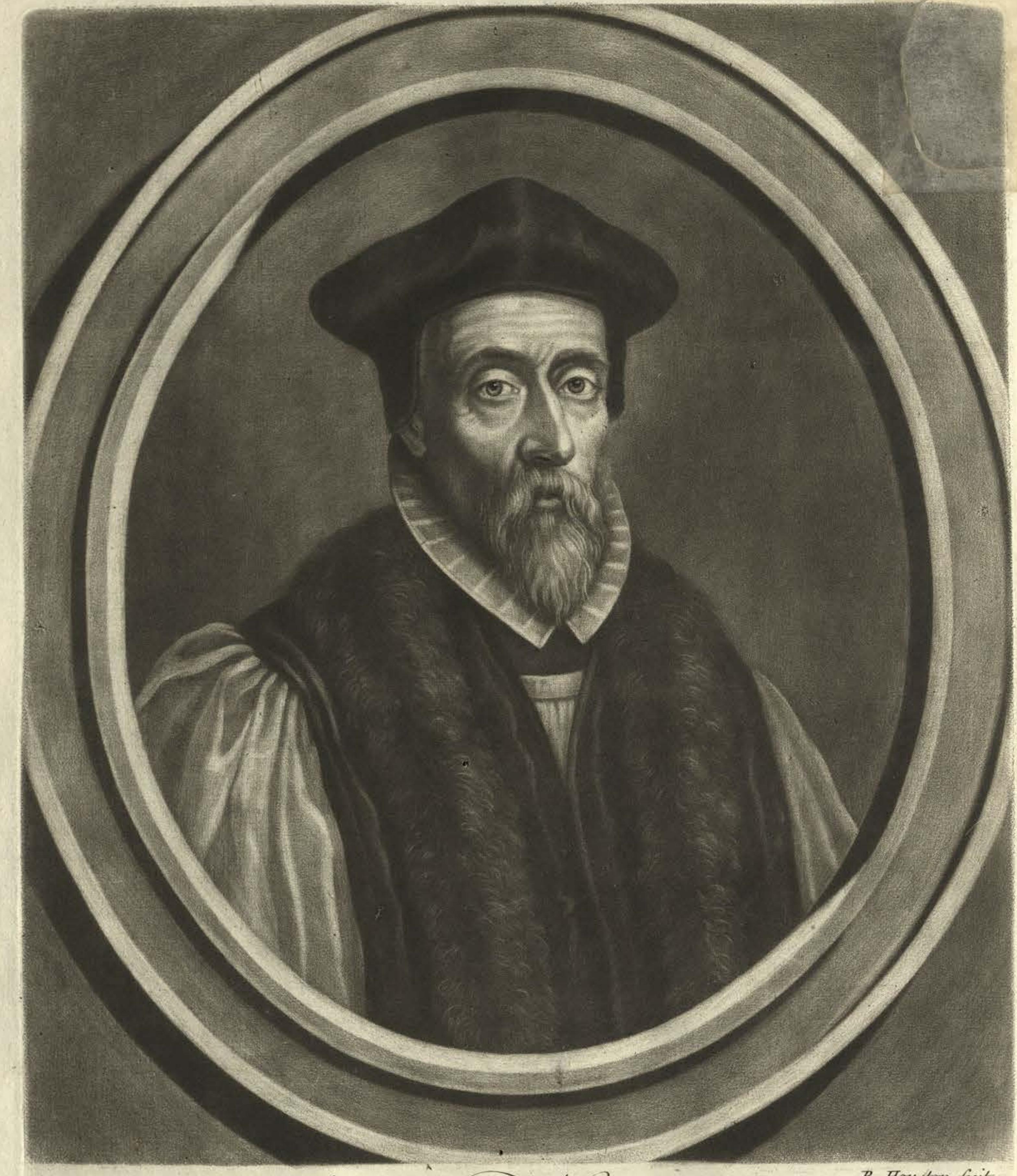
One of the laſt ſermons king Edward heard, was preached before him by Latimer, when their party began to increaſe who oppoſed the Liturgy. He particularly mentioned Thomas lord Seymour, of whom he ſaid; "He was, I heard ſay, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard ſay, an ambitious man; I would there were none in England. He was, I heard ſay, a ſeditious man, a contemner of common-prayer: I would there were no more in England. Well! he is gone, I would he had left none behind him." At this time, he was ſo far advanced in years, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Old Latimer;" and he openly preached, with great ſeverity, againſt the outrageous ſpoil of the goods of the church without law or order. Cranmer and Ridley alſo delivered their conſciences very freely on that head: but they were not able to ſtem the torrent of licentiouſneſs and corruption, which had deluged the land in ſuch a manner, as if irreligion had been the conſequence of forſaking confeſſion, penance, and the ceremonies which had been practiſed. The biſhops and clergy, generally ſpeaking, did not a little contribute to this degeneracy; ſeveral among the former, and the greateſt part of the latter, being ſtill Papiſts in their hearts; and complying only externally with the reformation to preſerve their benefices, not only neglected the paſtoral care, but ſet the people againſt it in its preſent model, and were rather well pleaſed that there was ſo much, and ſuch great diſorder.

Burnet, p. 205. Warner, p. 227. Guthrie, p. 132. Ib. 155.

When Mary was crowned, the Proteſtant preachers were impriſoned. Archbiſhop Cranmer was ſent to the Tower, where Latimer was alſo committed at the ſame time; and ſcarcely any biſhop or preacher who had ſignalized himſelf for the reformation, and did not either recant, or fly beyond ſea, eſcaped either deprivation or impriſonment, or both. England was now adorned with flowers and fillets woven by the hands of prieſts; and brought, like a heedleſs victim, to their altar, on which ſhe was to pour our her warmeſt blood, that of her liberty and religion. But the blood of the martyrs proved to be the ſeed of the church; and their ſufferings made more converts than their ſermons had done. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were ſent to Oxford, to ſeal the faith with their blood, in the preſence of the whole univerſity.

Ibid. 168. Fuller, b 7, p. 405. Ibid.

Latimer had ſhewn a generous contempt for preferment, Ridley for money, and both of them for life. When Latimer was deprived of his biſhopric on account of the ſix articles, he was ſucceeded by Nicholas Heath, who was legally deprived by Edward VI. but Latimer would not accept of his ſee again, knowing Heath to be of a meek and moderate nature; and it was conferred upon Hooper, who held it in commendam with his ſee of Glouceſter; becauſe Latimer and Heath were both ſurviving, and were each accounted a lawful biſhop by thoſe of their own religion. Hugh Latimer continued Hugh Latimer, without any addition of title or preferment: but he was in civility ſaluted as other biſhops, and honoured by all good people, who conſidered him "as confeſſor-general to all Proteſtants troubled in mind; and he was the treaſury, into which reſtored ill-gotten goods were caſt, to be beſtowed on the poor, according to his diſcretion."



R. Houston fecit

Joannes Hooperus.

Episc^{s} Glocest: & Vigorn^{s} Martirio Coronatus A^{o} D^{ni} 1555.

Printed for H. Parker & E. Bakewell, in Cornhill London.

Latimer was warm and ſincere in whatever he profeſſed. Gardiner and Bonner knew him too well to expect any advantage to their cauſe by his ſufferings. The meſſenger, therefore, who was ſent to ſummon him firſt before the commiſſioners, had no orders to apprehend him, and left him at his own liberty. But the old man did not think his life of ſuch value, as to put himſelf to the trouble of ſtepping out of the way of death. Accordingly he ſurrendered himſelf, and put the prelates under a neceſſity of giving him a crown of martyrdom.' For "the good old man, conſcious of his innocence, and diſengaged entirely from the world, ſurrendered himſelf up, and freely laid down his life, when the cauſe of God required it."

Guthrie, p. 155. Warner, 381.

I have mentioned in the life of Ridley, how that prelate and Latimer, were brought to their trials before three biſhops at Oxford, who pronounced them guilty of hereſy, and gave them over to be burnt. Notwithſtanding cardinal Pole, as the pope's legate, ſtiled both Ridley and Latimer biſhops in the commiſſion, and directed their degradation, in caſe of obſtinacy, from that character; yet the delegates would allow neither of them to be more than a prieſt.

Ib. 379.

The condemned prelates refuſed to recant; and a warrant came down for the lord Williams, and the burghers, to attend their execution. As they were leading out to the ſtake, they looked up to Cranmer's priſon, in hopes to have ſeen him, and bid him adieu: but the archbiſhop, being engaged in a diſpute with ſome friars, forgot to appear at the window when they were paſſing by; recollecting himſelf however ſoon after, he went to the top of his priſon, and looking at them with great tenderneſs, kneeled down, and prayed fervently, that God would ſtrengthen their faith and patience in that laſt but dreadful ſuffering.

Ibid.

Latimer's grey hairs added a veneration to his perſon, and Ridley's character excited pity for his fate. They went to the ſtake like brothers in the ſame cauſe; they were lovely in their lives, and in their death they were not divided. When they had prayed, and were undreſſing themſelves at the ſtake, Latimer comforted his *fellow-ſufferer*, ſaying, "that they two ſhould that day light ſuch a candle in *England*, as he *truſted*, by *God's grace*, would never be put out." *Latimer's withered perſon ſoon yielded up his ſoul in the* flames: but Ridley's more vigorous conſtitution, with the unſkilfulneſs of his executioners, rendered his martyrdom painful and lingering.

Guthrie, p. 155. Ridley's life. Warner, 380. Guthrie, 155.

Thus died theſe two excellent biſhops, on the ſixteenth of October 1555: the one for his piety, learning, and ſolid judgment, the ableſt man, next to Cranmer, of all who advanced the reformation: and the other for his zeal, his diligence in the paſtoral office, and the plainneſs and integrity of his life, eſteemed a true primitive Chriſtian, who had more of the ſimplicity of the firſt ages, than of the politeneſs or learning of later times.

Burnet, p. 265. Warner, p. 380.

The LIFE of Doctor JOHN HOOPER,

BISHOP of GLOUCESTER.

THIS great divine who was born in 1495, was a native of Somerſetſhire, and received his academical education at Merton-College in Oxford, where he was ſent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle John Hooper, who was made maſter-fellow of that houſe in 1513, and was alſo principal of St. Alban's-hall. In 1518, John Hooper, the nephew, was admitted batchelor of arts, which was the higheſt degree he took in this univerſity, and about the ſame time completed it by *determination*. What became of him after is not juſtly known: but it is reported, that he was of the number of Ciſtercians, commonly called white monks, and continued ſo for ſome years, till he grew weary of a monaſtic life, and returned to Oxford, where he was converted to Lutheraniſm by books brought from Germany, and ſoon became a zealous Proteſtant.

Wood's Athenæ Oxonien. v. 1. p. 75. Ibid. 580. Stow, p. 533.

In 1539, when the ſtatute of the ſix articles was put in execution, he left Oxford, and got into the ſervice of Sir Thomas Arundel, a Devonſhire gentleman, to whom he became chaplain and ſteward of his eſtate. This gentleman was a very Catholic knight, and was

Burnet's Abridg. v. 1. p. 211. Wood, p. 76.

afterwards put to death with the protector, in the reign of Edward VI. He ſoon diſcovered that Hooper was a Proteſtant, who thereby loſt his protection, and was obliged to fly into France, where he continued ſome time among the reformed, till his diſlike of ſome of their proceedings made him return to England. On his arrival in his native country, he lived with a gentleman of the name of Seintlow, where he became known, and was ſought after to be apprehended. Upon this, he diſguiſed himſelf like a ſailor, hired a boat, and went to Ireland, from whence he went to Holland, and ſo on to Switzerland. Bullinger was then at Zurick, where he ſucceeded Zuinglius in the chair. He had been obliged to forſake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to Hooper, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew languages.

Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 86.
Wood, p. 76.
See Bullinger's life, p. 147.

Edward VI. came to the crown, in 1547, and Hooper came to England again, when he ſettled in London, where he frequently preached to the people on ſeveral reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly againſt pluralities. He had a great ſweetneſs of temper, and was much regarded by all the party of the reformed, who inclined to a parity of church government. His reſidence in foreign parts, where reformation bordered too much upon levelling principles, had brought him into a train of thinking no way favourable to church diſcipline. He made the avoiding ſuperſtition a matter of conſcience; but he run into the very extreme he ſhunned, by his zeal to avoid it; for he ſuperſtitiouſly declined uſages which he owned to be indifferent in themſelves, only becauſe they became important through the injunctions of ſuperiors: however, it will appear, that he was flexible in thoſe points, and that he could comply when he found the government was not to be trifled with. He agreed perfectly well with Cranmer and Ridley in the main doctrines of the reformation, and in zeal to promote it; yet they appear to have been very apprehenſive of his principles. Hooper was a worthy conſcientious man. In his life he was blameleſs; but ſomewhat too neglectful of thoſe appearances, which are indiſpenſible for giving reverence to power, either civil or eccleſiaſtic, in the eyes of the people, who ſee no farther than exteriors. He was a perſon of good parts, and well verſed in the learned tongues: he was a good philoſopher; but a better theologiſt, had not his principles been too rigid in diſſenting from the church of England, as appointed by Edward VI. He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of Somerſet; and, perhaps, was more ſeverely treated on that account, when his great patron loſt the protectorſhip. In 1549, he became an accuſer of biſhop Bonner, when he was to be deprived of his biſhopric, which made him fare the worſe when queen Mary came to the crown.

Wood, p. 76.
Guthrie, p. 6.
Ibid.
Wood, p. 76.
Guthrie ut ſupra.
Wood.

After Hooper had practiſed himſelf in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him biſhop of Glouceſter, and about two years after he had the biſhopric of Worceſter given to him to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of Warwick recommended Hooper to this preferment, as a man who had all thoſe virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good biſhop, in his epiſtle to Timothy. But Hooper, having reſided in Switzerland, and imbibed ſome odd notions there, was the means of introducing thoſe diſputes about things indifferent, which have had ſince that time ſuch a fatal conſequence in the church. It was cuſtomary to wear ſuch garments and apparel as the popiſh biſhops uſed: firſt a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. The moſt ſenſible men are not without their weakneſſes and whims. Hooper was a man of learning, and of parts; but he had taken it into his head, that as theſe ſacerdotal veſtments were meer human inventions, brought into the church by cuſtom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the maſs, and conſecrated for that uſe, ſo they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements. In anſwer to this, it was told him by archbiſhop Cranmer, and biſhop Ridley, that though tradition in matters of faith was juſtly to be rejected; yet in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, cuſtom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long uſed. The archbiſhop therefore required Hooper to conform himſelf to the law: but he obſtinately refuſed a rochet, and Cranmer refuſed to conſecrate him without it. The earl of Warwick, who was then omniprevalent at court, wrote a letter to the archbiſhop, deſiring him not to inſiſt upon theſe ceremonies from the biſhop elect of Glouceſter; nor to "charge him "with an oath burthenſome to his conſcience." It is ſaid by ſome writers, that this was the oath of ſupremacy; but others, with more reaſon, conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbiſhop, which conſequentially commanded ſuch ceremonies as Hooper was willing to decline; for it is improbable that the king would diſpenſe with any perſon from taking the oath of ſupremacy, wherein his own dignity was ſo nearly concerned. Warwick alſo prevailed on the king to write a letter to Cranmer in favour of Hooper, wherein his majeſty told his grace, that "he had choſen Hooper to be biſhop of Glou"ceſter, as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long ſtudy, both in the Scrip"tures, and other profound learning; as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and "honeſt life for that kind of vocation. From conſecrating of whom, ſays the king, we "underſtand

Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 135.
Wood, p. 570.
Warner, p. 287.
Wood, p. 76.
Fox's Martyrs, 135.
Warner, p. 287.
Fox, p. 135.
Warner, p. 287.
Wood, p. 76.
Fuller, b. 7, p. 402.
Fox's Martyrs, p. 135.
Warner, p. 288.
Fuller, p. 403.

“ underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit, and let paſs certain rites and “ ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby ye think, you ſhould fall in præmunire “ of laws: we have thought good to diſpenſe, and diſcharge you of all manner of dangers, “ penalties, and forfeitures, you ſhould run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting “ any of the ſame.” This letter was dated the fifth of Auguſt 1550, and was ſigned by Somerſet, and five other lords of the council: but Cranmer inſiſted that *Hooper ſhould conform himſelf in all points, and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the* council confined him to his houſe. Cranmer conſulted Bucer and Martyr upon *this occaſion, who were alſo conſulted by Hooper, as mentioned in their lives. Hooper* continued ſtrong in his prepoſſeſſion, and many arguments were urged on both ſides, which later ages have more amply enlarged, and explained. Hooper then publiſhed a confeſſion of his faith, in which he complained of the privy-council. Upon this he was committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop, who uſed all his endeavours to bring Hooper off from his ſingularities, but without effect. His grace then informed the council, that his priſoner was not content with his nonconformity, but had offered to preſcribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to ſend him to the Fleet, and he continued there till the next year.

Fox's Martyrs, p. 135. Wood, p. 76. Warner, p. 289. Guthrie, p. 64, 115. Fuller, p. 106. Warner, p. 289.

This extraordinary ſeverity of the council towards ſo eminent a divine, is a proof that each party took its opportunity of perſecuting its enemies as occaſion preſented, or was taken from their noncompliance with the new ſyſtem of parliamentary religion.

Guthrie, v. 3, p. 65.

At laſt the earl of Warwick deſerted his chaplain; and the affair of Hooper, which had ſlept from Auguſt to March whilſt he remained in the Fleet, was reſumed. He was brought before the council, to explain himſelf on the difficulties which he had ſtarted. The objection he made to the oath was, the “ ſwearing by God, the ſaints, and the holy “ goſpels,” when none but God himſelf ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king ſtruck out thoſe words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be ſworn by. As to the point about the veſtments, it was compromiſed on theſe conditions: he was to wear the epiſcopal habit which was preſcribed, when he was conſecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and on other occaſions he was diſpenſed with. On theſe terms he was conſecrated in the uſual form; by which he loſt much of the popularity he had gained with his declamation againſt the eſtabliſhed rites. Both parties had violently contended about this matter, which was the means of introducing a contention into England that has been pernicious to the intereſts of religion and the church.

Fuller, p. 404. Warner, 295. Fox's Martyrs, p. 135.

Thus Hooper was conſecrated biſhop of Glouceſter, on the eighth of March 1551, and then preached before the king, in his epiſcopal habit. When he entered into his dioceſs, “ he left no pains untaken, nor ways unſought, how to train up the flock of Chriſt in “ the true word of ſalvation, continually labouring in the ſame.” He preached often, kept good hoſpitality for the poorer ſort of people, and was beloved by all.

Warner, p. 296. Wood, p. 76. Fox, p. 136. Wood, p. 76.

The ſee of Glouceſter was looked upon as a poor pittance for ſo great a divine, and, on the twentieth of May 1552, he was declared biſhop of Worceſter, in the room of Heath, who was then a priſoner in the Fleet, for refuſing to agree with the book of ordinations. Hooper was permitted to hold Worceſter in commendam with Glouceſter; for which he was cenſured by the Papiſts. “ But let ſuch know, that the dioceſes of Glouceſter and Worceſter “ lie contiguous: that many ſingle biſhoprics in England are larger than both, for “ extent in land, and number of pariſhes: that Dunſtan had the biſhopric of Worceſter “ and London with it at the ſame time, being far more remote: that it is not having “ two biſhoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the ſin; whereas Hooper, in preaching “ and viſiting, afforded double diligence in his double dioceſs.”

Guthrie, p. 105. Fuller, b. 7, p. 404. See Latimer's life.

The compliance of Hooper with the eſtabliſhed religion was, at this time, of great ſervice to the public: but this plurality conferred upon one prelate, is a proof how far the government began to deviate from the ſtrict maxim it had laid down, of not ſuffering a biſhop to keep even a parſonage in commendam. Hooper made a very good uſe of his power. He viſited both ſees, and did vaſt ſervices both to the church and ſtate of England. He made to the king a deed of gift of his biſhopric of Glouceſter, and of all the lands and annuities he enjoyed by the ſame. Soon after, that biſhopric was diſſolved, or rather united with the ſee of Worceſter, ſo that the juriſdiction of Glouceſter ceaſed. In the act of his tranſlation to Worceſter, he was made biſhop of the ſame, during his natural life, “ provided he behaved ſo long well.” But it is probable, the new biſhop enjoyed only a ſmall part of the revenues, conſidering the daily growing practice of courtiers begging for eccleſiaſtical revenues.

Guthrie, p. 105. Strype. Burnet.

When king Edward died, in 1553, religion was ſubverted, and this good biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by queen Mary to be at London, to anſwer Heath the deprived biſhop, and Bonner biſhop of London, for being one of his accuſers. Hooper was ſeaſonably adviſed to make his eſcape: but he was determined to bear the ſtorm, and ſaid, “ once I fled, and took me to my feet; now I will continue to live and die with my “ ſheep.”

Fox, p. 137. Wood, p. 76.

Fox, p. 137. Warner, p. 325. Guthrie, p. 131. Ib. 145. Warner, p. 346. Burnet's Abridg v. 2. p. 230. Warrer, p. 346.

“ ſheep.” He was brought up to London by a purſuivant in Auguſt, and was very opprobiouſly received by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who committed him priſoner to the Fleet on the firſt of September following. He remained there ſeveral months, during which time he was examined many times, and required to recant his opinions: but he ſtood conſtant and reſolute to the articles of his faith. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Ferrars, were alſo impriſoned. The archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of Briſtol, Cheſter, and St. David's, were deprived of their biſhoprics, for having been married. The ſees of Lincoln, Hereford, and Glouceſter, were declared void, becauſe thoſe biſhops had miſbehaved themſelves. Thus were ſeven biſhops turned out all at once, by an authority which the bigotted queen herſelf thought ſinful and ſchiſmatical; and their ſees were filled with men in whom ſhe confided.

Fuller, b 8, p. 10. See Ridley's life, p. 171. Warner, p. 353. Guthrie, p. 611. Warner.

The council proceeded with vigour in matters of hereſy, and removed Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to diſpute with ſome members of the convocation at Oxford, where they all ſuffered martyrdom. There was a deſign of the ſame nature to be executed at Cambridge, over ſome other biſhops and eminent clergy, who were in the ſeveral priſons of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's-bench: but the priſoners ſet forth a declaration, ſigned by Hooper, Ferrars, Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, and ſeven divines, that they would not diſpute unleſs in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houſes of parliament. To this declaration they added a ſummary of their belief; for which, they ſaid, they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter, or the fire, as it ſhould pleaſe God to appoint. This prevented any farther public conferences in religion; and it was determined to ſilence the Proteſtants more effectually in another manner.

Guthrie. p. 136.

It would be diſagreeable to particularize the numerous deprivations, hardſhips, expulſions, and impriſonments, which the Proteſtant party, both clergy and laity, women as well as men, underwent. The government had the parliament on its ſide, and drove on as furiouſly as could be wiſhed. Nothing was to be heard but declamations, from their moſt florid preachers, in favour of their religion. Nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets, but pageants expoſed by Papiſts, and pillories occupied by Proteſtants: yet no pomp could amuſe, no ſeverity could damp the ſpirit of the people.

Warner, p. 365. Fox's Martyrs, p. 137. Warner, p. 366. Fox's Martyrs, p. 138.

Gardiner chearfully undertook to put the laws in execution againſt heretics: but as the people could not be intimidated by his threats, or worked upon by his promiſes, the council ſent for the moſt popular preachers that were in cuſtody, to begin the ſeverities upon them, according to Gardiner's plan. It was reſolved that Hooper, as the moſt obnoxious to the government, if not the moſt popular in his own party, ſhould be the leading ſacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty-firſt of January 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of John Hooper clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a biſhop, if he would confeſs his hereſies, and return to the church, which he abſolutely refuſed. Three articles were then exhibited againſt him, for marrying, for allowing a divorce and ſecond marriage in the caſe of fornication, and for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. Hooper owned himſelf guilty of the accuſation; but offered to defend himſelf againſt all who ſhould maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the biſhops, who treated him with the utmoſt inſolence, and remanded him back to priſon.

Guthrie, p. 154. Fox, p. 155.

The two bloody biſhops of London and Wincheſter had a perſonal hatred at Hooper, who behaved with all the conſtancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correſpondence with Bullinger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he ſent his wife Anne, and her children, who was herſelf a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his ſentiments, none having been more active, or more ſucceſsful, than he was in the cauſe of reformation. Bullinger wrote him a long letter from Zurick, dated the tenth of October 1554, wherein he deſires Hooper to commend him to the moſt reverend fathers and holy confeſſors of Chriſt, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. He exhorts them all to be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good fight, and be faithful unto the end; as Chriſt was their captain; and all the prophets, and apoſtles, and martyrs, their fellow ſoldiers.

Ib. 139.

The commiſſioners had declared that Hooper ought to be deprived of his biſhopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-ſecond of January, at the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe at St. Mary Overy's. He was then aſked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt: therefore, he would not condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped juriſdiction; neither eſteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of Chriſt: “ for the church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and “ flieth the ſtrangers.” He was commanded back to the Fleet, and brought before the commiſſioners again on the twenty-eighth of January, together with Mr. John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's and reader of St. Paul's. They were both examined, and ſent away to be brought into court the next morning, to ſee if they would relent. They were conducted to the Compter in Southwark, by the ſheriffs of London; and Hooper ſaid to Rogers, as they walked through the ſtreet ſurrounded by the populace: "Come, brother Rogers, muſt "we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe faggots?" Rogers anſwered: "Yes, ſir, by God's grace." Doubt not, replied Hooper, but God will give "grace."

Fox, p. 140.

The next morning they were brought again before the commiſſioners, who ſate in judgment in St. Mary Overy's church. Hooper would by no means condeſcend to the commiſſioners, who condemned him to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the Clink, a priſon near the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe; from whence he was removed to Newgate the ſame night.

Ibid.

The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the ſtreets; and he was kept cloſe priſoner in Newgate ſix days. During this time he was frequently viſited by Bonner and his chaplains, who vainly endeavoured to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he deſpiſed; and then they ſpread a report that he had recanted. This report ſoon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved; and, on the ſecond of February, wrote a letter to diſprove that falſe and malicious ſtory; and to aſſure the world that he was more than ever confirmed in the Proteſtant faith, ſaying, "I have taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhall confirm the ſame by God's grace with my blood."

Ib. 141.

The biſhop of London came to Newgate, and degraded Hooper, after reading the ſentence of his degradation, wherein Hooper is called a Preſbyter, under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Wincheſter, by whoſe definitive ſentence he was pronounced, "an open, "obſtinate, and incorrigible heretic;" and, as ſuch, was to be degraded from his order, and for theſe demerits to be delivered to the ſecular power. "In degrading this bleſ"ſed biſhop, they did not proceed againſt him as a biſhop, but only as againſt a prieſt, "as they termed him; for ſuch as he was, theſe Balaamites accounted no biſhop."

Guthrie, p. 154.

Warner, p. 366.

Rogers was degraded at the ſame time, and died a martyr in Smithfield: but Hooper was impolitically ſent by the government to die at Glouceſter, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witneſſes of his ſufferings. By the order that was ſent to burn him at Glouceſter, the ſheriff was directed to call in ſome of reputation in the county to aſſiſt at his execution: and becauſe he was, ſays the order, "a vain-glorious perſon, as all "heretics are," he was neither ſuffered to ſpeak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection. He was much pleaſed at being carried to Glouceſter, that he might confirm with his death the truth which he had taught there in his life; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to perform the ſame to his glory.

Fox, p. 141.

On the fifth of February, before daylight, he was brought by the ſheriffs from Newgate, to a place appointed near St. Dunſtan's church in Fleet-ſtreet, where he was received by a body of the queen's guards, who were to carry him to Glouceſter. He eat a hearty breakfaſt, and leapt chearfully on horſeback without help. On the ſeventh he arrived at Glouceſter, where he found all the citizens aſſembled to ſee him, who cried and lamented for his condition.

Warner. Fox.

Fox, p. 142.

The next morning ſome of his friends were permitted to ſee him, among whom was Sir Anthony Kingſton, who found the good biſhop at his prayers, and burſt forth into tears, as he ſpoke in this manner: "I underſtand you are come here to die: but, alas, "conſider that life is ſweet, and death is bitter: therefore, ſeeing life may be had, de"ſire to live, for life hereafter may do good." The biſhop anſwered, "indeed, I am "come here to end this life, and to ſuffer death, becauſe I will not gainſay the former "truth that I have taught in this dioceſs, and elſewhere. I do not ſo much regard this "death, nor eſteem this life; but have ſettled myſelf, through the ſtrength of God's Holy "Spirit, patiently to paſs through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared "for me, rather than deny the truth of his word." The ſame night he was committed by the guard to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of Glouceſter, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great reſpect. He thanked them for their civility, and requeſted the ſheriffs, that "there might be quick fire, ſhortly to make an end." He told them, "he was not come there as one compelled to die; for it was well known he might have "had his life with worldly gain: but as one willing to offer and give his life for the "truth; rather than conſent to the wicked papiſtical religion of the biſhop of Rome, re"ceived and ſet forth by the magiſtrates in England, to the high diſpleaſure and diſho"nour of God: and he truſted, by God' grace, the next day to die a faithful ſervant of "God, and true obedient ſubject to the queen." He was not carried to the common jail of the city called North-gate; but lodged in the houſe of Mr. Robert Ingram, where he ſpent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, the commiſſioners appointed to ſee the execution came to the houſe; and at nine the biſhop was brought down from his chamber by the ſheriffs, and led to the ſtake between them like a lamb going to the ſlaughter. It was market-day, and about ſeven thouſand people were aſſembled on the occaſion, which made him

Fox, p. 143.

him ſay, “ Alas, why are theſe people here? Perhaps they think to hear ſomething of me “ now, as they have in times paſt; but, alas! ſpeech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding “ the cauſe of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their “ paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere doctrine out of the word of God: be- “ cauſe I will not now account the ſame to be hereſy and untruth, this death is pre- “ pared for me.”

He was dreſt in a gown of his hoſt's; a hat on his head; and a ſtaff in his hand to ſupport him, as the ſciatica, which he had contracted in priſon, made him halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he looked very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew. He frequently lifted up his eyes towards heaven as he paſſed along; and he was never known, ſince his being their biſhop, to look with ſo lively and ruddy a countenance as he did at that time.

Fox. Warner. Ibid. p. 366.

Fox, p. 143.

When he came to the ſtake, which was oppoſite the college of prieſts, where he was uſed to preach, he beheld the preparation for his death with a compoſed and ſmiling countenance. The place was ſurrounded with ſpectators, and the prieſts of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the biſhop was not permitted to ſpeak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr. Bridges, whom he knew, to hear it, which he did with great attention, and reported that the prayer was made upon the whole Creed, wherein the biſhop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of a prayer. When he was in the middle of this prayer, a box was brought, and laid before him on a ſtool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he ſaw it, he cried, “ If you love my ſoul, away with it; if you love my ſoul, “ away with it.” He was then permitted to proceed in his prayer, which he concluded in theſe words: “ Lord ſtrengthen me with thy goodneſs, that in the fire I break not “ the rules of patience; or elſe aſſuage the terror of the pains, as ſhall ſeem moſt to thy “ glory.”

Ibid.

Warner.

Guthrie, p. 154. Wood, p. 76.

Fox, p. 144.

When prayer was done, he prepared himſelf for the ſtake, and was undreſt to his ſhirt, which he truſſed between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burſt from the eyes of all the ſpectators as he was faſtened to the ſtake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was ſoon kindled: but the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame that it did not riſe up and ſuffocate him, nor deſtroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmoſt torment. He frequently called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire; which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his miſery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning. The account given by Fox of his long excruciating torments is terrible to hear, who ſays, he patiently bore the extremity of the fire, “ neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any ſide; but having “ his nether parts burnt, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his “ bed: and he now reigneth as a bleſſed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the “ faithful in Chriſt before the foundations of the world: for whoſe conſtancy all chriſtians “ are bound to praiſe God?”

Burnet, p. 252. Fox, p. 145.

This learned and pious prelate was thus cruelly martyred, like St. Polycarp biſhop of Smyrna, to whom he has been juſtly compared, on the ninth of February 1555, and in the ſixtieth year of his age.

Euſebius, lib. 4, ch. xv. Wood, p. 77. Fox, p. 146. Wood, p. 77.

He wrote twenty-four books and treatiſes when in priſon: beſides he wrote of the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are moſtly theſe: Anſwer to Gardiner's book, intitled, “ A Detection of the Devil's Sophiſtry: A Declaration “ of Chriſt and his Office: Leſſon of the Incarnation of Chriſt: Sermons on Jonas: A “ godly Confeſſion and Proteſtation of the Chriſtian Faith: Homily to be read in the time “ of the Peſtilence.” All theſe were wrote from 1549, to 1553: and he afterwards wrote; Epiſtola ad Epiſcopos, &c. An Exhortation to Patience, ſent to his wife: Sentences wrote in Priſon: Comfortable Expoſitions on the twenty-third, ſixty-ſecond, ſeventy-third, and ſeventy-ſeventh Pſalms: Annotations on the thirteenth Chapter to the Romans: Twelve Lectures upon the Creed: Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God: and he alſo tranſlated Tertullian's ſecond book to his wife, concerning the choice of a huſband or wife.

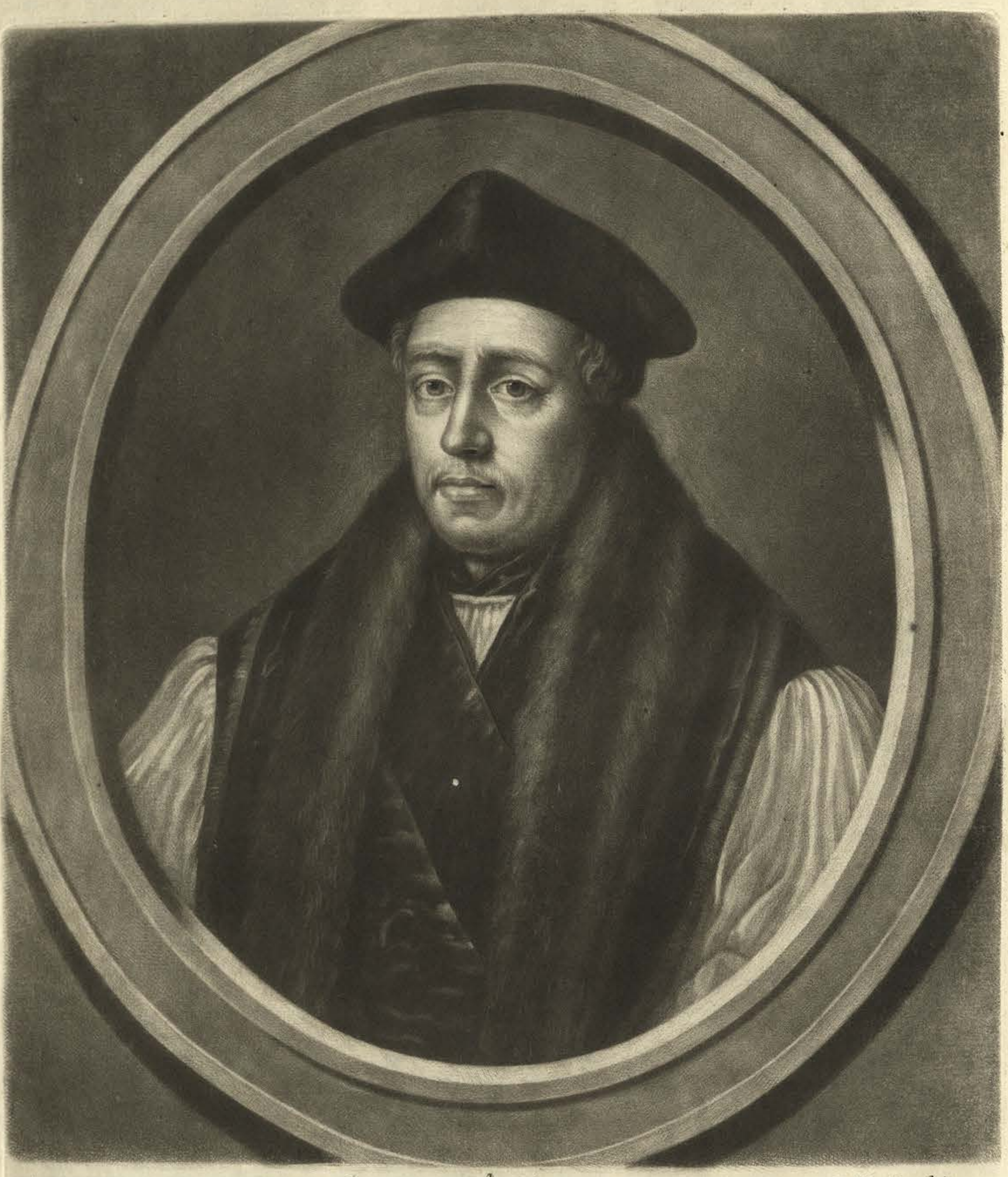
Warner, p. 367. Fuller, p. 405.

Warner.

The manner of his death being ſo very ſevere, very uncharitable reflexions were made upon it; as though he who had kindled the fire of diſſention about the veſtments, had ſuffered thus uncommonly for that reaſon. Ridley and Hooper were not fully reconciled till the reign of Mary, when Hooper had the honour to offer the firſt agreement, which Ridley embraced with a brotherly love, and ſeveral letters paſſed between them on that occaſion. They acknowledged their mutual faults in carrying things of ſuch indifference to ſo great a length, and aſſured each other of their ſincere love and affection. Happy would it have been for England, and much to the intereſt of religion, if the fires which conſumed theſe pious men had put an end to ſuch frivolous and idle conteſts! And if thoſe

who

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



R. Houston, fecit.

Thomas Cranmerus

Archie^{pus} Cant^{s} Martirio Coronatus A^{o} 1556. Mart. 21.

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who have ſince engaged in them with a furious zeal, would reflect more on the ſenſe which theſe good biſhops had of them when they were on the verge of another world, than on the heats into which they put them, when perhaps eaſe and plenty made their paſſions violent, it is probable they might be perſuaded to a little more humility and moderation.

The LIFE of Doctor THOMAS CRANMER,

ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

THIS moſt reverend father in God, and moſt exemplary martyr, was born on the ſecond of July 1489, at Aſlacton, a village about five miles from Nottingham. His anceſtors came in with William the Conqueror; and Cranmer-hall in Leiceſterſhire was their ancient inheritance. His father was Thomas Cranmer, who was poſſeſſed of a genteel fortune, and put his ſon at firſt to learn Grammar of a pariſh clerk, under whom he ſuffered much, and learned little. At the age of fourteen, he was ſent to Cambridge, where he loſt his time, till he was twenty-two, in the ſubtleties of the ſchools: but after that time he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the beſt Latin authors till 1517, when Luther began to write againſt indulgences, and expoſe the errors of popery. He took his degree of maſter of arts, and was choſen fellow of Jeſus-college: but the controverſies in Germany, induced Cranmer to ſtudy the holy Scriptures, and all good writers both new and old. Henry VIII. wrote a book againſt Luther in 1522, at which time Zuinglius was eſtabliſhing his doctrine in Switzerland. This made Cranmer examine what Luther had wrote, and he approved his doctrine, though he durſt not profeſs it at that time.

Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 610. Abridg. of Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 1.

See Luther's life, p 65, 67. Strype, p. 2.

See Luther's life, p. 77, 79.

“The abolition of taſte and literature were not the ſlighteſt abuſes proceeding from popery; the revival of letters was one of the principal ſervices effected by the reformation. The Romiſh clergy feared that if men read, they would think: it is no leſs true that the moment they thought, they wrote. The firſt author, as well as the firſt martyr among the Engliſh nobility, was Sir John Oldcaſtle, called the good lord Cobham: a man whoſe virtues made him a reformer, whoſe valour a martyr.” It would have been a noble preſent to the world, if this honourable author had inſerted the character of Cranmer in his learned catalogue, which would have exemplified the above obſervation.

Dupin's Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. b. 2, ch. 26, p. 148.

Catalogue of the royal and noble authors of England, v. 1.

In 1525, Cranmer married a gentleman's daughter; by which means he loſt his fellowſhip, and became divinity-reader in Buckingham-college, where he ſhewed himſelf a profeſſed enemy to the lazy, ignorant friars, who, in return, gave out that he was only an oſtler. His wife was kinſwoman to the hoſteſs at the dolphin-inn, with whom ſhe boarded; and he went frequently to viſit her there, which occaſioned that ſlanderous report. But his wife died in child-bed; and he was re-elected into Jeſus-college in 1526.

Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambriuge, p. 102.

Fox. Fuller.

In 1528, he was made doctor in divinity, and grew into ſuch great eſteem for his learning, that the univerſity appointed him one of the examiners of their ſufficiency, who commenced therein; and he would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unleſs they were ſubſtantially ſeen in the Holy Bible. The plague happened that year at Cambridge, which occaſioned the ſtudents to quit the colleges, and Cranmer removed to Waltham, with his principal pupils, to the houſe of Mr. Creſſy, whoſe wife was related to him.

Ibid. p. 123.

Fox. Fuller.

The cauſe of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Spain, had been in queſtion two or three years between the canoniſts, civilians, and other learned men. The king was impatient at the ſlow proceedings of the cardinals Wolſey and Campegius, the latter of whom he ordered back to Rome, and removed himſelf from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his houſhold removed to Greenwich; by which means it happened that the harbingers lodged doctor Gardiner and doctor Fox in the ſame houſe where doctor Cranmer reſided. Gardiner was ſecretary, and Fox was almoner to the king, whoſe divorce was principally conducted by them. The three doctors met at ſupper, when

Fox's Martyrs, p. 610.

See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 164.

the ſubject of the divorce was ſtarted, that the others might know the opinion of Cranmer upon it. He propoſed a new method, which was, that the king ſhould engage the chief univerſities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulneſs of his marriage; and if they gave their reſolutions againſt it, then it being certain that the pope's diſpenſation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage muſt be declared null. This was new, and ſeemed reaſonable; ſo they propoſed it to the king, who was much taken with it. He ſaw this way was both better in itſelf, and would mortify the pope extremely. He inſiſted that Cranmer ſhould be immediately ſent for, and brought into his preſence, when he fully ſatisfied the king of his learning and abilities. The king commanded him to digeſt his thoughts in writing upon that argument, and committed him to the care of the earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, named Sir Thomas Bullen, who then dwelt at Durham-houſe, and was judged a fit perſon for Cranmer to reſide with, as he had been employed in embaſſies to Rome and Germany about the ſame matter, and able to inſtruct Cranmer in particular paſſages relating thereto.

Burnet's Abridg. of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, v. 1, p. 53.
Strype, p. 4.
Fox, p. 611.
Strype, p. 4.

The king made Cranmer his chaplain, gave him a good benefice, and nominated him to be archdeacon of Taunton. Cranmer finiſhed his book in 1530, when he was commiſſioned, with Gardiner, Fox, and others, to diſpute the cauſe in queſtion in both the univerſities, and to procure their concluſions, which were given in favour of the divorce: and the foreign univerſities, as well as the principal reformers, concurred in the opinion, that "the marriage of a brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature."

Strype's Abridg. p. 5.
See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 165.

Cranmer and thoſe who favoured the divorce grounded their judgment upon arguments taken partly from ſcripture, and partly from the fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen. The main ſtreſs was laid on the laws in Leviticus, of the forbidden degrees of marriage; among which this was one, "not to marry the brother's wife:" and the caſe ſeemed clear from tradition, which was the only ſure expounder of the ſcripture. They examined the validity of the pope's diſpenſation; and aſſerted, that no authority being able to make what was a ſin in itſelf become lawful, every man that found himſelf engaged in a ſinful courſe of life, ought to forſake it; and, therefore, the king ought to withdraw from the queen; and the biſhops of England, in caſe of refuſal, ought to proceed to cenſures.

Burnet, p. 62.
Levit. ch. xviii. v. 16.
Doctor Fiddes.
Guthrie's, ſecond v. p. 1017.

A ſolemn embaſſy was then prepared and ſent to the biſhop of Rome, at the head of which was the earl of Wiltſhire, accompanied by the doctors Cranmer, Lee, Stokeſley, Carne, Bennet, and other learned men. They expoſtulated very roundly with the pope in the name of Henry; inſiſting on the prerogative of the crown of England; and that their maſter would not permit any citation to be made of him to a foreign court, and therefore would not conſent that his cauſe ſhould be tried at Rome. The earl of Wiltſhire delivered Cranmer's book to the pope; telling him, that there were learned men come along with him from England, who were ready to defend what was contained in that book, againſt all who ſhould contradict it. The pope often promiſed the ambaſſador to appoint a day for the diſputation; but it was a promiſe which he never performed. He knew, or ſuppoſed, that Cranmer was the author of that book concerning the king's marriage with Catharine; and he made him his penitentiary in England, Ireland, and Wales. The ambaſſador and all the others returned to England, except Cranmer, who continued at Rome to make good his challenge, and ſo far prevailed, that at laſt they openly granted even in the pope's chief court of the Rota, that the marriage was againſt the law of God: but the pope's diſpenſing power was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with on any account.

Fuller, b. 5, p. 180.
Burnet, p. 65.
Fox, p. 612.
Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. v. 2, p. 73.
Fox, p. 612.
Strype, p. 6.

In 1531, the king ſent Cranmer a commiſſion, with inſtructions to quit Rome, and repair to Vienna, as his ſole ambaſſador to the emperor in this great cauſe. The emperor appointed Cornelius Agrippa to diſpute with Cranmer, who eaſily brought his opponent over to his own ſide of the queſtion; ſo that he met with no oppoſition there, and took leave of the emperor.

Agrippa was judge of the prerogative court, and councellor to the emperor. He had a very great genius, with an extenſive knowledge of languages and things; but he drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Romiſh clergy by the freedom of his writings, which rendered him unhappy. He was perſecuted by the monks, and came to England, where he wrote on the epiſtles of St. Paul. He was thrown into priſon in 1535, where he died for expreſſing his mind too plainly upon the divorce of Henry VIII.

Ibid.
Bayle, v. 1, p. 145.
Strype, p. 7.

Cranmer went from Vienna to Nuremberg, where he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Oſiander, and married his niece. Oſiander was an eminent divine, and Cranmer perſuaded him to proceed in harmonizing the goſpels, which he did, and dedicated his work to Cranmer in 1537. Cranmer ſecured a commerce between the merchants of England, and the emperor's Low-Countries. The king alſo made uſe of him in another embaſſy, which was ſecretly made to the elector Frederic duke of Saxony. And he collected the opinions and judgment of the moſt learned men in Germany, as well in the univerſities as in the courts of princes, all agreeing with his own.

Burnet.
Strype.
Fox, p. 612.

King Henry laid the deciſions of the univerſities, the opinions that Cranmer procured abroad, and the books that were written for the divorce, before his parliament. There were twelve ſeals of univerſities ſhewed, and a hundred books produced, written on the ſame argument. Upon ſhewing theſe, the chancellor deſired them to report in their countries, that they clearly ſaw the king had not attempted this matter of his meer will and pleaſure, but for the diſcharge of his conſcience, and the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion of the crown. This was alſo brought into the convocation, who declared themſelves ſatisfied concerning the unlawfulneſs of the marriage: but the circumſtances they were then in, made their declaration not much conſidered; for they were then under the laſh. All the clergy of England were ſued as in the caſe of a præmunire, for having acknowledged a foreign juriſdiction, and taken out bulls, and had ſuits in the legatine court. But they were received into favour by granting a conſiderable ſubſidy, and acknowledging the king the protector and ſupreme head of the church of England.

Burnet, p. 67.
Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 1015.
See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 165.

Henry had no farther intercourſe with Catharine, who removed from court in July 1531; and the king privately married Anne Bullen on the fourteenth of November 1533. She was the earl of Wiltſhire's daughter, and eſteemed a zealous Proteſtant, ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of Cranmer, who was in Germany that year, where he received information of the death of Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury. Warham was a prelate of great worth and dignity: he had vaſt experience in buſineſs, and went a good way in the ſteps that had been taken towards the reduction of the papal power. Burnet calls him a great patron of learning, a good canoniſt, and wiſe ſtateſman: but ſays, he was a cruel perſecutor of heretics, and inclined to believe fanatic ſtories. The king reſolved to advance Cranmer to the vacant archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, and ſent him word of it, that he might make haſte over to England. But Cranmer had difficulties to get over before he could embrace this great offer; and even at laſt embraced it rather in obedience to the king, than to gratify any paſſion of his own for power and grandeur.

Burnet, p. 88.
Guthrie, v. 2, p. 1024.
Burnet, p. 90.
See the Life of Eraſmus, p. 36, 38.
Warner, p. 97.

A promotion ſo far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on Cranmer. He had a true and primitive ſenſe of ſo great a charge; and, inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was afraid of it, and he both returned very ſlowly to England, and uſed all his endeavours to be excuſed from that advancement. But this declining of preferment, being a thing of which the clergy of that age were ſo little guilty, diſcovered that he had maxims very far different from moſt churchmen. He returned to England without his wife, whom he privately ſent for in 1534. But the Papiſts ſaid, he was incapable of a biſhopric, as debarred by bigamy, having been twice married. *In ſaying this, they perverted the ſcriptural ſenſe; for the apoſtle only forbid the having of many wives at once, which was faſhionable among the Jews.*

Burnet, p. 90.
Fuller's Church *Hiſtory, b. 5, p. 185.*

Cranmer told the king he could not accept the archbiſhopric at the hands of the pope; becauſe the full right of donation of all manner of benefices appertained to his majeſty, and not to any foreign authority. The king conſulted Oliver, an eminent civilian, how he might beſtow the ſee upon Cranmer, without hurting his conſcience: and Oliver adviſed to have it done by way of proteſtation. Eleven ſeveral bulls were ſent to Rome, in order to his conſecration, which the pope granted; though it could not be very grateful to him, to ſend them to one who had ſo publickly diſputed againſt his power of diſpenſing. On the thirtieth of March, Cranmer was conſecrated by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digeſtion: ſo he made a proteſtation before he took it, that he conceived himſelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or country; and he repeated this when he took it; ſo that if this ſeemed too artificial for a man of his ſincerity, yet he acted in it fairly, and above board.

1 Tim. ii. 3.
Strype, p. 8.
Burnet, p. 91.
Strype, p. 9.
Fuller, p. 185.
Dupin's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. b. 2, p. 148.

Cranmer had read many of the books of Luther, and converſed with many of his followers, while he lived in Germany, which had given him an unfavourable idea of the uſurpations of the court of Rome, whoſe claims he thought unſcriptural and unjuſt. As the pope had not hitherto relaxed at all with regard to England, except by delaying the excommunication with which he threatened the king, ſo it was thought proper now to go one ſtep farther towards a breach; to let him ſee that the Engliſh were not afraid of his power, and that they could do their buſineſs themſelves without him. To this end, an act of parliament was paſſed, forbidding all appeals to Rome, on pain of a præmunire.

Burnet.
Warner, p. 97.
Ibid. 107.
See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 165.

The church of England having made a full deciſion of the diſpute by her repreſentatives in convocation, there remained nothing but to give judgment, and declare the marriage null. Cranmer aſſiſted at the wedding of Anne Bullen; and it is even ſaid that he performed the ſacred office. She began to ſhew her pregnancy, and her marriage could no longer be concealed. Catharine reſided at Ampthill, and Cranmer, with Gardiner and three other biſhops, went to Dunſtable, where they cited her, and declared her contumax. Anne was declared queen of England on Eaſter-Eve; and, on the twenty-third of May, ſentence was given againſt Catharine, declaring her marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the archbiſhop's titles in the beginning of the judgment, he is called, "Legate
" of

Warner, p. 109.
Lord Herbert.
Antiquitates Britannicæ.
Burnet, p. 93.
Warner, p. 110.
Dupin, p. 149.
Burnet.
Dupin.

Warner, Strype, p. 9. Warner, p. 118. Burnet, p. 95.

“ of the apoſtolic ſee;” which perhaps was added to give it the more force in law. The archbiſhop, in a few days after, by another judgment, confirmed the king's marriage with the lady Anne, who was crowned the ſame week, and Cranmer performed the ceremonies. The king ſent ambaſſadors to all courts to juſtify what he had done; and alſo ſent ſome to queen Catharine, to charge her, to aſſume no other title, but that of princeſs dowager.

Warner, p. 111.

In this manner ended the great affair of the king's divorce from queen Catharine; which had made ſo much noiſe all over Europe, which had given the king and his miniſters ſo much uneaſineſs, and which had occaſioned the revolt of the whole Engliſh nation from the ſee of Rome, as well as the ruin and deſtruction of many eminent men.

Burnet, p. 96. Dupin, p. 149.

Thoſe that loved the reformation, looked for better days under the protection of queen Anne: but many prieſts and friars, both in ſermons and diſcourſes, condemned the king's proceedings, which were reviſed by the pope, who annulled all that the archbiſhop of Canterbury had done.

Burnet. Warner, p. 120. Strype, p. 9. Shakeſpear's Henry VIII. the laſt ſcene.

On the ſeventh of September, the queen brought forth a daughter, the renowned queen Elizabeth, who made afterwards ſo great a figure, as we ſhall ſee, on the throne of England. Cranmer ſtood godfather to the young princeſs; and the prophetical words that our excellent dramatic poet has made him ſpeak on the occaſion are becoming his character.

Warner, 126. See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 165. Burnet, p. 107. Dupin, p. 150

The papal power had been greatly abridged in England; and after lopping off ſo many branches, it was now determined to attack the root. The parliament met in January 1534, and paſſed a bill for taking the pope's power away, wherein they appointed that all commerce with Rome ſhould ceaſe; but declared, they did not intend to alter any article of the catholic faith of Chriſtendom, or of that which was declared in the ſcripture neceſſary to ſalvation: they ſubjected all monaſteries to the king's viſitation; and the offenders againſt this law were to be puniſhed according to the ſtatutes of præmunire. They paſſed an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, and confirming the ſentence of divorce. They regulated the proceedings againſt heretics, and the election of biſhops. Thoſe that loved the reformation rejoiced both to ſee the pope's power rooted out, and to find the ſcripture made the ſtandard of religion.

Warner, 350. Fox's Acts and Mon. v. 2, p. 278. Burnet, p. 11'. Warner, p. 131, 136. Ibid. 134. Burnet, p. 116.

The black impoſture of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent, might have coſt the king his crown, if it had happened in a darker age, when all the world went mad after viſions. She had been troubled with hyſterical fits, which ſhe afterwards counterfeited, and was taught to ſpeak againſt the divorce, ſo as to threaten the king's death, if he married another wife. The parliament took the matter under conſideration, and detected the impoſture, for which ſhe, and ſix of her chief accomplices were attainted of treaſon, and executed. But at the interceſſion of queen Anne, as it is expreſſed in the act, all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned. The diſcovery of this diſpoſed all to look on older ſtories of the trances of monaſtical people, as contrivances to ſerve baſe ends, and made way for the ruin of that order of men in England.

Strype, p. 10. Warner, p. 135, 140. Burnet, p. 116 Dupin, p. 150. Strype, p. 11. Burnet, p 133. Warner, p. 146. Dupin, p. 151. Life of Henry VIII. p. 166.

A way was now opened for the reformation, for the accompliſhing of which archbiſhop Cranmer loſt no opportunity. That he might carry it on with true judgment, and juſtify it by good authorities, he made a great collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers and later doctors, in all the points of religion; in which Burnet ſays, he had ſeen two volumes in folio: but by a letter of the lord Burleigh's it appears, there were then ſix volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands. He was a man of great candour, and much patience and induſtry; and ſo was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of God then called him. Cromwell was his great and conſtant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities. They were oppoſed by another party headed by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almoſt all the clergy went into it. But there was now to be a revolution in the Engliſh church; whereby an end was put to that blind obedience to the ſee of Rome, which had enſlaved our anceſtors for ſo many ages, without any foundation in ſcripture or reaſon.

Burnet, p 134. Warner, p. 145. Ib. 143. Burnet, p. 134. Warner, 147. Fuller, b. 5, p. 194. Burnet, p. 136.

Cranmer repreſented to the king, that if he rejected the pope's authority, it was very abſurd to let ſuch opinions or practices continue in the church, that had no foundation but papal decrees. He ſaid England was a complete body within itſelf; and that every prince ought to reform the church in his dominions by a national ſynod, eſpecially when the pope could not be prevailed upon to hold a general council. Cranmer, at that time, made a long ſpeech in the houſe of lords, ſetting forth the neceſſity of a reformation. He begun with the impoſtures and deceit uſed by the canoniſts, and other courtiers at Rome. Then he ſpoke to the authority of a general council; and he ſhewed, “*that* it flowed “ not from the number of the biſhops, but from the matter of their deciſions, which were re“ ceived with an univerſal conſent. *That* Chriſt had named no head of the whole church, as God “ had named no head of the world; but that grew up for order's ſake, as there were archbiſhops “ ſet up over provinces; yet ſome popes were condemned for hereſy, as Liberius and others. *That* “ if faith muſt be ſhewed by works, the ill lives of moſt popes of late ſhewed, that their faith was “ to be ſuſpected; and all the privileges which princes or ſynods granted to that ſee might be

" recalled. *That* popes ought to ſubmit themſelves to general councils, and were to be " tried by them." He then ſhewed what were the preſent corruptions of the pope and his court, which required reformation. He told them the fathers had always appealed to the ſcriptures, as ſuperior in authority to councils, by which only all controverſies ought to be decided; and he thought, when the fathers all agreed in the expoſition of any place in ſcripture, that ought to be looked on as flowing from the ſpirit of God. He ſhewed how little regard was to be had to a council, in which the pope preſided; and that if any common error had paſſed upon the world, when that came to be diſcovered, every one was to be at liberty to ſhake it off, even though they had ſworn to maintain that error. This he applied to the pope's authority.

The nobility and gentry were generally well ſatisfied that the king had aſſumed a ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs: but the prieſts made the people believe that the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, were heretics: however, the biſhops and abbots ſwore to maintain the king's ſupremacy. Cromwell was made the king's vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters, with precedence of all next the royal family; and his authority was in all points the ſame, that the legates had in time of popery. He immediately betook himſelf to the diſſolution of the monaſteries, that the king might have their revenues; while Cranmer made his metropolitical viſitation in his province, and carried on the ſame deſign with Cromwell. The effect of theſe viſitations was the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, and their revenues given to the king.

Burnet, p. 138. Fuller, p. 199. Warner, p. 152. Burnet, p. 140. Dupin, p. 151. Warner, p. 148. See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 166.

The general viſitation was caſt into ſeveral precincts, and inſtructions were given to direct what things to enquire after. The viſitors were to declare all to be abſolved from any rules or oaths that bound them to obey the pope; and that all their ſtatutes tending to it, ſhould be raſed out of their books. They were to order, that the abbots *ſhould not* have choice diſhes, but plain tables for hoſpitality; *that the ſcriptures ſhould be read at* meals; that they ſhould have daily lectures *of divinity; and maintain ſome of every houſe* at the univerſity. The abbots were *required to inſtruct the monks in true religion,* and to ſhew them *that it did not conſiſt in outward ceremonies, but in cleanneſs of heart,* purity of life, and the worſhipping *of God in ſpirit* and *truth. The viſitors went over* England, and *found,* in many places, monſtrous diſorders. The *ſin of Sodom was found* in many houſes; great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in ſome they found tools for coining. The king was extremely incenſed againſt the monks, whom he conſidered as the great diſturbers of his repoſe; which, together with the proſpect of getting their eſtates into his hands, made him puſh the matter againſt them with the utmoſt violence. Cranmer promoted this much; both becauſe theſe houſes were founded on groſs abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them; and theſe were neceſſary to be removed, if a reformation went on. As ſoon therefore as the commiſſioners had given in their report, it was very induſtriouſly propagated over the kingdom, and fully anſwered the end which the king had in view. The whole nation was ſcandalized to the laſt degree, to find the places ſacred to retirement and devotion, a few excepted, given wholly to faction, lewdneſs, idolatry, or ſuperſtition; which made it eaſy for the king to get them ſuppreſſed in parliament.

Strype, p. 17. Burnet, p. 142. *Ib.* 147. Warner, 148. Burnet, p. 146. Warner, p. 148.

Paul III. ſucceeded Clement in the papacy, and perceived that the hopes of an accommodation with England were at an end. Therefore, to maintain the honour of the papal ſee, he excommunicated the king, abſolved all his ſubjects from their allegiance, ordered all eccleſiaſtics to leave the kingdom, and the nobility to take up arms againſt the king. He forbid Chriſtians of all nations to have any commerce with the Engliſh people, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and annulled all the treaties which foreign princes had made with Henry ſince his ſecond marriage, declaring the iſſue of it to be illegitimate.

Ib. 152. Dupin, p. 153. Warner, p. 152.

Queen Catharine died at Kimbolton on the eighth of January 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after ſhe came to England. She was a devout and exemplary woman, and highly eſteemed by all ſorts of people. The king appeared much affected at her death, and cauſed her to be interred in a monaſtery at Peterborough; which, for the honour of her memory, he reſerved when the reſt fell, and erected it into an epiſcopal ſee. The king ſoon after fell in love with Jane Seymour; and queen Anne fell a victim to his luſt, and the intereſt of the popiſh party. Anne Bullen was beloved by the nation, and was ſo much ſet on doing good, that the laſt nine months of her life ſhe gave above fourteen thouſand pounds in alms to the poor. The duke of Norfolk and others were ſent to examine her in the Tower. All the court was now turned againſt her, and ſhe had no friend about the king but Cranmer; therefore her enemies procured an order for him not to come to court. The archbiſhop put all to hazard, and wrote the king a long letter upon this critical juncture, wherein he confeſſed, he never had a better opinion of any woman than of the queen: that, next the king, he was more bound to her than to all perſons living: and that he loved her becauſe of the love which ſhe bore to God and his goſpel. The crime charged on her was, that ſhe had procured her brother and four others to lie with her, and had often ſaid to them, " that the king never had her " heart;" and this was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her, which

Burnet, p. 148. Dupin, p. 153. Warner, p. 153. Fox's Acts and Mon. v. 2, p. 308. Lord Herbert. Fuller, p. 206. Burnet, p. 152. Dupin. Warner, 158. Burnet, 155. Strype, p. 20. Ib. 156.

was treaſon by the act that confirmed her marriage: ſo the act that was made for her marriage, was now turned to her deſtruction. The queen, and her brother, the viſcount Rochford, were tried before the duke of Norfolk, as high ſteward, and a court of twenty-ſeven peers. The evidence, as appears by Spelman's account of it, who was then a judge, was only the declaration of a dead woman; but whether that was forged or real can never be known till the great day diſcovers it. She was condemned to be burnt, or beheaded, at the king's pleaſure, who was reſolved to illegitimate his daughter Elizabeth; and, in order to that, to annul his marriage with the queen. Henry remembered an engagement between her and the earl of Northumberland, before his majeſty had declared a paſſion for her. The fear of ſo terrible a death as burning, wrought ſo much on the queen, that ſhe confeſſed a contract: but the earl denied it poſitively, and took the ſacrament upon it, wiſhing that it might turn to his damnation, if there was ever either contract or promiſe of marriage between them. She was ſecretly carried to Lambeth, and confeſſed a juſt and lawful impediment; upon which, Cranmer was obliged to pronounce her marriage with the king to have been null and void. Theſe two ſentences contradicted one another; for if ſhe was never the king's wife, ſhe could not be guilty of adultery; becauſe there could be no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. She made great proteſtations of innocence to the laſt; but, when ſhe was on the ſcaffold, ſhe was prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the hard meaſure ſhe met with; nor to ſay any thing touching the grounds on which ſentence paſſed againſt her, only ſhe deſired that all would judge the beſt. Thus fell this unfortunate queen, in the bloom of youth, and beauty, by a ſentence unprecedented in England; occaſioned as much by the fickle, imperious, cruel temper of her huſband; as by the fraud, malice, and policy of her enemies. Her real crime with her enemies was her promoting the reformation; and her ſole offence againſt the king was, that ſhe had brought him a dead child, and could not prevent his inconſtancy by her charms.

Warner, p. 159. Burnet, p. 158.
Warner, p. 159. Fuller, p. 207.
Burnet, p. 160. Warner, p. 160. Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 309.
Fuller, p. 206.

The day after Anne Bullen's death, the king married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did: but ſhe was happy that ſhe did not outlive his love to her. This ſtrongly ſhews the rage and injuſtice of the king in the fall of queen Anne, of which the Proteſtant princes in Germany were ſo ſenſible, that they refuſed to make Henry the head of the confederacy entirely on this account.

Burnet, p. 161. Warner, p. 158. Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 309.

In the parliament of 1536, two farther acts were paſſed againſt the papal power. The convocation, or rather an aſſembly of all the biſhops, ſate at the ſame time, and was muh employed in examining ſome points of religion. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by the fall of queen Anne; and the enemies of the reformation complained of ſixty-ſeven opinions that they found were much ſpread in the kingdom: but all their projects failed; for Cranmer was fully eſtabliſhed in the royal favour; and Cromwell was ſent to the convocation with a meſſage from the king, that they ſhould reform the rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the rules ſet down in ſcripture, which ought to be preferred to all gloſſes or decrees of popes. Cranmer took occaſion to ſhew the vanity of the ſchool-divinity, and proved the abſolute neceſſity of the ſcriptures to all the purpoſes of religion. He preſſed a reformation; and, after a ſharp conteſt againſt Edward Lee archbiſhop of York, Gardiner, and others, they agreed on the following articles of religion, which made a great change in the doctrine and diſcipline of the church.

Warner, p. 165. Burnet, p. 166. Warner, 163.
Strype, 18, 166. Burnet, p. 168.

1. That the biſhops and preachers ought to inſtruct the people according to the ſcripture, the three creeds, and the four firſt general councils. 2. 3. That baptiſm and penance were neceſſary to ſalvation. 4. That in the Euchariſt, under the forms of bread and wine, were the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt. 5. That juſtification was the remiſſion of ſins, and a perfect renovation in Chriſt; and that not only outward good works, but inward holineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary. The other articles concerned only the rites and ceremonies of the church, as what related to images, ſaints, ceremonies in worſhip, and purgatory.

Warner, 166. Dupin, p. 152. Fuller, p. 215. Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 322.

Roger Aſcham, the orator of the univerſity of Cambridge, could not endure the ſmell of fiſh, and applied to Cranmer for a diſpenſation to eat fleſh, in Lent, and on fiſh-days, which were then ſtrictly obſerved in the colleges. The archbiſhop knew him not; but received his ſuit with all humanity. But whether he thought it out of his power to grant a licence of that latitude; or to avert the cenſure that he might incur, if he ſhould have done it by his own authority; or reckoning it a matter of law, rather than religion, he put himſelf to the trouble of procuring the king's licence under the privy-ſeal for Aſcham: and when he had done that, conſidering an academic's poverty, he releaſed him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himſelf. The archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent, made way for his more ready yielding to Aſcham's requeſt; for he held the keeping of Lent, as founded in a poſitive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it neceſſary that ſo the people ſhould be taught and inſtructed.

Warner, p. 168. Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 581. Ib. 583.
Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. 3, ch. 15, p. 246. Jortin, p. 572.

The ſame year, Cranmer ſent Eraſmus a preſent of eighteen angels. The Engliſh nation abounded with diſcontented people, and inſurrections and rebellions enſued. The latter times of Henry VIII. may be compared well enough with thoſe of the emperor Conſtantius, who was cruel towards all that truly or falſely were charged with treaſon. The new queen was delivered of a prince; but died in child-bed, in 1537. Cranmer and Cromwell, ſeeing their hopes of the reformation decay, after the deaths of Anne Bullen and Jane Seymour, thought it neceſſary to ſupport their party by marrying the king to Anne of Cleve. Cromwell ſoon after loſt his life for making this match; but Cranmer ſtill had the favour of the king. The Bible was tranſlated into Engliſh by the means of Cranmer, who began with the New Teſtament, taking Tindal's tranſlation, which he divided into ten parts, and ſent to the beſt learned biſhops, and others, each of them a part, to make a perfect correction thereof. It was printed in Auguſt 1537, by Richard Grafton; and the archbiſhop ſaid, this gave him more good than the gift of ten thouſand pounds. Cromwell procured a general warrant from the king, allowing all his ſubjects to read it; for which Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwell, "and rejoiced to ſee the day of reformation now riſen in England, ſince the word of God ſhone over it all, without a cloud." The clergy were ordered to ſet up Bibles in their churches, and to encourage the people to read them; as alſo to teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. Some of the main points of the former ſuperſtition were alſo ſtruck at, about images, pilgrimages, and the invocation of ſaints: but the free uſe of the Scriptures gave the deadlieſt blow to all; and all the clergy ſubmitted to them without any murmuring.

Warner, p 163. Rapin. See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 166. Warner, p. 184. Strype's Abridg. p. 15, 25. Burnet, p 203. Warner, p 181.

The king drew up ſix articles, which the duke of Norfolk offered to the parliament. The firſt was for the corporal preſence. 2. For communion in one kind. 3. For obſerving the vows of chaſtity. 4. For private maſſes. 5. For the celibacy of clergy: and the ſixth was for auricular confeſſion. The king intended by theſe articles to ſcreen himſelf from the imputation of hereſy and innovation. Cranmer was the only perſon who had courage of mind enough to oppoſe the eſtabliſhing theſe articles by act of parliament: he argued againſt them for three days together in the houſe of lords with great ſpirit and judgment: but he was ſingle and unſupported. When it came to the vote, the king deſired Cranmer to go out; but he excuſed himſelf; for he thought he was in his conſcience obliged to vote againſt it. Theſe articles were paſſed into a law, whereby none were ſuffered to ſpeak a word againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, upon pain of being burnt to death as a heretic, without the benefit of abjuration; and it was made felony to diſpute againſt the other five articles, or for married prieſts to retain their wives.

Warner, p. 186. Burnet, 211. Dupin, p. 152. Strype, p. 36.

The poor reformers were now expoſed to the rage of their enemies, and had no comfort from any part of it but one, that they were not delivered up to the cruelty of the eccleſiaſtical courts, or the trials *ex officio*; but were to be tried by juries; yet the denying the benefit of abjuration was a ſeverity without a precedent, and was a forcing martyrdom on them, ſince they were not to be the better for their apoſtacy. The king ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the arguments he had uſed againſt the ſix articles, and bring them to him. By the ſtatutes, this was a crime which might bring a man to the ſtake: but the archbiſhop, confiding in the king's honour and friendſhip, drew up his reaſons which had induced him to oppoſe this law; grounded chiefly on the ſcriptures, and the authority of the ancient doctors of the church. The Roman zealots ſeconded their blow by a "book of ceremonies, to be uſed by the church of England," all running after the popiſh ſtrain: but our laborious metropolitan anſwered it himſelf, and prevented its reception.

Burnet, p. 215. Warner, p. 187. Burnet, p. 221. Warner, p. 193. Strype, p. 38.

Cranmer procured an order that all private perſons might have Bibles in their houſes, which was vehemently oppoſed by Gardiner, who inſiſted, that, without tradition, it was impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of the ſcriptures; and one day, before the king, he challenged Cranmer to ſhew any difference between the ſcriptures and the apoſtles canons. The iſſue of the debate was, the king judged in favour of Cranmer, and ſaid, he was an old experienced captain, and ought not to be troubled by freſh men and novelties.

Burnet, p. 226.

Cromwell was beheaded in 1540, having been deſerted by all his friends except Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour; but to no purpoſe, though he was condemned without the knowledge of what he was guilty. The next work of the popiſh party was to ſacrifice Cranmer, who became inſtrumental to the reformation in Scotland. Gardiner and his party preferred bills of accuſation againſt Cranmer's chaplains upon the ſtatute of the ſix articles; and they drew up another book againſt the archbiſhop himſelf.

Rapin. Burnet, p. 234. Strype, p. 38, 49. Burnet, p. 272. Strype, p. 55.

Gardiner employed many to infuſe it into the king, that Cranmer gave the chief encouragement to hereſy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root ſtill growing. The king till then would never hear the complaints that were made of Cranmer: but he was now willing to draw out all that was to be ſaid againſt him, that he might penetrate into the depth of this deſign, which he found was conducted by Gardiner. His majeſty went in his barge to Lambeth, and ſhewed the archbiſhop the accuſations that had been alledged againſt him. His grace confeſſed he was ſtill of the ſame mind as when he firſt oppoſed the ſix articles, though he had done no-

Burnet, 280. Fox's Martyrs, p. 619. Warner, 216.

thing contrary to them, and deſired the king that he might have a trial. Henry then aſked him about his wife; and Cranmer ſaid, he had ſent her into Germany on the paſſing of this act. His majeſty was ſo charmed with his openneſs and integrity, that he diſcovered the whole plot that was laid againſt him, and inſiſted on his proceeding againſt his enemies. But the good archbiſhop made it appear, that he was actuated by that meek and lowly ſpirit that become all the followers of Chriſt; more eſpecially one that was ſo great an inſtrument in reforming the Chriſtian religion; and did in ſuch eminent acts of charity ſhew that he himſelf practiſed what he taught others to do. However, the ſeverity of the ſix articles was qualified by parliament to prevent ſuch diſcoveries for the future. But another deſign was laid againſt Cranmer's life, in 1546, which the king alſo diſcovered to him, and upbraided his enemies, who were then convinced of his majeſty's unalterable favour to him, and never made any more attempts upon him. The archbiſhop had hitherto wore his paternal coat of arms, which were three cranes ſable: but the king now altered them into three pelicans feeding their young with their own blood, and told his grace, "that thoſe birds ſhould ſignify to him, that he ought to be ready, "like the pelican, to ſhed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of "Chriſt:" for, ſaid the king, "you are like to be tried, if you will ſtand to your tackling at length:" which accordingly happened.

Burnet, p. 281.
Warner, p. 217.
Ib. 222.
Strype, p. 66.
Fox's Martyrs, 619.
Burnet, p. 294.
Strype, p. 70.
Ib. 202.

Gardiner then attempted to perſuade the king that his queen Catharine Parr was a heretic; but ſhe artfully eſcaped the danger; and theſe attempts againſt her and the archbiſhop proved very prejudicial to the enemies of the reformation. Cranmer would not meddle in their diſgrace and fall, but retired to Croydon, while the attainder paſſed againſt the duke of Norfolk, and continued there till the king ſent for him when he was dying. His majeſty was ſpeechleſs before Cranmer came; however, his grace deſired, that, if the king was ſenſible, he would give ſome token of his dying in the faith of Chriſt; upon which he ſqueezed the archbiſhop's hand, and ſoon after expired.

Guthrie,
Warner, 224.
Burnet, 296.
See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 166.

Henry was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward, under whoſe government and protection the ſtate of Cranmer, who was his godfather, was not impaired, but advanced. The archbiſhop was one of the council appointed by the late king's will. He was now emancipated from the conſideration of fear, intereſt, and gratitude, that had fettered him during the late reign. He had the ends of reformation ſo much at heart, that he had not enough attended to the rectitude of means. His parts were ſlow, but ſure; his zeal was gentle, but ſtrong: in conduct he was not intrepid, but perſevering: he ſometimes deviated from the road, but he never loſt ſight of the object; and, when he was at liberty to return to the right path, his approaches to reformation were ſwift, though ſilent; for his motions were quickened when the reſtraint was removed.

Burnet, 301.
Warner, 227.
Strype, p. 77.
Fox's Martyrs, p. 624.
Guthrie, v. 3, p. 6.

The lord protector aſſiſted Cranmer in the reformation; and they attempted to win Gardiner over to their party in vain. Cranmer's labours were well ſeconded by Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, who were afterwards his fellow martyrs in the cauſe of reformation; but the characters of all this illuſtrious quadriumvirate differed one from the other. Cranmer was moſt reſpected, Latimer moſt followed; Ridley beſt eſteemed, and Hooper moſt beloved. The art and addreſs of Cranmer proved a happy balance to the zeal of Latimer; while the relaxed notions of Hooper were tempered by the wiſdom and virtue of Ridley.

See the Life of Edward VI. p. 167.
Warner, p. 241.
Guthrie ut ſupra.

The young king was crowned by the archbiſhop, who made an excellent ſpeech, wherein he explained the ends of the ſolemn rites of coronation; and ſhewed, that it was not in the power of biſhops, after having anointed the kings, to receive or reject them. He exhorted the young king to follow the precedent of good Joſias, to regulate the worſhip of God, to ſuppreſs idolatry, reward virtue, execute juſtice, relieve the poor, repreſs violence, and puniſh the evil-doer.

Strype, p. 78.

This ſpeech occaſioned a royal viſitation to be reſolved on, for rectifying the diſorders of the church, and reforming religion. The greateſt difficulty which Cranmer met with in his deſign, was the miſerable condition of the parochial clergy, and the want of able men to propagate it over England. He had procured ſeveral of the beſt books, written abroad againſt popery, to be tranſlated and publiſhed in England. He likewiſe publiſhed a Catechiſm, which he tranſlated and improved from the Latin, and was principally aimed at the aboliſhed worſhip. He alſo compoſed ſeveral homilies, to be delivered by prieſts, many of whom were too ignorant for compoſing ſermons. Theſe, with a great number of other tracts, diffuſed the principles for reformation; and part of the Engliſh ſervice, for the Evening-Prayer was ſaid in the king's chapel. The Sacrament was adminiſtered in both kinds; the doctrine of purgatory was exploded with the reformed, and the marriage of the clergy was allowed.

Burnet's Abridg. v. 2, p. 24.
Warner, 243.
Guthrie, p. 12.
Warner, 261.

The book of homilies was chiefly compoſed by Cranmer, and was intended principally to explain the method of our ſalvation according to the goſpel. Beſides this book of homilies, and the Bible, it was likewiſe ordered there ſhould be in every church, Eraſmus's Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament tranſlated into Engliſh, for the inſtruction of the leſs learned part of the clergy, as well as the people.

Warner, 243.
Strype, p. 80.

The ſix articles made by king Henry, had been more obſerved than the injunctions publiſhed by Cromwell, and a new ſet of injunctions were given to the viſitors to diſtribute throughout every pariſh. They ſummoned the biſhop and the members of each cathedral, who were to take the oath of ſupremacy, and preſent all things in their church and dioceſe that were neceſſary to be reformed. The injunctions were thirty-ſix in number, which ſhew the moderation of the reformers, and the wiſdom and care of the good archbiſhop: but they likewiſe ſhew to what a degree of corruption and ſuperſtition the church of England was degenerated, and how much it ſtood in need of a reformation: and "it would be well for the church and for religion, if ſome of theſe corruptions did "not continue to this day to be complained of."

Warner. Strype, p. 79. Fuller, p. 372. Burnet, v. 2, p. 32. Warner, p. 245.

The viſitors met with little oppoſition; and Cranmer ſucceſsfully carried on the reformation, till the fall of his illuſtrious friend the lord protector, as mentioned in the life of king Edward. The archbiſhop wrote the true doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, for the public inſtruction of the church of England, which was received in the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was anſwered by Gardiner, whom the archbiſhop eaſily confuted in open court at Lambeth. The Sacrament being the commemeration of Chriſt's ſacrifice on the croſs, and ſo by a figure of ſpeech being called a ſacrifice, the people were taught to imagine, that the conſecration and conſuming of the elements by the prieſts was an action expiatory in itſelf both for the dead and living. Hence aroſe that infinite number of maſſes in the church of Rome, for ſaints, for ſouls, for rain, for health, for any particular bleſſing, and indeed for all the accidents of human life, which were diſtinguiſhed only by the variation of a collect. But this whole trade of maſſing was now removed by an act about the ſacrament, which reformed thoſe abuſes, and ordained that the people ſhould receive it in both the kinds of bread and wine, agreeable to the firſt inſtitution of Chriſt, and the primitive practice of the church.

Strype, p. 132. Ib. 168. Fox's Martyrs, p 624. Strype, p. 131. Burnet, p. 36. Warner, p. [illegible] Ib. 261. Strype, p. 84.

Cranmer went on labouring and writing to root up the ſuperſtition, and to remove the prejudices of his countrymen: but he was oppoſed in his deſign by many, eſpecially in the univerſities. However, under all this oppoſition, and even under all this abuſe, his ſpirit breathed nothing but gentleneſs and perſuaſion. When it was obſerved to him, that if his opponents had the power which he then poſſeſſed, they would ſhew his grace no favour; he replied with the piety of a true Chriſtian, "Well, if God ſo provide, we muſt abide it."

Warner, 256.

The archbiſhop had ſeveral learned men in his family; ſome of which he ſent for from abroad, and entertained others in compaſſion, who were exiles for religion. Among the former were Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr, who, by the direction of his grace, wrote to the princeſs Elizabeth, commending her ſtudy in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein. Thoſe two eminent divines were preferred to public places of reading in the univerſities, where they were of great ſervice to the reformation, as is ſhewn in their lives. The archbiſhop employed Bucer in reviewing the book of Common-Prayer; and the foreign Proteſtants had ſuch joy and ſatisfaction with this eſtabliſhment of religion in England, that the heads of them, ſuch as Calvin and Bullinger, offered to make king Edward the defender of their faith, and to have epiſcopal churches, the better to aſſiſt and unite together. But this was prevented by the council of Trent, who concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall if that union was not ſtopt. However, ſeveral congregations of foreigners came and ſettled in England.

Strype, p. 106. Warner, p. 290. Strype, p. 110. Ib. 126. King Edward's own Diary.

"Maſs for the lady Mary was denied to the emperor's ambaſſador. Joan Bocher, otherwiſe called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding, that Chriſt was not incarnate of the "Virgin Mary. And the biſhop of Wincheſter, after a long trial, was depoſed his biſhopric." Commiſſioners were ſent to enquire about church ornaments in 1552; and but one ſilver chalice was left to each church. A commiſſion was iſſued to the archbiſhop and ſeveral others to reform the eccleſiaſtical laws, which work was to be ſuperviſed by his grace, who brought it to perfection: but it wanted the royal ratification, which was delayed, partly by buſineſs, and partly by enemies. His grace alſo preſided among the commiſſioners who drew up the book containing the forty-two articles of religion; which he had long bore in his mind, as excellently ſerviceable for the creating of a concord and quietneſs among men, and for the putting an end to contentions and diſputes in matters of religion.

Fuller, p. 417. Sir John Hayward. Warner, p. 305. Strype, p. 134. Fuller, p. 421. Strype, p. 135.

The laſt thing we hear of concerning Cranmer in this reign, was his denial to comply with the new ſettlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane Grey. When that inſtrument was to be ſigned by the privy-council, the archbiſhop was abſent; and when he was preſſed to ſet his hand as the reſt had done, he oppoſed the whole tranſaction with great vehemence. Nothing could move him to conſent to the diſinheriting of the daughters of his late ſovereign, till the dying king requeſted it in a very moving manner; ſaying, that he hoped his grace alone would not ſtand out, and be more repugnant to his will, than all the reſt of the council were. Such a requeſt, and intended for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, made a great impreſſion upon the archbiſhop, who firſt ſpoke with the judges, and then ſubſcribed.

Ib. 146. Warner, p. 310. See Edward's life, p. 169. Strype, p. 147. Fox's Martyrs, p. 625.

Warner, p. 111. Ib. 323.

Soon after the king died; but was not interred till after Mary was crowned, when archbiſhop Cranmer performed the funeral ſervice with a ſorrowful heart, according to the form in the Common-Prayer Book. He mourned for him as his godſon, as his pupil, and his king.

Ib. 316. See, p. 170. Strype, p. 149. Rapin.

Queen Mary, with very bloody ſteps, aſcended the throne; from whence ſhe hurled deſtruction on the fair fabric of the new religion, by deſtroying its principal ſupporters, as mentioned in the lives of Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper. Lady Jane Grey was not allowed the liberty of a private ſtation, by the unbounded ambition of her father-in-law the duke of Northumberland: but that excellent lady loſt her life, to gratify his luſt of power, which alſo ruined himſelf and almoſt all his family. Cranmer appeared among the council which proclaimed queen Jane, and was one of thoſe who ſigned the letter to Mary, whoſe diſpoſition he knew, and was willing to ſupport lady Jane, in hopes of ſupporting the reformation.

Rapin. See Ridley's life, p. 170. Fox, p. 28. Strype, p. 158. Fox's Martyrs, p. 4. Rapin.

The duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Bonner, with ſome others, were releaſed from the Tower. Mary's firſt care was to eſtabliſh her own religion, and oblige the kingdom to return immediately to what ſhe called, "the union of the Catholic church." She appointed Gardiner her chancellor, to whom, with Bonner, ſhe entruſted the bloody work of deſtroying the reformation. The reformed foreigners were permitted to leave the kingdom; which was the only act of mildneſs and equity ſhewn in this reign, with reference to religion. The deprived biſhops were reſtored; and the reformed biſhops were impriſoned: the reformation laws were repealed; and the old laws revived: popery reflouriſhed, and the reformation ſeemed loſt.

Fox's Martyrs, p. 626. Warner, p. 328. Strype, p. 152. Ib. 156. Burnet, p. 205. Warner, p. 327.

Cranmer had ſaved the life of Mary, meerly by his ſollicitation, when her father intended to put her to death: but ſhe had conceived a mortal averſion to him, on account of the ſentence of divorce which he pronounced againſt her mother. Mary alſo called Cranmer the chief of heretics, and marked him out for deſtruction. He had eſcaped a ſnare laid for him in the ſtar-chamber: but he was cited before the council, and ſent to the Tower, on an accuſation of Treaſon, and of publiſhing ſeditious libels. The charge of treaſon was for ſigning the inſtrument of lady Jane's ſucceſſion; and that of ſedition was for publickly offering to maintain the reformation made under the late king. The archbiſhop had been adviſed to quit the kingdom, and avoid the ſtorm that was ruſhing on the Proteſtants, of whom about a thouſand fled to Germany and Switzerland: but the archbiſhop was determined to face the danger, and juſtify his doctrine: he would not perſuade others to abide a perſecution; yet, conſidering the poſt he held, and the principal hand he had in the reformation, he thought it an indecent thing for him to fly abroad; and no entreaties could prevail on him to go.

Strype, 164.

Holgate archbiſhop of York, Ridley, and Latimer, were alſo committed to the Tower, which was ſo crouded with priſoners, that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thruſt together into one chamber. They read over the New Teſtament with great care and ſtudy, to ſee if they could find any thing that might favour the popiſh doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: but they could find none; nor any thing to ſhew that the maſs was any ſacrifice for ſin.

Rapin. Warner, p. 333. Burnet, p. 211. Guthrie, v. 3, p. 136. Ib. 138. Warner, p. 344. Ib. 142. Fox, p. 19.

A corrupt parliament was procured, who complied with every meaſure that could oblige the court. They abrogated all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and reſtored every thing belonging to the ancient religion. The pope ſent cardinal Pole as his legate, "to bring back to the fold of Chriſt the ſheep that were gone aſtray." And, as the parliament had fully reſtored the papal authority, the legate granted the kingdom a full abſolution, which was received by both houſes on their knees. Thus every thing was brought back to the ſame ſtate as before the twentieth year of Henry VIII. with this additional grief to the Proteſtants, that the queen was married to Philip king of Spain, who came to England, where it was feared he would introduce the Auſtrian tyranny, and the Spaniſh inquiſition. Wiat's rebellion was ſuppreſſed, and the princeſs Elizabeth was impriſoned; after which, the whole kingdom became a bloody ſcene of papal fury, revenge, and cruelty.

Burnet, p. 224. Guthrie, p. 132. Strype, p. 162. Guthrie, p. 134. Warner, p. 334. Fox, p. 18. Warner, p. 336.

Cranmer was committed to the Tower on the fourteenth of September 1553, and was arraigned for treaſon in Guildhall, on the thirteenth of November following, with lady Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. As the government affected great lenity, they all pleaded guilty; though the queen was reſolved they ſhould die. Cranmer made a ſpeech to the judges, wherein he endeavoured to mitigate his crime, by appealing to the knowledge of thoſe who were preſent, if he had not refuſed to ſign the will until the judges pronounced it to be legal. The other members of the council who had ſigned king Edward's will were pardoned, and ſo was Cranmer of the treaſon; but his death was decreed, and it was reſolved he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy, with the other biſhops.

Burnet, p. 219.

The archbiſhop of York died in the Tower, with grief and affliction: but Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were reſerved to receive the crown of martyrdom. The whole convocation had been confuted by Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter, in a debate about the corporal preſence. Many complaints were made that the diſputes in this convocation had not been fairly carried on, that the moſt eminent reformed divines were detained in priſon, and of thoſe who had a right to be in the houſe but few were permitted to ſpeak, and that not without interruption and menaces. It was therefore reſolved to adjourn the convocation, and to continue the debate at Oxford, where Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were ſent, to give ſome ſanction to ſuch an arbitrary conference, as mentioned in Ridley's life.

Warner, p. 349.
Ib. 171.

Sir John Williams, on the eighth of March 1554, by order of the council received from the Tower of London, the archbiſhop and the two biſhops, and carried them through Windſor, and ſo down to Oxford, there to diſpute concerning their faith. Cranmer was confined to Bocardo, and the other two to other places, where they were kept apart. Weſton the prolocutor, and ſome members of the convocation, with others from both the univerſities, amounting to thirty-three in all, appeared as commiſſioners to conduct the Oxford diſputation, againſt the three Proteſtant prelates. The queen and her biſhops had concluded what ſhould become of the archbiſhop, who was to ſuffer the more terrible death of fire as a heretic, inſtead of ſuffering by the ax as a traitor: yet they would have the matter debated by arguments, that under ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation, the murder of the man might be covered. The whole was a farce; for the three prelates were privately condemned, before they were publickly heard, and were treated with great indignation.

Guthrie, p. 145.
Burnet, p. 235.
Strype, p. 177.
Ib. 172.
Fox's Martyrs, p. 626.
See Ridley's life, p. 171.

The commiſſioners, after they had dined, held their court before the altar in the univerſity church of St. Mary, and the mayor, with a guard, brought Cranmer before them on the fourteenth of April. Weſton opened the court, by recommending unity, and declaring the articles upon which they were to diſpute. Theſe were: "Whether the natural "body of Chriſt was really in the Sacrament? Whether any other ſubſtance did remain "but the body and blood of Chriſt? And whether in the maſs there was a propitiatory "ſacrifice for the ſins of the dead and living?" To what was ſaid about the unity of the church, the archbiſhop replied with ſo much modeſty and ſolemnity, and in ſuch pathetic terms, that moſt of the audience wept. As ſoon as the queſtions were ſhewed his grace, he aſſerted they were not true, and that he would maintain the negative. The archbiſhop was diſmiſſed for that day; after which Ridley and Latimer ſucceſſively made their appearance, and both followed the example of Cranmer.

Fox, p. 34.
Strype, p. 172.
Fox, p. 33.
Warner, p. 350.

On the ſixteenth the archbiſhop was brought into court again, which was held in the divinity-ſchool, and ſeated in the reſpondent's place. Weſton opened the debate with a ſtrange blunder, which Cranmer would not condeſcend to rebuke: but he overthrew Chedſey, who was his firſt opponent; and delivered in writing his anſwers to the three propoſitions. Firſt, he denied the corporal preſence; but granted an effectual one. To the ſecond, he ſaid, it ſwerved from the accuſtomed manner and ſpeech of Scripture. And to the third, he anſwered, it was moſt contumelious againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the croſs was the only ſacrifice and oblation for all mankind. He then delivered in a more ample explication of his reaſons, which are truly worthy of himſelf, and are fully preſerved by Fox. Oglethorp told Cranmer, that Chriſt gave his very body: but Cranmer ſaid, that Chriſt uſed figurative ſpeech in no place more than in his Sacraments, eſpecially in this of his Supper. Oglethorp replied, Chriſt uſed no tropes. "Yes, ſays Cranmer, he might uſe them well enough. You know not "what tropes are." It was returned, that his judgment was diſagreeing with all churches. "Nay, anſwered the archbiſhop, I diſagree with the papiſtical church." They aſked him, what Chriſt took, gave, broke, and eat? He ſaid, to the whole queſtions, "Bread." Cole ſaid, if Chriſt gave bread, it was not the body; which was an argument that could not be diſſolved. "The like argument, ſays Cranmer, may be made: he is a rock, therefore is "not Chriſt." Weſton advanced, that he gave not his body indeed. But Cranmer told him, "he gave his death, his paſſion, and the ſacrament of his paſſion: and, in very "deed, ſetting the figure aſide, formally it was not his body." Why then, replied Weſton, the Scripture's falſe. "No, ſays Cranmer, the Scripture is moſt true." Weſton ſaid, we eat the body of Chriſt with our mouth. This Cranmer denied, and inſiſted "we eat it "through faith; not naturally, but ſpiritually." Chryſoſtom was urged againſt him: but, ſays the archbiſhop, Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh of ſacraments no otherwiſe, than of Chriſt himſelf, as I could prove if I might have liberty to ſpeak, by many places of Chryſoſtom, where he ſpeaketh of the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. They quoted Tertullian, to prove, that the body of Chriſt was eaten with the mouth. "Read that which follows, ſays Cran-"mer, and you ſhall perceive, that, by things external, an operation internal is underſtood. "Inwardly we eat the body of Chriſt, and outwardly we eat the Sacrament. So one "thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptiſm, the external element "whereby the body is waſhed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the ſoul is cleanſed, "is another." Treſham compared the archbiſhop to Arius; of which his grace made him aſhamed, as he contradicted himſelf. Young aſked him ſophiſtical queſtions about figurative ſpeech, and impudently told him a liar ought to have a good memory. Says Cran-

Fox, p. 35.
Ibid. 36.
Ibid. 37.
Ibid. 39.
Ibid. 42.
Ibid. 43.
Ibid. 44.
Ibid. 45.
Ibid. 46.

mer, "I look for Scripture at your hands; they are the foundation of diſputations: but "you interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a ſtrange ſenſe." Fox, p. 48. They taxed him with falſely tranſlating Juſtine, and Emiſſenus; which he diſproved. "I will oppoſe you, ſays Weſton, in the very articles of your faith. Chriſt ſitteth on the right-hand of God the Father: but God the Father hath no right-hand: therefore, where is "Chriſt now?" Cranmer anſwered; "I am not ſo ignorant a novice in the articles of "my faith, but that I underſtand, that to ſit at the right-hand of God, doth ſignify to "be equal in the glory of the Father." Then the prolocutor challenged him with ſetting forth the Catechiſm in the name of the convocation: but Cranmer ſaid, "he was ignorant "of the ſetting to of that title, which he diſliked, and complained thereof to the council; "who anſwered him, that the book was ſo intitled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the time Ib. 49. "of the convocation." Weſton then charged him with miſ-tranſlating Thomas Aquinas; and, without waiting for any anſwer, ſaid to the people: "Thus you ſee, brethren, the "truth ſtedfaſt and invincible: you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth "may be preſſed, but cannot be oppreſſed; therefore, cry altogether, *Vincit veritas*, The "truth overcometh." This diſputation began at eight in the morning, and ended at two Strype, p. 174. in the afternoon, with great triumph; as though Cranmer had been confounded in the opinion of all the audience, which they had ſhewn by their noiſe and laughter, when the archbiſhop was carried back by the mayor to priſon, and the doctors dined together at the univerſity college. This diſpute was carried on with much indecency by the committee; Warner, 351. the prolocutor calling the archbiſhop, ſometimes an unlearned, and ſometimes an impudent Fox, p. 50, 68. man; and many others hiſſing whilſt he was ſpeaking, to prevent his being heard.

Ridley and Latimer were alſo brought before theſe commiſſioners, who treated them in See p. 171, 175. the ſame manner as they had done the archbiſhop: which is mentioned in their lives. The Strype, p. 175. ſame week, Harpsfield diſputed his degree, and Cranmer was called upon for one of the opponents; in which he gained the public applauſe of his very enemies. On the thirteenth Fox, p. 78. of April, Cranmer wrote a letter to the privy-council, complaining of the confuſed man- Warner, p. 352. ner in which the diſputation was held; as alſo that it was concluded in one day, though ſuch weighty matters could hardly be ended in three months; and he himſelf had more Fox, p. 81. to ſay than could be well diſcuſſed in twenty days.

Strype, p. 176. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, on the twentieth of April, were brought again to St. Mary's before the commiſſioners, when the prolocutor told them they were overcome in Warner, p. 351. the diſpute, and required them to ſubſcribe the queſtions in the affirmative. They re- Strype, p. 177. fuſed; and the court condemned them as heretics. Upon this the archbiſhop ſaid; "I "appeal from this your ſentence to the juſt judgment of Almighty God; truſting to be pre- See Hooper's life, p. 178. "ſent with him in heaven, for whoſe preſence on the altar I am thus condemned."

The deſign of opening another court at Cambridge was dropt; and the execution of Cranmer was deferred by the ſly old chancellor, who told the queen and council, that Strype, p. 178. the beſt thing they could do, was to try to ſhake his fortitude and integrity. Beſides, the Warner, p. 375. pope would not allow the ſee to be vacant by attainder, till Cranmer was deprived by a commiſſion from Rome. That commiſſion was brought over, appointing Brooks biſhop of Strype, p. 193. Glouceſter, to demand juſtice againſt Cranmer; and he, aſſiſted by two commiſſioners from Warner, p. 377. the queen, exhibited articles againſt the archbiſhop at Oxford as the pope's delegate. When his grace was brought into court, at St. Mary's church on the twelfth of September, he Fox's Martyrs, p. 626. paid his reſpects to the queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme authority of the nation; but he gave none to Brooks, as the pope's repreſentative. Many arguments paſſed Warner, p. 378. between the archbiſhop and his judges. In concluſion, his grace aſſured them, that the Fox, p. 631. loſs of his promotion was ſo far from grieving him, that he thanked God for it very heartily: Ib. 638. and that his only concern was to ſee all the pains and trouble which king Henry and Strype, p. 194. himſelf had taken, to retrieve the authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from the baſeneſs and inconvenience of a foreign yoke wholly thrown away. He was Fox, p. 640. then cited to appear at Rome, in eighty days; which was only a mockery of juſtice: for he was willing to go, but they remanded him back again to priſon.

See Ridley's life, p. 171. The biſhops of Glouceſter, Lincoln, and Briſtol, were ſent to Oxford, by a commiſſion from cardinal Pole, to proceed againſt Latimer and Ridley, who refuſed to recant, and Fox, p. 640. were burnt on the ſixteenth of October. The time ſoon came that Cranmer was to ſuffer the ſame fate. A mock proceſs had been carried on againſt him at Rome, where he was Warner, p. 386. pronounced contumacious, for not appearing before the pope, when he was kept in priſon Fox, p. 640. by the queen. A commiſſion was ſent over to Bonner biſhop of London, and Thirlby Strype, p. 195. biſhop of Ely, to degrade, excommunicate, and conſign him over to the ſecular power. The two biſhops came to Oxford, and read their commiſſion before the archbiſhop in the choir of Chriſt-church, on the fourteenth of February 1556. Bonner entered upon this Fox, p. 643. buſineſs with great pleaſure, as a piece of revenge upon Cranmer who had deprived him: Warner, p. 386. but Thirlby aſſured Cranmer, that this was the moſt ſorrowful action of his whole life, and that no earthly conſideration but the queen's command ſhould have engaged him in it.

When their commiſſion was read, they proceeded to the degradation of the archbiſhop, by cloathing him as a prieſt ready to maſs; upon which he ſaid, “ What, I think you “ would have me ſay maſs?” Then they cloathed him in pontifical robes of canvaſs, to make him appear ridiculous; which were taken from him piece after piece, according to the Romiſh ceremonies of degradation. Bonner inſulted him all the time with rude and ludicrous expreſſions, addreſſed to the aſſembly: but Thirlby wept, and intreated Bonner to forbear his inſolence. Bonner gratified his native brutality by this ſeverity to his great but unhappy metropolitan, who bore it with all his wonted fortitude and patience. He told them, “ the degradation gave him no concern; for he had long deſpiſed thoſe ornaments:” but when they came to take away his croſier, inſtead of delivering it, he held it faſt, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby; ſaying, “ I appeal to the next general council; and herein “ I have comprehended my cauſe, and the form of it, which I deſire may be admitted:” and called upon ſeveral of the ſtanders-by, by their names, to be witneſſes. In this appeal, he declared, “ that a general council is above the pope. *That* he was cited to appear “ at Rome, and condemned while he was impriſoned. *That* he was cited at Oxford by “ Brooks, who denied him council, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and “ man. *That* his appeal from Brooks was diſregarded, and a copy of his anſwers were refuſed. “ *That* he denied the papal authority; and appealed from all its proceedings, as moſt unequal “ and unrighteous, moſt tyrannical and violent, unto a free general council. *That* his “ doctrine was taken purely and ſimply from the Scripture; and that if he erred, he “ could not be heretic, becauſe he was ready in all things to follow the judgment of “ the moſt ſacred word of God, and of the holy Catholic church: but that he was accuſed for an heretic, becauſe he allowed not the doctrine lately brought in of the Sa- “ crament, nor would conſent to words not accuſtomed in Scripture, and unknown to the “ ancient fathers; but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the de- “ ſtruction of ſouls, and overthrowing of pure and old religion.” When they had ſtript the archbiſhop of all his habits, they put upon his jacket a poor yeoman-beadle’s gown, threadbare, and ill-ſhaped; alſo a townſman’s cap on his head, and ſo delivered him up to the ſecular power, to be carried back to priſon, where he was kept entirely deſtitute of money, and the intercourſe of friends. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment; and a gentleman was taken into cuſtody by Bonner for giving ſome money to Cranmer to buy him a dinner.

Fox, p. 641.
Warner, 387.
Strype, p. 195.
Fox, p. 641.
Guthrie, v. 3, p. 156.
Warner, 387.
Strype, p. 195
Fox, p. 641.
Strype, p. 196.
Fox, p. 649.
Ib. 643.
Strype, p. 196.
Fox, p. 643.

The degraded archbiſhop had been impriſoned almoſt three years: and now he was condemned, every engine that could be thought of was employed to overturn his conſtancy, and make him recant. The gentleneſs and ſeverity of his treatment were equally fatal to his firmneſs. He was removed out of priſon, to the dean’s lodgings at Chriſt-church, where he was treated with great civility and reſpect. The beſt divines the queen had in her party, were ſent to him every day, to argue with him upon his opinions, and to ſeduce him into a recantation with the hopes of life and preferment. They inſenſibly ſapped his reſolution more than all the bloody jeers of Bonner, in degrading him had done. But notwithſtanding all that, his conqueſt was not eaſy. He had in his heart a thorough deteſtation of the Romiſh faith: the great things he had done for the reformation, the high expectations the world had of his ſanctity, and the ſhame of public apoſtacy, long maintained in his breaſt ſo ſtrong a ſtruggle, with the hopes of life and the reſtitution of his honours, that his ſeducers were obliged to enhance the value of their gentleneſs to him, by a rougher courſe of uſage, and by ſhutting him up in a confined loathſome priſon. This was more than his reſolution could bear; and his enemies were ſenſible, if he was once brought to waver, he muſt ſoon fall as low as they could wiſh.

Ib. 644.
Warner, 387.
Guthrie, 156.
Fox, p. 644.
Strype, p. 198.
Guthrie, p. 156.

Cranmer wrote to the queen, to juſtify his conduct and appeal: he thought at firſt to reconcile his ſafety to his principles, by owning the papal authority, upon the ſame footing that he and the other reformers had owned that of the two laſt kings; that is, a parliamentary right, confirming the proceedings of the king and queen in that reſpect. His enemies encouraged this hint, and ſeemed to wiſh to ſee, under his own hand, the conceſſions he was willing to make. They told him, the queen was reſolved to have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer at all: that he was beloved by the nobility, and his return would be acceptable to their majeſties: that he was ſtill ſtrong and vigorous, and might live many years, if he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible death of burning. After ſhewing ſo much wiſdom, fortitude, and Chriſtian courage, he unhappily fell before theſe temptations. The infirmities of human nature got the better, and he was perſuaded to ſubſcribe an abjuration of his religion, in hopes of prolonging his life, that he might finiſh his anſwer againſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, meaning Gardiner. His enemies obtained from him three different recantations; and Bonner drew up a fourth, which Cranmer ſigned on the ſixteenth of February. But as the malice of his enemies was infernal, ſo it was inſatiate. Another, and another more prolix form of recantation was preſented to him; and the unhappy Cranmer gave his hand to both. It was thereby declared, “ *that* he renounced all manner of hereſies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius:

Strype, p. 197.
Guthrie, p. 156.
Strype, p. 199.
Fox, p. 644.
Burnet, p. 276.
Warner, p. 387.
Fox, p. 644.
Guthrie, p. 157.

Fox, p. 645. Warner, p. 387.

" *that* he acknowledged the ſupremacy of the pope; and believed in all the abſurdities " of the church of Rome: *that* he required all ſuch as had been deceived, either by his " example or doctrine, to return to the unity of the church."

Burnet, p. 278. Fox. Warner. Guthrie, 157. Warner.

This recantation was immediately printed, and diſperſed all over the kingdom. The Papiſts received it with the loudeſt inſults, and the reformed with infinite dejection. The queen was pleaſed, but not ſoftened. Cranmer was too criminal in her eyes to hope for mercy. No converſion however ſincere, nor recantation however ample, could cancel in her mind the memory of her mother's divorce, and her own ſufferings. As ſhe had reaſon to believe that Cranmer was by this time thoroughly popiſh, a ſignal triumph muſt be prepared for that religion, and his tongue muſt accompany his hand, in belying his heart. The cruel queen had made a merit of pardoning his private offences againſt herſelf, that ſhe might put him to death with greater torment under a pretence of religious zeal; but when ſhe found her meaſures broke by his abjuration, ſhe pulled off the maſk, and ſhewed that nothing would ſatisfy her but his death. She ſaid, that as he had been the great promoter of hereſy which had corrupted the whole nation, what was ſufficient in other caſes ſhould not ſerve his turn, and ſhe was reſolved he ſhould be burnt.

Strype, p. 199. Warner. Fox, p. 645. Strype. Guthrie Fox, p 645. Warner. Guthrie.

Cranmer was then ſent back to his former priſon, and the writ for his execution was ſent down by lord-chancellor Heath, under the broad ſeal, the latter end of February. The queen ſent Cole, the provoſt of Eaton, to Oxford, with private inſtructions, to prepare a ſermon for his execution; and ordered the lords Williams and Chandos, and ſome other men of faſhion, to be there on the day appointed, with their retinue, to prevent diſturbance. Cole viſited Cranmer, affected great tenderneſs for his condition, and even gave him fifteen crowns to beſtow upon the poor: but he was joined with a Spaniſh friar, and other tools of ſuperſtition, in the inhuman commiſſion to prevail upon Cranmer to tranſcribe his recantation with his own hand, and, read it to a public audience, in as full terms as could be deviſed. With this Cranmer complied; though as ſoon as he ſhould ſeal his own condemnation, it was ordered that he ſhould be hurried to the ſtake.

Warner. Burnet, p. 279. Strype, p 200. Fox, p. 655.

Till this time, he had no ſuſpicion that they intended to burn him after his abjuration. He now perceived to what this tended; therefore he reſolved to diſburden his conſcience, and revoke his recantation. He wrote a ſincere confeſſion of his faith, ſuch as flowed from his conſcience, and not from fear; which he was determined to make uſe of, when he ſaw his occaſion.

Warner, p. 388. Guthrie, p. 157, Fox, p. 646 Warner, p. 388.

On the twenty-firſt of March 1556, which was the day appointed for his execution, Cranmer was brought from the priſon of Bocardo to St. Mary's church, and placed oppoſite to Cole, upon a low ſcaffold, in ſight of the people. He was uncertain of his fate, and thought he was brought there to be a ſpectacle of ſhame, rather than an object of cruelty; for it was pretended, he was only to hear a ſermon by Cole upon his converſion: but that ſermon ſoon convinced him of the truth.

Ibid. Fox, p. 646. Fox, p. 648.

Never was there a more awful, or more melancholy, ſpectacle beheld in England. A venerable archbiſhop, above twenty years the ſecond man in the kingdom, and univerſally beloved for his innocence and ſweetneſs of temper, now cloathed in rags, and ſet up as a gazing ſtock to the world, betrayed by falſehood and diſſimulation to act againſt his conſcience, and hurried blindfold into eternity without warning! The Papiſts thought to have a great triumph that day, in Cranmer's public recantation: but it turned againſt themſelves.

Strype, p. 201. Fox, p. 647. Guthrie. Warner. Fox. Guthrie, p. 158. Fox, p. 647. Ib. 648. Guthrie, p. 158. Fox, p. 648.

Cole vindicated the juſtice of the queen in bringing Cranmer to the ſtake, though he had diſclaimed his errors, and aſſured him there ſhould be dirges and maſſes ſaid for his ſoul in all the churches of Oxford after his execution. It was not till after all hopes of life were vaniſhed, that Cranmer ſhewed a becoming contempt of death. During the ſermon, the motions of his body ſufficiently diſcovered the ſorrows of his mind. He turned his eyes to heaven, as hoping for pardon; he ſmote his breaſt in the bitterneſs of his ſpirit; every look was full of deep contrition, and every geſture of pathetic eloquence. At laſt, he was called upon by Cole, to declare his faith, that he might give the world ſatiſfaction of his dying a good Catholic. While the audience was wrapt up in ſilent expectation of the event, Cranmer ſhewed great dignity of action; and kneeling, ſaid an excellent prayer of the mercy of God. He then roſe up, and repeated the articles of the apoſtles creed; profeſſed, in the ſtrongeſt manner, great veneration for the Scriptures; and proceeded to give the hearers an excellent diſcourſe upon their duties, as ſubjects and Chriſtians. By keeping in general terms, the audience conſidered all he ſaid only as a prelude to his recantation: but when he came to that part, he turned ſo quick, that amazement kept them ſilent then, as attention had done before. He profeſſed the higheſt deteſtation of his apoſtacy in theſe words: " I come now to the great thing that ſo much troubleth " my conſcience more than any other thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole life; " and that is, the ſetting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here I renounce " and refuſe, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in " my heart, and written for fear of death: and that is, all ſuch bills and papers, which

"I have written or ſigned with my hand, ſince my degradation, wherein I have written "many things untrue: and as my hand offended, contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall "be firſt puniſhed: for may I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt burnt. As for the "pope, I refuſe him as Chriſt's enemy, and Antichriſt with all his falſe doctrine. And "as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book againſt the biſhop of "Wincheſter; which teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at "the laſt day before the judgment of God, where the papiſtical doctrine, contrary thereto, "ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her face."

It is impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion into which the whole aſſembly was thrown by this unexpected declaration. Many of the reformed were preſent, who rejoiced at his conduct: but when the Papiſts recovered their conſternation, they charged him with falſehood, and bid him no longer diſſemble; to which he replied, he always loved ſimplicity, and never diſſembled before his recantation in all his life. He would have gone on farther about the Sacrament, and of papacy; but Cole cried, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and "take him away." The monks and friars forcibly pulled him from the ſcaffold, and hurried him away to the ſtake where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered; reproaching him all the way for retracting his abjuration.

Warner, p. 389. Guthrie. Fox. Burnet, p. 279. Fox, p. 648. Warner. Fox.

We are to impute the behaviour of Cranmer, in the laſt ſcene of his bitter paſſion, to magnanimity rather than to deſpair. There was ſomewhat in it ſo great, ſo noble, and collected, that he ſeemed to riſe a new being from his fall. But if his enemies were diſappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly ſo by that at the ſtake. As ſoon as he came to it, he prayed and undreſſed himſelf to his ſhirt with a chearful countenance: his ſhirt was made long down to his feet: his feet were bare, and ſo was his head where a hair could not be ſeen. His beard was ſo long and thick, that it covered his face with wonderful gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies. The friars tormented him with their admonitions; while Cranmer gave his hand to ſeveral old men, and others that ſtood by, bidding them farewel. When he was tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled, he ſeemed ſuperior to all ſenſation but that of piety. He ſtretched out his offending hand to the flame, which was ſeen burning for ſome time before any other part of the fire came to his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was conſumed; ſaying often, "This unworthy hand; "this hand hath offended:" and as often uſing the words of the bleſſed martyr St. Stephen; "Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to ſilence he gave up the ghoſt. He burnt to all appearance without pain or motion, and ſeemed to repel the torture by meer ſtrength of mind; teſtifying a repentance for the fault which he had committed. He was ſo intrepid in his death, that it ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life. But the ſtory of his heart being found entire in the flames, ſeems to have been forged and adopted by Proteſtant fanatics: though biſhop Burnet mentions it as a fact. Cranmer, however, is juſtly numbered among the nobleſt martyrs of Chriſt; and is much more worthy the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falſely canonized in the reign of Henry II.

Guthrie, p. 158. Fox. Strype, p. 202. Fox. Guthrie. Strype. Fox. Warner, p. 389. Guthrie. Burnet, p. 2 0 Fox, p 6 9.

Thus ended the life of archbiſhop Cranmer in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy; leaving an only ſon of his own name behind him. The meekneſs, humility, forgiveneſs, and benevolence of this prelate, rendered him amiable as a man beyond all expreſſion: and notwithſtanding the public demands upon him as the head of the reformation, he found time to diſcharge the proper duties of an archbiſhop. The learning which he had acquired in the canon and civil law was equal to that of his chief cotemporaries: but his labours in ſearching into all eccleſiaſtical authors ancient and modern, and making extracts from them on all the points of divinity with his own hand, would have as much exceeded our comprehenſion if it had not been ſo well atteſted, as it exceeded the diligence of all his predeceſſors in the chair of primates. His only defect as a man of letters was in his ſtile, which was diffuſed and unconnected. He is juſtly conſidered as the great apoſtle of the reformed church of England; and he has been ranked not only with the greateſt primitive biſhops, but alſo with the fathers of the firſt claſs, who were the immediate ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. To ſay, with his enemies, that he was ſubject to infirmities, is only ſaying that he was a man: while we dare not, with his friends, pretend that he was all perfection in a mortal ſtate. "In ſhort, ſays a learned "divine, if we look at Cranmer in all points of view, we muſt allow him to have been "a prodigy of a man: his equal was never ſeen yet in the ſee of Canterbury; and I "will take upon me to ſay, that his ſuperior never will be."

Warner, p. 389. Burnet, p. 280. Warner, p. 390. Ib. 391. Burnet, p. 2.0. Ib. 392. Guthrie, p. 158. Dr Warner, p. 392.

He was ſucceeded by cardinal Pole in the primacy, who was willing to ſtop the carnage that Bonner made among the reformed. Pole had as great probity and virtue as moſt of the age, if not as all of that church, in which he lived: but he could not ſoften the cruelty of the queen, whoſe reign ought to be tranſmitted down to poſterity, in characters of blood; as her perſecution was the moſt terrible that raged ſince the time of Diocleſian. It was ſhort, hateful, and inglorious; but while ſhe ſwayed the ſceptre, no leſs than 284 lives

Burnet, p. 308. Dr. Heylin.

were

Lord Burleigh. Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 107.

were offered up at the ſtake. It is even ſaid, that above 400 were executed in public, beſides thoſe murdered ſecretly in the priſons. But the cloud was removed with her death, and her ſucceſſor was the bright ſtar, under whoſe auſpicious influence the reformation was revived, re-eſtabliſhed, perfected, and perpetuated to our days, who look up to Cranmer with veneration and gratitude as the pillar of our church, the glory of religion, an ornament to virtue, and an honour to learning.

The LIFE of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 113.

Burnet's Abridg. v. 2, p. 312. Ib. 318.

QUEEN Mary died on the fifteenth of November 1558, and was ſucceeded by the princeſs Elizabeth, who was then in the twenty-ſixth year of her age, and was readily acknowledged the lawful heir to the throne by the parliament, and proclaimed queen the day that her ſiſter died. The Proteſtants thanked God that he had at laſt delivered them from their perſecution, in placing this princeſs on the throne: while ſome of the Papiſts looked on her advancement, as a mortal wound to their religion; but others were not ſorry to ſee a ſtop put to thoſe barbarities which diſhonoured all religion. The joy in this change was ſo great and univerſal, that a ſad look was thought criminal; and the prieſts were glad to vent their griefs at their forſaken altars, which were now like to be converted again to communion tables. But her coronation was deferred till the fifteenth of January 1559, when it was performed by doctor Oglethorpe biſhop of Carliſle, notwithſtanding the archbiſhop of York and the other biſhops refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity; becauſe Elizabeth had ſufficiently declared herſelf againſt the church of Rome.

Howell's Medulla Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ, p. 155. See the Life of Henry VIII. p. 166. Fox's Martyrs, p. 902. Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. v. 2, p. 344. Collier. Warner, p. 353. Fox, p. 906. Warner, p. 401. Burnet, p. 303.

Elizabeth was born on the ſeventh of September 1533, and her mother was beheaded in 1536, when the young princeſs was illegitimated by her father; but he ſtill continued to educate her at court with great care and tenderneſs. When Mary was ſettled on the throne, ſhe ſhewed Elizabeth no affection, and ſent her to the Tower in 1554, on a pretence that ſhe was concerned in Wiat's rebellion. The princeſs was acquitted by her accuſer; though Gardiner ſo paſſionately deſired her death, that he procured a warrant for her execution, from which ſhe eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of Bridges, then lord Chandois, the lieutenant of the Tower. But Elizabeth was removed to Woodſtock, where ſhe continued two years under the cuſtody of Sir Henry Benninfield, and was treated with ſuch little marks of humanity or diſtinction, that it gave her room to ſuſpect a deſign againſt her life. She was removed from Woodſtock to Hampton-court, and from thence to Hatfield, where all her actions were narrowly watched, and ſhe was obliged to diſſemble her religious ſentiments, while ſhe had the mortification to ſee the perſecution of the Proteſtants furiouſly raging in all parts of the kingdom. When queen Mary approached near her end, her chief uneaſineſs was the ſame with that of her brother Edward when he was in the ſame condition; that after her death, the whole ſtructure in religion which ſhe had raiſed with ſo much care would infallibly be overturned. Many of the biſhops were perpetually inſinuating the danger of letting the princeſs live: and the queen, in all appearance, would not have ſpared a ſiſter, whom ſhe looked on as a baſtard, and a heretic, if the providence of God had not been immediately her defence. The princeſs meddled in no ſort of buſineſs, but gave herſelf wholly to ſtudy. Thus ſhe was employed for five years: during which time, ſhe was under continual apprehenſions of death; and this was, perhaps, a neceſſary preparation for that long courſe of proſperity and glory, with which ſhe was afterwards bleſt.

Lord Bacon's Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth; See his Reſuſcitatio, Pt. 1, p. 143 Bayle, v. 2, p. 753.

Queen Elizabeth, both of her natural endowments and her fortune, was admirable among women, and memorable among princes. Rare in all ages hath been the reign of a woman, more rare the felicity of a woman in her reign, but moſt rare is a permanency joined with that felicity. As for this lady ſhe reigned four and forty years compleat, and yet ſhe did not ſurvive her felicity. She was one of the moſt illuſtrious perſons ever recorded in hiſtory. It would not be ſufficient juſtice to ſay, never any woman ſwayed a ſceptre with more glory than ſhe did; but it muſt alſo be added, that there are few great monarchs whoſe reign can be compared with thoſe of Elizabeth, which is the moſt ſhining part of the Engliſh hiſtory, and was the ſchool where ſo many able miniſters, and ſo many great politicians,

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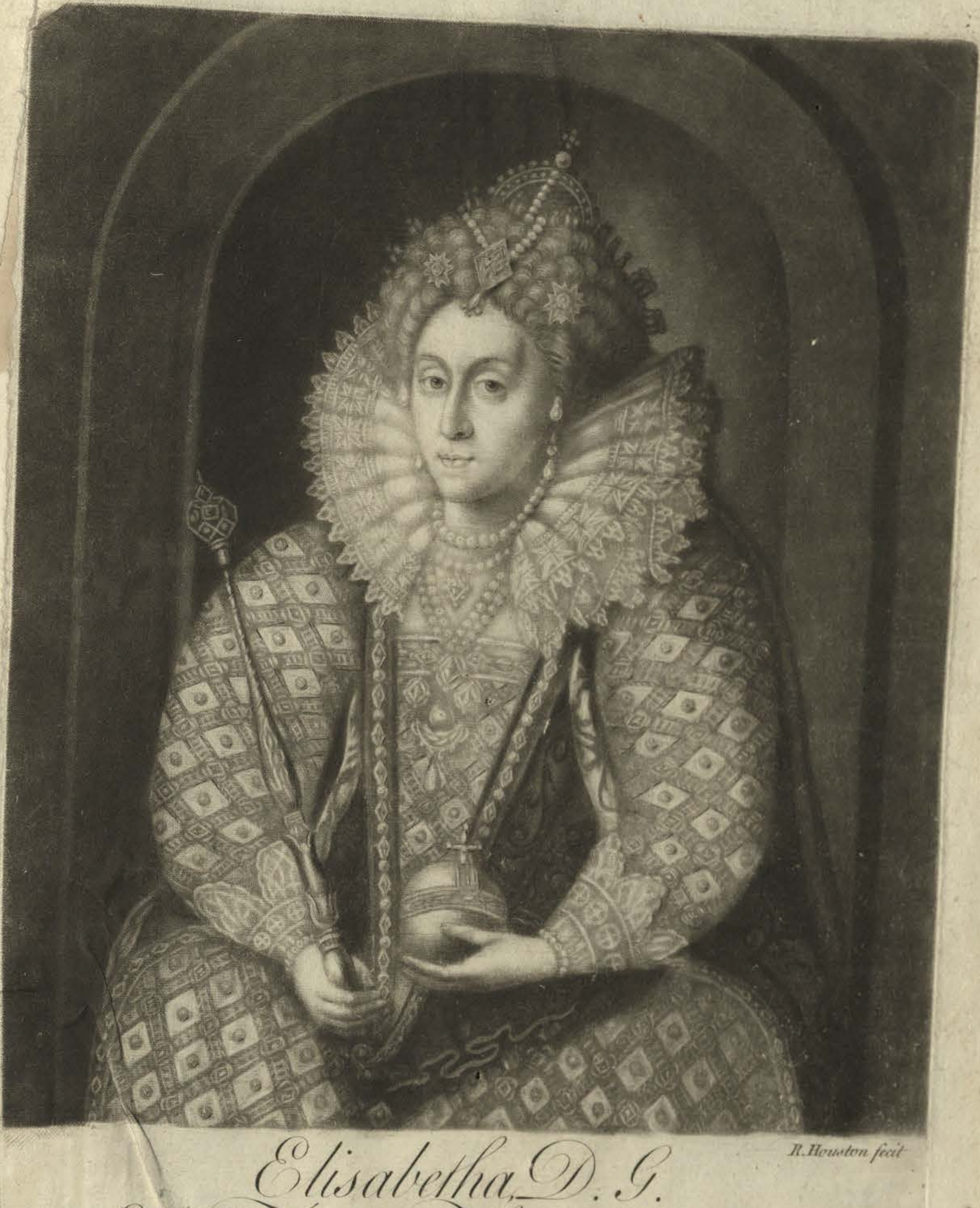

R. Houston fecit

Elisabetha, D. G.
Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Regina, &c.

Printed for E. Bakewell & H. Parker, opposite Birchin Lane in Cornhill.

politicians, were formed, that England never had a greater plenty of them; and the ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to military men. She was one of thoſe perſons, whoſe name alone imprints ſuch an idea on the mind, as can never be formed by any deſcription to be made of her: never crowned head better underſtood the art of governing, or committed leſs errors in a long reign. She would not ſuffer the leaſt infringement of the ſupreme power, which ſhe equally knew how to preſerve, by policy, and by force; for no one, in her time, had more wit, management, and penetration than herſelf. But, ſays Bayle, I ſhall not amuſe myſelf with relating the principal events of her glorious life, which may be found in innumerable books. He had no occaſion to ſay, that, at her coming to the crown, ſhe was in ſuſpenſe between the two religions, and at laſt made choice of the reformed. The Proteſtant religion was always her choice; for ſhe had been educated and bred in that faith.

Father d' Orlean 's Hiſtory of the Revolutions in England, tom. 2, p. 409.
Bayle, p. 753.
Ibid. 754.
Burnet, p. 318.

When Elizabeth was princeſs, ſhe refuſed to marry the king of Sweden; and now ſhe was queen, ſhe deſpiſed the ſame propoſal from the king of Spain, which was ridiculous, becauſe it tended to bring her under diſadvantages parallel to thoſe upon which her father's firſt marriage had been diſſolved, and conſequently by which her own legitimacy was eſtabliſhed.

Ibid. 301.
Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, v. 3, p. 193.

The queen and her council proceeded with great caution in religious matters. She ordered all that were impriſoned on the account of religion, to be ſet at liberty: upon which, one, that uſed to talk pleaſantly, told her, the four evangeliſts continued ſtill priſoners, and that the people longed to ſee them at liberty: ſhe anſwered, ſhe would talk with themſelves, and know their own mind. She continued to employ moſt of her ſiſter's privy-counſellors, who had turned ſo often before in matters of religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that point: but to theſe ſhe added divers others; the moſt eminent of whom, were Sir William Cecil, and Sir Nicholas Bacon. She conſidered that the church muſt be reſtored to be the houſe of God: but that before a total alteration of religion could take place, the whole body of the incumbent clergy muſt be new modelled; the univerſities purged; almoſt all the commiſſioners and juſtices of the nation were to be changed; the bench, the bar, the navy, and the army were to be regenerated; in ſhort, a new creation, both as to religion and policy, was to take place all over the kingdom.

Burnet, p. 313.
Ibid. 314.
Guthrie, p. 200.

A proclamation was publiſhed for reading the Litany in Engliſh, with the Epiſtles, and Goſpels, in all churches, as it was formerly in her own chapel. The correction of king Edward's Liturgy was committed to a ſet of Proteſtant divines: and the exiles for religion were called from foreign parts. Many ſees were vacant, and doctor Parker was fixed upon as the fitteſt man for the ſee of Canterbury. He had been chaplain to Anne Bullen, and had been employed to inſtruct the queen in points of religion when ſhe was young: but, as Cranmer had done before him, he declined that dignity for ſome months before he could be brought to accept it: and it was thought no ſmall honour to the reformation, that the two chief inſtruments that promoted it, Cranmer and Parker, gave ſuch evidences of a primitive Spirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanced.

Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. 9, p. 51.
Holinſhed, p. 1172.
Guthrie, p. 200.
Burnet, 316.

The parliament was opened on the twenty-fifth of January, when the lord-keeper Bacon made a long ſpeech, both concerning matters of religion, and the ſtate of the nation. The parliament petitioned the queen to marry, who anſwered them, it ſhould be ſufficient for her, that a marble ſtone ſhould declare, that a queen having reigned ſuch a time, lived and died a virgin. By one act, the crown was reſtored to its ancient juriſdiction over the ſtate, civil and eccleſiaſtical; and all foreign power was aboliſhed: all former acts in favour of this ſupremacy were confirmed, and all againſt it were repealed: but this act laid the axe at the root of the papal authority, rather than to the popiſh religion. A bill paſſed for the recognition of her title to the crown, as ſhe was their lawful queen, rightly and lineally deſcended. Another act paſſed for the uniformity of common prayer and ſervice in the church, and adminiſtration of the Sacrament; whereby the Book of Common-Prayer, publiſhed under king Edward VI. was re-eſtabliſhed, with ſome alterations by Parker and others. Thus, in this one ſeſſion of parliament, religion was brought back again to the ſtate it was in at the death of Edward. The queen had a ſcruple about the title of "Supreme "Head," and it was changed to that of "Supreme Governor." The powers given to her by the act of ſupremacy gave riſe to what was afterwards called the "high commiſſion-"court," who had the ſame juriſdiction which had been committed ſingly to Cromwell with the title of lord-vicegerent in all affairs eccleſiaſtical.

Warner, p. 410.
Camden.
Stow, p. 637.
Burnet, p. 321.
Guthrie. p. 201,
Burnet, p. 322.
Guthrie.
Warner.
Guthrie, p. 322.

Bonner opened the convocation after a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt: but the biſhops ſate inactive, and little was done.

Warner, p. 413.

The queen appointed a public conference between the biſhops and the reformed divines; and nine of a ſide were to diſpute about three points: worſhip in an unknown tongue; the power that every particular church had to alter rites and ceremonies; and the maſs's being a propitiatory ſacrifice for the dead and the living. This conference was held in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on the thirty-firſt of March, in the preſence of the privy-council, and both houſes of parliament. The Papiſts were White, Watſon, Baine, and Scot, biſhops

Burnet, p. 324.
Warner, 412.

Strype's Annals, p. 87. Warner, p. 415. Guthrie, 202. Burnet, p. 326. Warner, p. 416.

of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield, and Cheſter; with the doctors Cole, Langdale, Harpsfield, and Chedſey: the Proteſtants were the doctors Scory, Whitehead, Jewel, Elmer, Cox, Grindal, Horn, and Gueſt. The lord-keeper ſate as moderator; and the queen preſerved great equanimity in the diſpute, which was matter of great expectation, and the Proteſtants came off victors, with ſhouts of applauſe. The biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln threatened the queen with excommunication for directing this diſpute; and ſhe ſent them both to the Tower for their inſolence.

Ib. 417. Burnet, p. 332. Fuller, p. 52. Camden's Eliz. p. 19, Warner, p. 417.

Though all the reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about diſcipline: the exiles had ſplit into contending parties upon that head; and while ſome were for ſetting up the ſervice and diſcipline of the Engliſh at Geneva, others were for the ſervice book of king Edward, and for withdrawing no further from the church of Rome than was neceſſary to recover the purity of faith, and the independency of the church. The queen was inclined to keep images ſtill in churches; but the reformed divines ſhewed that images were not allowed in the church till the ſeventh century, and her majeſty was at laſt content they ſhould be pulled down. By the act of uniformity, ſhe was empowered to make what alterations ſhe thought fit in rites and ceremonies, which occaſioned the ſeparation of thoſe who now began to be called puritans; from their attempting a purer form of diſcipline and worſhip, as they imagined, than that which was yet eſtabliſhed.

Fuller, p. 59. Warner, p. 419.

The biſhops and leading clergy were ordered to attend the queen; when ſhe put them in mind of the act of ſupremacy, recommended uniformity to them in church affairs, and exhorted them to relinquiſh the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh communion. The archbiſhop of York anſwered, in the name of the reſt, that the engagements of the late queen were binding to her ſucceſſor. But the queen told the biſhops ſhe had called her parliament and clergy together, to make a covenant with God, and not with the biſhop of Rome: that her crown was independent, and ſhe would own no ſovereign but Jeſus Chriſt: that the pope's uſurpation over princes was intolerable; and that ſhe ſhould look upon all her ſubjects, both ſpiritual and temporal, as enemies to God and the crown, who ſhould abet his pretenſions in her kingdom. The oath of ſupremacy was ſoon after tendered to them; which they all refuſed, except Rithin biſhop of Landaff, and the others were ſet in priſon for a while, except Bonner, and the biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln. The archbiſhop of York, Tunſtal, and Thirlby, had great indulgences from the queen: the biſhops of Worceſter, Cheſter, and St. Aſaph, choſe to go abroad: but all the others remained in England, where they lived in peace, and were treated with the reſpect which they deſerved. A few gentlemen, and all the nuns, went out of England: but moſt of the monks returned to a ſecular courſe of life.

Burnet, p. 333. Warner, p. 420. Burnet, p. 335. Fuller, p. 59. Warner, p. 421.

It was now reſolved to ſend viſitors over England, and injunctions were prepared for them, as in the firſt year of king Edward, with ſome little alterations, and additional rules. The high commiſſion court was alſo eſtabliſhed, for viſiting churches, and ſuſpending or depriving unworthy clergymen. There are nine-thouſand four-hundred benefices in England: but, of all theſe, the number of thoſe who choſe to reſign, rather than take the oath of ſupremacy, was very inconſiderable. Fourteen biſhops, ſix abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors, were the whole of thoſe who were turned out. But penſions were reſerved for ſuch as quitted their benefices.

Burnet, p. 337. Fuller, p. 61, 63. Warner, p. 423. Fuller, p. 68. Warner, p. 424. Guthrie, p. 239. Warner, p. 427. Burnet, p. 340.

Parker was very unwillingly made archbiſhop of Canterbury in Auguſt; and he then ordained ſeveral more divines to other ſees. The public worſhip being thus reformed, it was neceſſary to ſet out the doctrine of the church for avoiding diverſities of opinion. There was no diſpute among the reformers upon this point; and if the habits and ceremonies had been left indifferent, the ſeeds of diviſion had been prevented. The pope Pius IV. wrote a cajolling letter to the queen, to return to his obedience: but ſhe would not part with her ſupremacy, nor allow the nuncio to ſet his foot in England. She denied that the pope had any right to call a general council; and afterwards got her ſupremacy confirmed by parliament. A new tranſlation of the Bible was ordered to be made; and this important work was finiſhed within two or three years, by ſeveral biſhops, and other divines. The Bible was alſo tranſlated into Welch by doctor Morgan biſhop of St. Aſaph.

Ib. 341.

The want of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline ſet on ſome to deviſe new platforms for the adminiſtration of it in every pariſh; all which gave great offence to the government, and were ſo much oppoſed by it, that they came to nothing. Other differences were raiſed concerning the veſtments of the clergy; and ſome factions growing up in the court, theſe differences were heightened by thoſe who intended to ſerve their own ends by making the ſeveral parties quarrel with ſo much animoſity, that it could ſcarce be poſſible to reconcile them. Since that time, the fatal diviſion of this nation, into the court and country party, has been the chief occaſion of the growth and continuance of thoſe differences; ſo that all the attempts made by moderate men to compoſe them, have proved ineffectual.

Daniel

If France and Scotland had remained in tranquility, England was in danger of being attacked from two quarters at once, and diſturbed at home by the ſtill numerous adherents

rents of the old religion. Henry II. of France died on the tenth of July 1560, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Francis II. who was married to Mary the young queen of Scotland. Francis wanted to make his wife abſolute in her kingdom, and to ſuffer no other religion there but popery; which was oppoſed by the earls of Argyle and Arran, who were aſſiſted by the queen of England. The French offered Elizabeth to put Calais again into her hands, which they had taken from Mary, if ſhe would recal her forces out of Scotland: but ſhe anſwered on the ſudden, "ſhe did not value that fiſh-town, ſo much as ſhe did "the quiet of the iſle of Britain." Soon after peace was concluded between England, France, and Scotland; whereby the Scotch affairs were referred to their own parliament, which confirmed a confeſſion of faith penned by Knox, and ſettled the reformation. But the biſhops and abbots converted their lands and revenues into temporal eſtates, by which the church of Scotland was ſo greatly impoveriſhed, that if king James and king Charles I. had not with great zeal, and much endeavours, retrieved ſome part of the ancient revenues, and provided a conſiderable maintenance for the inferior clergy, all the encouragements to religion and learning had been to ſuch a degree withdrawn, that barbariſm muſt have again over-run that kingdom.

Thus the queen of England divided Scotland from its ancient dependence on France, and came to have ſo great an intereſt in Scotland, that affairs there were for the moſt part governed as ſhe directed. France was weakly ruled under Francis II. who was governed by the young queen, according to the will of her uncles the Lorrain princes, till he died on the fifth of December 1560. The queen of Scotland then returned with great regret to her own kingdom, and France was greatly diſturbed under the minority of Charles IX. through the diverſity of opinions in regard to religion: the king of Navarre was declared regent; but he, though before a Proteſtant, was drawn into the Papiſt intereſt. A ſevere edict was made againſt the Proteſtants, who defended themſelves, and the war laſted near thirty years. In this the queen of England interpoſed, and ſupported the Proteſtant party; ſometimes with men, but oftener with money; ſo that ſhe had near the half of that kingdom depending on her.

In the Netherlands, a long continuance of the civil war almoſt on the ſame account, gave her the like advantages. The king of Spain cauſed a great number of Proteſtants to be burnt in that kingdom; and, by theſe inhuman executions, ſhewed his ſubjects of the Low-Countries what they were to expect, whoſe privileges had been ſo far violated, as plainly diſcovered his intentions of reducing them to ſlavery; in which he was glorioully oppoſed, and bravely prevented. Since nothing leſs, than an entire extirpation of what he called hereſy, would ſatiſfy the blind, imprudent, intemperate zeal of king Philip, a tribunal of the ſame kind as the Inquiſition of Spain was eſtabliſhed among his ſubjects of the Low-Countries. By this court, invented by Satan, or, his never failing tools, deſigning churchmen, the life, reputation, and fortune of every man who refuſed to pay an implicit obedience, to what they would palm upon the laity for the commandment of God, was rendered inſecure. As the Flemings were naturally jealous of their privileges, and, from their commerce with foreigners, had been uſed to think and ſpeak freely in religious matters, they conceived the utmoſt horror of this court: they were ſecretly encouraged by ſome foreign princes, and particularly by Elizabeth of England, to whom the power of Spain was grown formidable. They ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke, and were ſupported by the aid and money which queen Elizabeth ſent them. The princes of the houſe of Orange were always at their head, and in 1579 laid the foundation of the "Republic of the United Pro-"vinces," after the duke of Alva had put to death eighteen thouſand perſons by the hands of the common executioners. So that the queen met with ſuch a conjuncture of affairs in the dominions of thoſe princes that were next her, as ſcarce any prince ever had.

In foreign parts, ſhe was the arbiter of Chriſtendom; and at home things were ſo happily managed, trade did ſo flouriſh, and juſtice was ſo equally diſtributed, that ſhe became the wonder of the world. Rome and Spain ſet many engines on work, both againſt her perſon and government; but ſhe ſtill lived and triumphed.

The duke of Anjou came ſeveral times to England to gain the good graces of the queen, and her conſent to eſpouſe him; but in vain. The buſineſs of love was neglected for the more important affairs of government; to which Elizabeth applied herſelf with great aſſiduity, with a view of rendering her ſubjects as happy as poſſible; well knowing her greateſt aſſiſtance was to flow from them, in caſe of an invaſion, which ſhe had reaſon to expect.

The queen of Scotland, in 1565, married Henry lord Darnley, who was the firſt prince of the Tudor line. The iſſue of this marriage was a prince, who was baptized by the name of James, after the manner of the church of Rome. His father was aſſaſſinated at Edinburgh in 1567; and his mother was beheaded in England in 1586: but the ſon afterwards ſucceeded his mother in the throne of Scotland, and his godmother queen Elizabeth in the throne of England. The unhappy queen of Scotland had taken refuge in England from the violence of her exaſperated ſubjects: but her enemies improved every

Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, v. 2, p. 118.
Guthrie, v. 3, p. 228.
Strype, v. 1, p. 13.
Burnet, p. 347.
Guthrie, p. 230.
Burnet, p. 349.
Ib. 350.
Hollinſhed, p. 1848.
Chalons's Hiſtory of France, v. 2, p. 202.
Doctor Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scotland.
See the Lives of Calvin and Beza.
Guthrie, p. 232.
Burnet, p. 352.
Chalons, p. 232.
Guthrie, p. 242, 486.
Ib. 286, 308, 388.
Engliſhman's Hiſtory of England, p. 118.
Chalons, p. 253.
Puffendorf's Hiſtory of Europe, v. 1, p. 77, and 312.
Ibid.
Chalons, p. 255.
Burnet, p. 352.
Strype's Annals, v. 2, p. 19.
Puffendorf, p. 318.
Chalons, p. 258. 296.
Burnet, p. 353.
Chalons, p. 306.
Guthrie, p. 348, 390, 415.
Engliſhman's Hiſt. p. 121.
Guthrie, p. 262.
Melvil's Memoirs, p. 56.
Chalons, p. 326.
Guthrie, p. 284.
Rapin.

circumſtance to her diſcredit with Elizabeth, who was much incenſed with Mary for propoſing to marry the duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth impriſoned them both on that account, which occaſioned a rebellion in the North among the Roman-catholics, headed by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, whoſe inſurrection, as well as another under Dacres, was ſoon ſuppreſſed. The duke of Norfolk was beheaded in 1572, when he died a Proteſtant, and much lamented. Many plots were laid for releaſing Mary, and dethroning Elizabeth; for which fourteen conſpirators were executed in 1586; and it was reſolved the queen of Scotland ſhould ſhare their fate. That unhappy princeſs was condemned by the commiſſioners appointed for her trial: the parliament confirmed the ſentence, and petitioned Elizabeth to put it into execution, who ſeemed inclined to mercy, and ſaid, "that ſhe "had a moſt inward feeling of ſorrow, that ſhe, who had in her time pardoned ſo many "rebels, winked at ſo many treaſons, and paſſed over them in ſilence, muſt now ſeem to "ſhew cruelty to ſo great a princeſs." The courtiers of Elizabeth invented many lies to accelerate the fate of Mary, which attracted the eyes of all Europe. Mary then perceived that religion was the cauſe of her death, though ſhe had been ſentenced for treaſon. She was beheaded on the eighth of February 1586, when ſhe had lived to the forty-ſixth year of her age, and had been eighteen years a priſoner in England. She died a Roman-catholic, and prayed for Elizabeth with her laſt breath. Nothing but neceſſity could have occaſioned this cruelty. Elizabeth threw all the blame on ſecretary Daviſon, who made out the warrant; and, as ſhe ſaid, put it in execution without her knowledge. The death of Mary was the greateſt blemiſh of Elizabeth's reign; yet was made in ſome ſort juſtifiable, if not neceſſary, by the many attempts that the Papiſts made on the queen's life; and by the depoſition which pope Pius V. thundered out againſt her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that party had the hopes of ſuch a ſucceſſor, the queen's life was not ſafe, nor her government ſecure. But how melancholy is the remembrance, that a queen, admired for the qualities of her mind, and adored for the beauty of her perſon, ſhould be ignominiouſly executed on a ſcaffold for an uncoroborrated charge of treaſon?

Chalons, p. 329. Guthrie, p. 319, 330. Strype's Annals, v. 1, p. 591. Guthrie, 354. 442. Engliſhman's Hiſtory, p. 147. Strype, v. 2, p. 134. Chalons, 329. Guthrie, p. 445, 457. Spotſwood, p. 356. Strype, v. 3. p. 385. Guthrie, p. 459. Chalons, p. 330. Burnet, p. 354. Engliſhman's Hiſt. p. 150.

In 1588, the Spaniſh monarch ſent his "Invincible Armada," to conquer England. The hour which Elizabeth had ever dreaded was at length come: her crown lay at ſtake, and ſhe was to defend it without the aſſiſtance of any ally. The Spaniſh fleet ſet ſail from Liſbon on the nineteenth of May, and arrived within ſight of England on the nineteenth of July. It conſiſted of 135 large ſhips, and 40 ſmaller veſſels; having 7449 ſailors, and 18,857 ſoldiers, on board; with 220 of the Spaniſh nobility, 350 volunteers and their ſervants, and 620 prieſts; the whole number of people on board this fleet amounting to 28,293 men. It carried over and above what was neceſſary for the complement of the ſhips, and thoſe that were to make a deſcent upon England, fire-arms and ammunition to ſupply many of the natives of England: and beſides what were on board the fleet, the duke of Parma had 26,000 foot and 1000 horſe in Flanders, with tranſports ready to embark for England. The duke of Medina Sidonia was captain-general, and Juan Martinez de Recalde was admiral of the fleet. The pope had excommunicated Elizabeth, and given her dominions to Philip. After all, this fleet, the like of which had never been ſeen before, was ſhamefully defeated, and on its return to Spain, all the noble families went into mourning.

Uztariz, v. 1, p. 388. Larrey's Hiſtory of England. Lewis's Life of Sixtus V ch. 53. Hezzara's Annals, l. 4, ch. 2, and 4. Puffendorf, p. 78.

Elizabeth had made the beſt preparations for repelling the danger; and her faithful ſubjects had entered into an aſſociation for her defence. She confided greatly in her militia, which was chearfully raiſed all over the kingdom: but her principal dependance was on her navy, which gained unparalleled victories. Her ſubjects, even the Papiſts, ſhewed the greateſt loyalty to the queen, who was adviſed to ſend them out of the kingdom; but ſhe contented herſelf with confining the heads of them in the iſle of Ely. The Spaniards loſt thirty-two capital ſhips, and 10,185 men. Their monarch no longer entertained hopes of conquering England, which looked more glorious under its new religion.

Bacon's Reſuſ. p. 146. Guthrie, p. 426, 470.

Elizabeth then ſhewed the Spaniards that the Engliſh could attack as well as defend. She ſent Eſſex and Drake with a powerful fleet to aſſiſt Antonio the exiled king of Portugal in regaining his crown from the king of Spain. They did not take Liſbon, but they ſeized ſixty ſhips in the Tagus, and deſtroyed Vigo in 1589. Eſſex and Raleigh took Cadiz in 1596, burnt the town, and obtained ſuch a prodigious booty that the Spaniards eſtimated their loſs at twenty millions of ducats, which was equivalent to twenty millions ſterling at this time.

Puffendorf, p. 128. Guthrie, p. 519. Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of Cadiz action, p. 17.

The king of Spain died in 1598, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip III. who aſſiſted the rebels in Ireland, where the earl of Eſſex was cenſured for his conduct in acting againſt Tyrone, which occaſioned his death in 1601, when he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Eſſex was the moſt accompliſhed nobleman in Europe: he had the royal blood of England in his veins; and it has been reported that the queen was in love with him: but Voltaire laughs at it, and obſerves, that when her ſtruggle about him muſt have been the greateſt, at

Guthrie, p. 542, 555, 561. Voltaire.

at his death, ſhe was ſixty-eight.—Had he been ſixty-eight, it is probable ſhe would not have been in love with him.

Catalogue of the royal and noble authors of England.

We may again look back to ſee Elizabeth's care and neceſſity for eſtabliſhing the reformation on a ſolid immoveable rock. The parliament made all the clergy, and laity, in employment, take the oath of her ſupremacy: but archbiſhop Parker prevailed upon the queen not to enforce it too rigorouſly among the popiſh biſhops. The convocation reduced the forty-two articles, paſſed in the time of Edward, to thirty-nine, as they now ſtand; but without making any conſiderable alteration in the doctrine. There were many debates in the lower-houſe, and a great unwillingneſs among many of the members to ſubſcribe theſe articles; and it was determined only by one vote, that there ſhould be no alteration in the rites and ceremonies then eſtabliſhed. The compoſers of theſe articles were unjuſtly taxed for too much favour extended in their large expreſſions through the whole contexture of them, which proceeded from their commendable moderation. For theſe holy men prudently pre-diſcovered that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were unwilling to drive off any from an eccleſiaſtical communion for ſuch petty differences; which made them pen the articles in comprehenſive words to take in all, who differed in the branches, and met in the root of the ſame religion. In 1571, theſe articles were confirmed by the parliament: but it is obſervable that they were publiſhed at the ſame time that the decrees of the council of Trent were ſent about. Many thundering anathemas againſt all Diſſenters were iſſued in thoſe decrees; while the articles of the Engliſh Proteſtant church, like the "ſtill voice," only plainly expreſſed the poſitive truth.

Warner, p. 428.
Fuller, b. 9, p. 72.
Warner, p. 429.
Ib. 430.
Fuller, p. 42.
Ibid.

With this convocation the reformation of the church of England, properly ſpeaking, was at an end: and the ſubſequent part of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory conſiſts chiefly of the unhappy breaches which the paſſions of ſome, the intereſts of others, and the weakneſs of almoſt all of them, occaſioned among Proteſtants. Indeed, the frequent plots that were laid againſt the queen's life, led her towards the end of her reign to greater ſeverities againſt thoſe of the Roman communion; of which a copious account is given by Sir Francis Walſingham. Her majeſty laid down two maxims of ſtate; the one was, not to force conſcience; the other was, not to let factious practices go unpuniſhed, becauſe they were covered with the pretence of conſcience. She revived none of the ſevere laws paſſed in her father's time, till ſhe was threatened with the Spaniſh invaſion, when the prieſts were ſent over from foreign ſeminaries to corrupt her ſubjects, by which treaſon was carried in the clouds, and infuſed ſecretly in confeſſion: then pecuniary puniſhments were inflicted on ſuch as withdrew from the church: and, in concluſion, ſhe was forced to make laws of greater rigour; but often mitigated the ſeverity of them. As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed againſt ſome abuſes, their violence only was condemned: when they refuſed to comply with ſome ceremonies, and queſtioned the ſuperiority of biſhops, and declared for a Democracy in the church, they were connived at with great gentleneſs: but when they began to defame the government by ridiculous paſquils, boaſted of their numbers and ſtrength, and broke out into tumults, then it appeared that it was faction, and not zeal, that animated them: upon that the queen found it neceſſary to reſtrain them more than ſhe had done formerly; yet ſhe did it with all the moderation that could conſiſt with the peace of the church and ſtate.

Warner, p. 430.
Burnet, p. 354.
Bacon, p. 147.
Ib. 149.
Collier, v. 2, p. 525.

Queen Elizabeth had a particular friendſhip for Henry IV. of France; and to her in a great meaſure he owed his crown. She never laid any thing more to heart than his changing his religion; and it was a long time before ſhe could be brought to believe it. But when ſhe received the account of it from himſelf, all her conſtancy failed her; and in the agony of her grief, ſnatching a pen, ſhe writ him the following expoſtulatory letter.

Welwood's Memoirs, p. 14.
Chalons, v 2, p. 361.

"Alas! what deep ſorrow, what vehement grief, what ſighs have I felt at my heart, for the things which Morlante hath told me of? Alas! is the world come to this paſs? Was it poſſible that any worldly matter ſhould make you quit the fear of God? Can we expect any happy iſſue of ſuch a fact? Or could you think that he who hath hitherto with his own right-hand upholden and preſerved you, would now forſake you? It is a very dangerous thing to do evil that good may come of it. Yet I hope a ſober ſpirit will put you into a better mind. In the mean time, I will not omit to make it a principal part of my prayers, the recommending you to God, beſeeching him that the hands of Eſau may not loſe you the bleſſing of Jacob. Whereas you do religiouſly and ſolemnly offer me your friendſhip, I know to my great coſt I have well deſerved it; neither ſhould I repent that, had you not changed your Father. Verily, from henceforth I cannot be your ſiſter by the Father; for the truth is, I ſhall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father, than a falſe and counterfeit one: which God knoweth very well, who, I beſeech him, bring you back again to a better mind." Subſcribed, "Your ſiſter, if it be after the old manner; as for the new, I have nothing to do with it. ELIZABETH R." This letter was worthy of herſelf, and of that me-

Welwood, 270.

Camden. Wel-wood, p. 28. Chalons, p. 387.

lancholy occaſion. This her grief, ſays her hiſtorian, ſhe ſought to allay by reading the ſacred Scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers, and even the books of philoſophers; tranſlating about that time, for an amuſement, Boethius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ, into elegant Engliſh. However, Henry IV. was always a Proteſtant in his heart, which is plain from the diſcovery that he made to Elizabeth's ſucceſſor of the *Gunpowder-Plot*. That was the only uncontroverted treaſon that happened in the reign of James I. and yet the letter to the lord Mounteagle, that pretended to diſcover it, was but a contrivance of his own; the thing being diſcovered to him before, by Henry IV. through the means of Monſieur de Rhoſny, after duke of Sully. King Henry paid dear for his friendſhip to king James; and there is reaſon to believe that it was upon this account, among others, that a party of the church of Rome employed Ravillac to murder that great man.

Bayle, v. 2. p. 75. Ib. 758, 759. Guthrie, p. 577. Strype, v. 4, p. 372. Silhon, p. 112.

Bayle has exculpated Elizabeth from plotting againſt Mary: but he ſays, her reign, which was crowned with ſo many favours of Providence, ended in the deepeſt melancholy. He hints that the death of the earl of Eſſex was the cauſe of this cruel grief. The remembrance of her lamented Eſſex drove Elizabeth almoſt to diſtraction, who, as ſhe advanced in years, perceived her courtiers pay their addreſs to the king of Scotland, as the riſing ſun. This threw her into a melancholy; which occaſioned her death at Richmond on the twenty-fourth of March 1603, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign, ſoon after ſhe had appointed the king of Scotland her ſucceſſor. Who would have thought that the courſe of ſuch a reign, and ſuch a life, ſhould have terminated in a ſatiety of life and government!

Wel-wood's Memoirs, p. 18.

To the reproach of thoſe ſhe had made great and happy, ſhe was but ill attended in her laſt ſickneſs; and near her death forſaken by all but three or four perſons. With queen Elizabeth died, in a great part, the glory and fortune of the Engliſh nation; and the four ſucceeding reigns ſerved only to render her's the more illuſtrious.

Refuſ. p. 149.

This queen, ſays lord Bacon, as touching her religion was pious, moderate, conſtant, and an enemy to novelty. Firſt, for her piety, though the ſame were moſt conſpicuous in her acts and the form of her government; yet it was pourtrayed alſo in the common courſe of her life, and her daily comportment. Seldom would ſhe be abſent from hearing divine ſervice and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or in her privy cloſet. In the reading of the ſcriptures, and the writings of the fathers, eſpecially of St. Auguſtin, ſhe was very frequent: and ſhe compoſed certain prayers herſelf upon emergent occaſions.

Ib, 151.

If ſhe was not always moderate in the point of religion, the change which happened was not in her nature, but upon the neceſſity of the times. Her conſtancy was ſeen in her expelling the religion which her ſiſter had deeply rooted in the kingdom. She ſaw it was not agreeable to the word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conſcience, and yet ſhe aboliſhed it with the aſſiſtance of a very few perſons. And thus within the compaſs of one year, ſhe did ſo eſtabliſh and ſettle all matters belonging to the church, as ſhe departed not one hair's breadth from them to the end of her life: nay, and her uſual cuſtom was, in the beginning of every parliament, to forewarn the houſes not to queſtion or innovate any thing already eſtabliſhed in the diſcipline or rites of the church.

Wel-wood's Memoirs, p. 6.

During all the time of her reign ſhe would never allow her title to be debated or reaſoned upon, nor ſo much as explained or vindicated. She thought it ſufficient that ſhe wore the crown, and was reſolved, and knew well how, to maintain it upon her head, without the help of paper arguments. She received with indignation a propoſition that was made to her, to have her title aſſerted in parliament: and ſcorned to repeal even the act which declared her illegitimate, and incapable to ſucceed.

Guthrie, p. 578. Wel-wood, p. 6. Bacon's Refuſ. p. 147. Guthrie, p. 624. Bacon, p. 152.

The beſt character that can be drawn of this princeſs, is to be learned in the ſtory of her life in Camden and our general hiſtorians. Her ſtature was ſomewhat tall, her limbs ſtrong, and her complexion fair. She underſtood the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Dutch languages. She tranſlated ſeveral pieces from Xenophon, Iſocrates, Seneca, Boethius, and other ancients, with taſte and accuracy. The Auguſtan age was revived in her reign; and the true religion was ſo well eſtabliſhed before ſhe left the world, that her reign ought juſtly to be termed, "the Golden Age of the church of England." But to ſay the truth; "the only commender of this lady's virtues, is *time*; which, for "as many ages as it hath run, hath not yet ſhewed us one of the female ſex equal to her "in the adminiſtration of a kingdom."

Burnet, p. 358.

It is wonderful indeed, that a virgin queen could rule ſuch a kingdom, for above forty-four years, with ſuch conſtant ſucceſs, in ſo great tranquility at home, with a vaſt increaſe of wealth, and with ſuch glory abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the rewards of Heaven, crowning that reign with ſo much honour and triumph, that was begun with the *Reformation* of religion.

THE END.

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